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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

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CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

NOVEMBER, 1810.

No. XXXIII.

ART. I. *Substance of the Speech of Sir John Cox Hippisley, Bart. on seconding the Motion of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, to refer the Petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to a Committee of the House of Commons, on Friday, the 18th of May*, 1810. With an Appendix, greatly enlarged, and additional Notes. The Second Edition, corrected. pp. 320. 8vo. London, 1810.

WHAT ought to be the religion of a country, where two thirds of the people are Catholic, and only one third Protestant? —where two thirds profess that form of Christianity which still prevails over the greatest part of civilized Europe, the remaining third professing what they think a purer form of Christianity?

If this be too bold, or too general a question for the taste of some of our readers, it will serve our purpose equally well, if they will only ask themselves the following—Was it just or reasonable, while Ireland continued a distinct kingdom, that two thirds of her inhabitants should be subjected to pains and civil disabilities on account of their religion? and, if the Union, by which she ceased to be a distinct kingdom, was negotiated on a footing of equality, and brought about partly by promises to remove these pains and disabilities, is it just or reasonable that they should still be continued?

We shall not add another word on the *justice* of the claims now made by the Irish Catholics, considered with a reference to Ireland only; but, forgetting that she ever had a separate political existence, and regarding her merely as an integral portion of the British empire, we shall be satisfied with asking, Whether it be salutary and *expedient* for the whole State, that the Irish Catholics should be kept under the disabilities to which they are still subjected?

To solve this question, we mut first find the answers of the three following.—What are the evils that result from the existence of these disabilities? What are the evils that would result from their removal? and, Which of these two sets of evils is the greatest and most imminent?

As the disabilities in question are still legally existing, the opponents of the Catholic claims may insist upon holding by the possession, and are entitled to set the claimants upon making out a case of actual disadvantage or danger, before they can be called upon to alter an established system. The advocates of the Catholics, therefore, as the party who had provoked the discussion, are certainly bound to begin it, by answering the first of these three questions.

It would be easy to make a long and an eloquent answer; but this has been done often enough already: and, in the present stage of the business, we believe there are very few readers to whom a very summary one will not only be more agreeable, but more satisfactory. On the part of the Catholic claimants, therefore, we answer briefly as follows.

In the *first* place, that the exclusion of nearly one fifth of our whole population from a great number of high and important situations, is evidently and directly an evil to the whole nation, inasmuch as it narrows, in that proportion, the choice which we should otherwise have for filling them to advantage; and actually deprives us, for all noble and important services, of one fifth of the talent which would otherwise be at our disposal. This is a certain, and a present evil; the magnitude and effects of which it is not easy to calculate.

In the *second* place, this exclusion is an actual and certain evil, in so far as it renders one fifth part of our whole population discontented and uncomfortable. The process by which all such sweeping proscriptions extend as *insult*, much farther than they actually reach as *injury*,—begetting, on the one side, a general habit of insolence and contempt, and, on the other, a feeling of resentment and degradation,—we have formerly* endeavoured to explain. We do not apprehend, however, that most of our readers will think any explanation necessary, or find any difficulty in believing, that every Catholic in Ireland, however humble or obscure, must feel his order dishonoured by these exclusions, and suffer considerably in his comforts from their subsistence.

If there be any thing that is substantially and directly evil in a system of government, it must be that which produces the discomfort and unhappiness of so large a proportion of its subjects: but, in the present instance, the evil does not terminate in their

* Vol. XI. p. 116.

unhappiness. Men who are unhappy in consequence of some act or arrangement of their government, are naturally inclined to be disaffected to that government; and it is the *third* great evil of the present system of exclusion, that the Catholic population of Ireland is much less firmly attached to the government than it otherwise might be, and that its discontents upon this score contribute very largely to promote that disposition to tumult and insurrection, by which the peace and the security of the whole State have been so often endangered. We are far from saying, that the degradation and discontents of the Catholics are the sole causes of the disorders to which Ireland has been so long liable; but there is no person of common sense who can doubt, that they have had a very great share in bringing them on, and in aggravating their symptoms.

In the present condition of the world, it may be stated as a *fourth* and separate evil, that the probability of the enemy being enabled to conquer, or incalculably to injure, this nation, is prodigiously increased by the discontented state of the Catholic population. In a country in other respects so misgoverned, and in many parts so uncivilized, as Ireland, numbers would, in all probability, be disposed to join the standard of an invader at any rate; but his only *serviceable* auxiliaries would be recruited by the wrongs and resentments of the Catholics. The priests, who could give information as to the state and resources of each district, and exert so vast an influence over its inhabitants, and the ambitious and enterprizing individuals of every description, who felt, in their talents and their daring, an inward vocation to glory, while they resented their exclusion from the lawful pursuit of it under their native government, would all be driven into the service of the invader, if they were driven there at all, by the pressure of Catholic disabilities. It is now equally needless to aggravate, and impossible to disguise, the tremendous peril in which Ireland will be placed, if Bonaparte should ultimately succeed in obtaining possession of the Southern Peninsula. Such is the course which vessels from that part of the world have to steer to the shores of Ireland, that the very winds which would best serve for their passage, would blow all our fleets from any station where they could be intercepted; and those winds are of such regular recurrence, that one of the highest naval authorities in this kingdom has been repeatedly heard to say, that during a particular period of the year, if he was carrying on a French trade from Lisbon to Bantry, he would be so little afraid of British cruizers, that he would not lay out one half per cent. in insuring against that hazard. It is not easy, then, to overrate the evils of that policy which tends to increase the hazards of such an invasion.

In the *fifth* place, the existence of the Catholic disabilities, and of the discontents which they necessarily occasion, must be considered as a great and most alarming evil to the whole nation, if it were only on account of the ready and most dangerous pretext they afford to those who are still more to be dreaded than even an invading enemy. That there is a party in that country who aim at the dismemberment, and consequently at the ruin of this empire, and who would not scruple to seek foreign aid to promote their nefarious attempts, is a fact which seems no longer to be seriously disputed. The neglect and the misgovernment of England have given rise to this party; and it is by exaggerating and dwelling on the effects of that misgovernment, that its leaders hope one day to make it triumphant. But though the oppressions of England afford a copious theme in past history, the injustice and insult of her Catholic code form by far the most flagrant and intelligible of her actual malversations. This, accordingly, is the leading topic with all those who seek to produce a rupture between the two countries by inflammatory representations of English tyranny and oppression; and the degradation and wrongs of the Catholics invariably form the chief ingredient in these provocatives to disaffection, which have been so plentifully administered to that irritable generation. When, therefore, it is recollected what have been the actual effects of such plausible representations, even those who think them the most exaggerated, and believe most firmly that Catholic emancipation would produce little substantial good to the bulk of that persuasion, must still admit, that it is a great evil that any pretext should be left for their propagation, or any plausibility lent, by our conduct, to the statements of their authors. The only effectual way, however, to prevent bigotted and disaffected persons from inflaming the ignorant people of Ireland, by exaggerated accounts of the injustice of our laws against Catholics, is—to take away that injustice altogether—to restore the Catholics to their whole civil rights as free subjects of the realm—and thus, at once, to cure the discontents which spring *naturally* from their present degradation, and to prevent that artificial exasperation of them which may be produced by the turbulent and seditious.

In the *sixth* and last place, we consider it as a great evil, resulting from the present condition of the Catholics of Ireland, that the odium and distrust which are necessarily attached to that condition, keeps the great body of them in a lower state of ignorance than any other Catholic community in Europe, and tends to perpetuate among them all that is humiliating or pernicious in their superstitions. In this way, the cause of true religion and of human nature itself is materially injured by the disabilities of the

Irish Catholics,—the degree of persecution which is implied in those disabilities attaching them more strongly to their superstitions, on the one hand, and the general degradation of their sect precluding them in a great degree, on the other, from that liberal education, and those sources of intelligence, by which alone they can ever be effectually reclaimed from the errors and absurdities of their belief. Protestantism itself, therefore, is thus ultimately injured by this partial exclusion of its opponents from the best and surest means of reformation.

Such are some of the leading evils which the Catholics deduce, we think with perfect justice, from the present state of the law with regard to persons of their persuasion—evils that affect the prosperity of the whole empire, and which would obviously be removed, by granting them, what they have somewhat emphatically termed, Emancipation. That these evils are great, imminent, and manifold, must be evident even from the foregoing brief enumeration: and whoever will take the trouble of entering into the details by which each article might be illustrated and confirmed, will probably be of opinion, that among all the fatal errors by which nations have obstructed their own prosperity, there are but few instances in which so much and such various mischief has resulted from one principle of impolicy.

This, then, is the answer to the *first* question which has been suggested; and such are the evils that are produced by the existing disabilities inflicted by law on the Catholics of Ireland.—The *second* question is, What are the evils that are likely to arise from the removal of those diabilities?

To this question we dare not trust ourselves with answering in so summary a manner as we have ventured to do as to the former. Being firmly persuaded that there are *no* real evils to be apprehended from the removal of these disabilities, we might be thought to do injustice to the cause of our opponents, if we were merely to state, in a simple abstract, the objections which have been popularly urged in their behalf. It is necessary, therefore, that this part of the discussion should be a little more expanded; and that, besides the naked enumeration of the grounds upon which Catholic emancipation has been hitherto resisted, we should endeavour both to explain and to obviate the reasons upon which that resistance has been supported.

The chief grounds, then, upon which the enemies of Catholic emancipation have insisted, in so far as we have been able to collect, are the following; 1*mo*, That any further concessions to that body, would be a violation of the privileges of the Protestant establishment, as they already enjoy the *most full and liberal toleration*, and could not get more, without being invested with *honours* and

political powers: 2do, That, at all events, if they were to get the toleration or emancipation they now claim, this would only encourage them to ask something more; and that they would never stop till they had put down the Irish Protestant establishment, or transferred the benefits of it to themselves: *3tio*, That there is something in the doctrines of the Roman Catholics that makes them, in many particulars, unfit to be trusted or believed; and that, to remove their disabilities, would be to afford too great a scope for the operation of these dangerous principles: *4to*, That their acknowledgement of the Pope's supremacy is equally full of danger; and makes it equally improper to extend their civil privileges: These, we think, are the chief arguments, of a general and permanent nature. But, in reference to the present crisis, it is further urged, *5thly*, That the emancipation is barred by the King's coronation oath; and, *6thly*, That the Catholics have themselves forfeited all claim to it, by refusing their assent to the royal *veto* on the nomination of their bishops, which had been allowed to be reasonable by the warmest of their parliamentary advocates. In these six propositions, we conceive the sum of the anticatholic reasoning to be comprised; and shall now beg leave to submit them to a very short examination.

The *first*, which maintains that the Catholics enjoy the most ample toleration already, and, in aiming at any thing more, would encroach on the Protestant establishment, seems at present to be the favourite argument of the few who do not rely entirely on popular prejudices, and affect to treat this question upon principles of accurate reasoning. It has accordingly been brought forward, of late, both in Parliament and out of it, with no little parade of logical precision, and with an air of confidence which we cannot help thinking very ill justified by its intrinsic value.

A religion, we humbly apprehend, must be in one of three situations with regard to the government of a country:—It must be *established* by that government; or it must be *fully tolerated* by it; or it must be in some degree or other *persecuted*.

A religion is said to be established by a government, when its standards are fixed by the public legislative authority,—when its ministers are paid and provided for by the same authority,—and certain public functions or stations conferred upon a part of them, on account of the rank which they hold in that establishment. The definition of a religion completely *tolerated*, is still more easy. It is, merely, that it wants all those public honours and endowments—and is let alone;—that its standards are *not* fixed by government, nor its ministers supported by it;—but that no pains nor privations are inflicted either upon those ministers or upon those who resort to them;—and that, without any chance of gain-

ing honour or emolument by means of their religion, they are exposed to no suffering, molestation or obstruction, on account of it. *Persecution* or *intolerance*, again, which may have many degrees, is indicated by every discouragement which goes beyond mere non-establishment, whether that discouragement manifest itself by direct interdiction of the rites peculiar to the sect, or by punishments, privations, or disabilities denounced against those who adhere to it.

These positions appear to us to be sufficiently clear and accurate; and the attentive reader will see at once that they exhaust the whole of this branch of the argument. It may be proper, however, to open them up a little further, for the benefit of the indolent or reluctant. The supposition from which we shall most readily discover the true bearings of the subject, is that of a government without any established religion, or a state in which the sovereign authority takes no cognizance of the creed of its subjects, nor of their rites, nor of the ministers of their religion, —such a state, in short, as is exemplified in a great degree by the present government of America. This is one form, and perhaps the most primitive and complete, of full and *absolute toleration*—where no one can legally claim honours or emoluments on account of his religion—and no one is subjected, on that score, to punishments or privations.

Let us next suppose, that government, conceiving a decided preference for one form of religion, determines to *establish* it; but, at the same time, to leave the most full and complete toleration to every other:—All that it *can* do, conformably with this determination, is to fix the rites and standards of the established faith, and to endow and honour the several ranks of its teachers—leaving the rites and standards of other sects to be fixed at their own discretion, and their teachers to be remunerated according to their private pleasure;—but imposing no penalties, and enacting no disabilities for their repression or discouragement. In such a state of ample and full toleration are the communities of the Church of England within this kingdom of Scotland, and with reference to our Presbyterian establishment; and in this state they have existed for upwards of a century, without injury, and even without offence, to that jealous and somewhat proscriptive establishment. It must be perfectly obvious, indeed, that *establishment*, when united to complete toleration, and disjoined from all mixture of hostility and intolerance, must have reference to its own members only, and can have no operation whatever on those of a different persuasion. It consists wholly in rewarding and exalting its favourites; and neither punishes nor depresses those who do not seem entitled to favour. Even with regard to its own members, too, it has no

proper operation, except on the *teachers* and *ministers* whom it ordains, and on the rest of its adherents, when engaged in the offices of religion. In all that respects other sects, and in all that relates to the *civil life* and occupations, even of its own members, a simple establishment is entirely unoperative, and, as it were, nonexistent. It is *a religion*, in short, that is established; and not a new law of civil rights and privileges.

Let us come now to the *third* and most familiar supposition, that the government has not only established and ordained one form of religion, but has taken measures directly for the purpose of repressing and discouraging all other forms. Whatever it may enact for this purpose, is necessarily an act of *intolerance*; and may be shown to be identical in principle (though differing in degree) with the most atrocious acts of persecution. Direct pains and penalties will be allowed not to be consistent with toleration, and to savour distinctly of persecution; and this is equally true in principle, whether the pains be light or heavy;—whether the irregular worshipper be punished with the stake or with the stocks —it is equally persecution. If a man be fined one farthing for attending mass, or if he be sentenced to receive fifty lashes for each offence, it is equally impossible to say that going to mass is tolerated.

These cases, indeed, of direct vindictive infliction for a specific act, can occasion no perplexity;—but a material difference has been supposed to exist in those cases where no distinct pain is attached to any particular act, but where the general adherence to the religion which enjoins the acts, is made a ground of disqualification from certain offices or stations;—and this, it is notorious, is the actual condition of Ireland—where there is no direct punishment for going to mass, but where all persons belonging to the Roman Catholic persuasion are excluded from sitting in Parliament, and being appointed to something more than forty honourable offices in the law, the army, the corporations, the universities, &c. &c. This exclusion, it is maintained, is not punishment, and is not intolerance; because the persons in question have full liberty of conscience, and may worship according to their own principles, without suffering in purse or person; while, to make them eligible to these offices, would be to invest them with political power, to give them reward and encouragement for their religion, and so to encroach on the privileges of the Protestant establishment.

The soundness of this reasoning, we believe, will be sufficiently appretiated from its naked statement, by all who are capable of forming an opinion upon the subject.—But, to place the point at issue fairly beyond the reach of controversy, it is only necessary to observe, that the Catholics are not seeking any powers or re-

wards on account of their religion, but insisting merely that they shall not be deprived, on that account, of *the common rights of all the free subjects of the realm*—and at the same time be told, that their religion is fully tolerated, and that they are seeking to encroach on the Protestant establishment.

The point of the argument, then, is this—Is it the common right of all free subjects of this realm, to aspire at, and to be capable of holding, the highest situations in the law, the army, the corporations, universities, &c. except in so far as they are excluded by special acts of Parliament?—or, is it only in virtue of special acts of Parliament, that this eligibility is conferred on particular descriptions of persons? The fact and the law is known to every one who knows the first rudiments of the British constitution. But if it be the common right of all men to pretend to such situations, then the statutes which interdict them to the Catholics, are, in the strictest sense, penal and intolerant statutes, and are entirely on a footing with those which attached personal or pecuniary pains to the profession of that religion.

Would it, or would it not, be an act of distinct intolerance, if the legislature were to provide, that all men who continued, after a certain day, to profess the Catholic religion, should *forfeit* the whole of their real property?—and, if no doubt could be entertained in such a case, would it alter the penal nature of the act, although it were only to provide that no such person should *be capable of succeeding* as heir, or of being nominated executor, to any other person? In the same way, supposing that the Catholics were actually in possession of some of the forty offices in question, would it, or would it not, be an act of intolerance and direct punishment to provide, that if they continued the profession of that faith, they should be instantly *deprived* of them?—and if such an act would have no equivocal character, can any different one belong to the subsisting acts by which they are declared *ineligible* to them? If, but for those special statutes, they would have been clearly capable of such appointments, then the declaration of ineligibility is exactly equivalent to a direct *penal privation*, as to all those who, but for that declaration, would have obtained those appointments; and the act, so far as it is operative or efficient at all, is obviously and clearly a penal act, proceeding upon principles of intolerance, and partaking of the nature of persecution.

In point of fact, it is as certain, that any subject of these realms is, of common right, entitled to be appointed to any of the situations in question, as it is, that any such subject is entitled to succeed to his ancestor, or to be named executor by his friend. The fact, indeed, that Catholics are only excluded from those si-

tuations by special disqualifying and prohibiting statutes, puts an end to all argument on this part of the subject, and fixes the true character and denomination of those acts in a way that admits of no doubt. They are acts *taking away* most valuable rights and franchises of the subject, as a *punishment* for adhering to a certain sect of religion;—and therefore, upon whatever other grounds they may be justified, it does seem a little extravagant to say, that they are consistent with the most complete toleration of that religion, and only intended to make a distinction between it and that which is established by public authority.

Neither does it, in the least degree, affect the force of these observations, to say, that as it is undoubtedly within the competency of the state to require such qualifications as it may think reasonable from all candidates for office, so there can be no oppression or injustice in making an adherence to protestantism one of these qualifications. A man, to be a judge, must have been a certain time at the bar; to be a general, he must have been a certain time in the army; and, to be a member of Parliament, he must have a certain property in land:—If there be nothing tyrannical or unjust in those limitations of the common right of eligibility, what is there so blameable in adding, by the same authority, that, in all these cases, he must be in communion with the Church of England? Now, our answer to this is, simply, that the present question is *not*, whether it would be tyrannical or unjust to require such a qualification; but, whether it can possibly be required, consistently with a complete toleration of the Roman Catholic religion?—Whether it would be proper or expedient to tolerate that religion to this extent, is quite *another* question, and one which we shall have occasion to consider immediately: at present, we are only inquiring into the accuracy of that sweeping argument, which would at once impose silence on the advocates of the Catholics, by persuading them, that they already enjoy every thing that can be included under the largest idea of toleration, and are really asking to be admitted to the benefit of an establishment. How far this representation is correct, or has any shadow of correctness, our readers perhaps may be enabled to judge by the few preceding observations. The Catholics are *not* seeking any thing like an establishment;—they are not seeking to have their bishops admitted into the House of Lords, nor to have their priests supported out of the tithes of the land. Neither are they seeking to encroach on the establishment of the Protestant church;—for they do not aim either at depriving that church of its honours and endowments, or at sharing them with it. But they are seeking a true and a full toleration for their religion; and, for their lay members, a restoration of those civil rights and capacities, that are

the common inheritance of every British subject, and of which they have been deprived on account of their religion alone. The taking away of those rights, therefore, they contend, is neither more nor less than a direct and perpetual *punishment* inflicted on the score of religion: and the want of them being felt as a serious injury, and a grievous degradation, they hold it to be a cruel and unmeaning mockery to tell them, that they are enjoying the most ample and complete toleration.

Akin to this is the *second* popular objection, that the Catholics would only be encouraged to ask something more, if their present petitions were complied with; and that the present is a fair and reasonable point at which to stop the torrent of concession.—In answer to this, we shall beg leave to make three short observations. The *first* is, that it seems rather an insufficient reason for not giving what is justly due, that we suspect something more than is due may afterwards be asked. The *second* is, that it is not a very fair or rational inference, that he who asks no more than his due, even after it has been long withheld, will become clamorous for something more when this is ultimately granted. We do not find here in Scotland, that the communities of the church of England have made one attempt to overturn our Presbyterian establishment since they were admitted to a full and complete tolerance—supported as they are by the immediate neighbourhood of so much greater an establishment of their own denomination. The *third* is, that if some of the Catholics are bent upon something more than full toleration, they will not be the less resolutely bent upon this, nor the more likely to pursue it by quiet and legal courses, that even full toleration is denied them. After they have got this toleration, they will have no greater means of obtaining their farther ends by force than they have at present,—and they will have much less chance of obtaining them by reason, as they will then be deserted by all their constitutional advocates, and by many of the moderate and conscientious of their own body. Those, therefore, who really entertain fears of Catholic ascendancy, should be the first for granting that emancipation, which will allay the activity of exasperation, and disunite the reasonable from the ambitious; and should be of all others the most averse from persisting in that intolerance, which enables them to confound the just and the unjust parts of their pretensions in one imposing plausibility, while it ensures their union, and provokes, and in some measure justifies, their hostility. We cannot leave this branch of the subject without remarking, that some modification of the system of tithes is called for by all the poorer inhabitants of Ireland, whether Catholic or Protestant; and that there is every reason to believe, that some such arrangement would satisfy the desires of

nine out of ten even of the more ambitious Catholics; while there is but little prospect, that, without it, we shall ever see the distractions of that unhappy country effectually composed.

The *third* general objection to the claims of the Catholics is, that all persons of that religion hold certain immoral and pernicious opinions, which render them very unfit to be placed in any situation of trust or authority. When we formerly had occasion to treat of this great question of Catholic Emancipation, we could scarcely persuade ourselves that it could be necessary to say any thing upon this part of the subject. The tone, however, that has since been taken by the most experienced opponents of these claims, and a more careful and extended observation of the prevailing opinions and prejudices of the middling orders of the people, has satisfied us, that it is a point which ought least of all to be neglected in a discussion of this kind;—that a great part of the dislike and apprehension which is certainly very widely felt on the subject of the Catholics, may be traced to the prevalence of certain strange and erroneous notions with regard to their principles of conduct and individual morality;—and that the great obstacle to their final emancipation would be removed, if the body of conscientious Protestants in England could only be persuaded, that they were not the proper objects of moral reprobation. The opposers of that great measure have hitherto succeeded, against every possible odds of reason and authority, only because they have had the people on their side; nor can it be reasonably hoped, that the obstacles which exist in other quarters will ever be got the better of, unless the measure itself can be made palatable to the great body of the nation. Base and unprincipled, therefore, as we consider those by whose wilful misrepresentations the popular prejudices have been excited, it is necessary to combat their prejudices with calmness, patience and plainness. In the people, they are honest prejudices; and founded, indeed, in feelings and principles that are entitled not only to indulgence, but respect. If half of what has been confidently and industriously told them were true, their feelings would be laudable and right;—and though the imposture, of which they and the Catholics have been the dupes and the victims, is so gross, as to excite the derision rather than the resentment of all well-informed persons, it is not to be forgotten, that there are great multitudes in this country whose sentiments are entitled to great weight in all questions of domestic policy, who have not the means of knowing, accurately, what are, or are not, the principles of the Roman Catholics.

The charges, then, that are made, and in some degree credited, in this temper, against the Catholics, are chiefly the following. 1st, that they think it a duty, and acceptable service, to

persecute, injure and destroy all heretics; 2d, that they do not conceive themselves bound to keep faith with such persons; 3d, that they hold that the Pope can dispense them from the obligation of the most solemn oath, whether of a public or private nature; 4th, that they may lawfully kill any sovereign, or private person, who has been excommunicated by the See of Rome; 5thly, that they can obtain a complete pardon, or absolution, for all sins from their priests; and, 6thly, that they can even, for a small sum of money, purchase indulgences for any meditated criminality.

If these were really the tenets of the Roman Catholics, we should not only be averse to granting them any favour, but should join most zealously in preaching up a crusade for their instant extermination. No toleration, it is evident, could ever be claimed by persons holding such principles; and it would become the duty of every friend to his country, and to human nature, to cast them out from all communion with the unpolluted part of society.—*It is not true*, however, that the Catholics hold such principles; and it would be enough to refute the charge, merely to say, that it is *impossible* that any society should exist among those who hold them. The Catholics, however, have long constituted some of the most enlightened, refined and flourishing societies in the world; and the faith which is supposed to sanction such perilous absurdities, has been embraced and defended by men equally distinguished for genius and for virtue,—by such men as Sir T. More, Fenelon, and Bossuet.

The evidence, however, of the falsehood of such imputations, is far more direct and particular; and we earnestly recommend to all who have any scruples on the subject, to peruse the documents which Sir J. C. Hippisley, has collected, with such laudable industry, in his Appendix to the Speech now before us. There is one piece of evidence, indeed, which of itself would be sufficient, we conceive, to satisfy all impartial persons, as it did satisfy Mr Pitt, upon whose application it was obtained. This is the solemn answer and deliverance of the six principal Catholic Universities of Europe, and of their Faculties of Divinity, to whom application was made, at Mr Pitt's desire, in 1789 and 1790, for the express purpose of learning, from the highest authority, what were actually the tenets of the Catholic Church upon those points which had excited the greatest clamour among Protestants. Their answers are not only quite uniform and perfectly satisfactory, but are accompanied, in almost every instance, with expressions of the greatest surprise, and of some indignation, that a nation so intelligent as the English, should ever have entertained an idea, that it was possible for civilized men, professing Christianity, to maintain opinions so utterly subversive of all morality, as some of those which had been imputed

to the Catholics. Dr Duigenan, whose whole work consists of an angry repetition of these refuted calumnies, has felt the irresistible force of this testimony; and can bethink himself of no other way of evading it, than to insinuate doubts of its *authenticity*,—and to cavil, like an Old-Bailey attorney, at the want of complete evidence of these answers having been actually given by the Universities. After they have been before Parliament and before the public for nearly twelve years, and have been admitted, *upon all hands*, in all the debates and discussions that have taken place both within and without doors, this is, indeed, a strain of scepticism which must appear suspicious, even to the most sturdy Protestant. Fortunately, however, for all parties, Sir J. Hippisley has in his possession the original letters of the two prelates by whose interference the papers in question were procured, as he has stated at p. 67 of the Speech before us.

But though this one document, which is given at large at p. 76 of Sir J. Hippisley's Appendix, is really sufficient to remove the scruples of all who will take the trouble to peruse it; still, as there is a great deal of other evidence to the same effect, and as those whose prejudices are most strong, will usually take the least trouble to get rid of them, we cannot help considering it as a duty to enter a little more fully into the subject in this place, and to give our readers some idea of the grounds upon which the Catholics repel the various heads of accusation which we have already enumerated against them.

And with regard to the first, *viz.* their supposed obligation to persecute and destroy all heretics and schismatics, it is proper to mention, that the *only* foundation that ever existed for such a charge, was afforded by a certain clause in the oath taken by bishops and archbishops at their consecration, by which they formerly bound themselves 'to prosecute and oppose all heretics and schismatics to the utmost of their power.' Now, whatever may have been the sense in which these words were taken in ages of darkness and violence, it is *quite notorious*, that, for more than a century back, they have never been interpreted or understood, in any Catholic community, in any other sense than as binding the said bishop to be zealous in convincing schismatics and others, of their errors, and reconciling them by reasoning, precept, and example, to what they consider as the purest form of Christianity. That this is no gloss put upon these words by the ingenuity of Catholic advocates, or by men seduced by local interests to disguise the offensive parts of their creed, will probably be thought sufficiently established by the following explicit passage, in a solemn rescript from the congregation of Cardinals, and in name of Pope Pius VI. in June 1791. After reciting the words of the oath, his Holiness proceeds to say—

'Which words are maliciously interpreted as the signal of war against heretics, authorizing persecution and assault against them, as enemies; whereas the *pursuit and opposition to heretics*, which the bishops undertake, *are to be understood as referring to their solicitude and efforts in convincing heretics of their errors, and procuring their reconciliation with the Catholic Church.*'

It is only necessary to add, that, in order to take away all cause of offence or misunderstanding, this clause, in the oath of the Irish bishops and archbishops, *was omitted* by authority of the same Sovereign Pontiff in 1792, and has never since been taken by any prelate of that communion. Another clause was at the same time added, expressly declaring, that no part of the obligation there undertaken by the bishop, did interfere in the least with his fidelity and allegiance to the King of Great Britain and Ireland, or his successors on the throne.—Let us hope, therefore, that we may hear no more of the bloody and unprincipled war which every Catholic is obliged to wage against all heretics.

The next charge is, that they do not think themselves bound to keep faith with heretics. The answers of the six Universities are so clear and express upon this point, that it is proper that some part of them should be laid before the reader. The Faculty of Divinity of the University of Louvain, after expressing its 'astonishment that such a question should be proposed to it,'

'—most positively and unequivocally answers, that there *is not*, and that there *never has been*, amongst Catholics, or in the doctrines of the Church of Rome, any law or principle which makes it lawful for Catholics to break their faith with heretics or others of a different persuasion, either in matters of a public or private nature;' —'and the said Faculty strongly protest against the imputation, that the Catholic Church has, at any time, held a contrary doctrine.' Second Appendix, p. 78.

The University of Douay answers in like manner—

'That there is no principle of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, who differ from them in religious opinions. On the contrary, *it is the unanimous doctrine of Catholics*, that the respect due to the name of God, so called to witness, requires that the oath be inviolably kept to whomsoever it be pledged, whether Catholic, Heretic, or Infidel.' Sec. App. p. 80.

The Doctors of the Sorbonne in the University of Paris answer as follows.

'The tenet, "*That it is lawful to break faith with heretics,*" is so repugnant to common honesty and the opinions of Catholics, that there is nothing of which the advocates of the Catholic religion have complained more heavily, than of the malice and calumny of

their adversaries, in imputing this tenet to them. As *it is rejected by Christians of every communion*, and is repugnant to the fundamental principles, both of natural and revealed religion, we cannot think it incumbent on us to enter upon this subject; and we think it requires no discussion.' Sec. App. p. 82.

The Spanish University of Alcala observes on the same subject—

'That she is so persuaded that a doctrine, which would exempt Catholics from keeping faith with heretics, or other persons dissenting from them in religious matters, so far from being an article of the Catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets, that she could not have believed it possible there should exist any persons who *would dare to impute* to Catholics any thing so iniquitous.' Sec. App. p. 84.

And the Universities of Valladolid and Salamanca, in expressing the same sentiment, observe—

'The Spaniards, who, in point of zeal for the Catholic faith, yield to no nation under heaven, have entered into contracts, both commercial and relating to peace, with the English themselves, and with other Calvinist and Lutheran states; and it would be an atrocious injury, and a vile calumny, to assert, that such contracts have been, at any time, violated under the pretence of religion.' Sec. App. p. 87.

Surely the learned members of these Universities may be presumed to know the tenets of their own religion somewhat better than the prejudiced Protestants, who, to serve the purposes of a political intrigue, have taken it upon them to expound them to the people of this country; and, even with the worst opinion of the honesty and good sense of these Popish doctors, it is utterly impossible to suppose, that six sets of the most reputable among them, should, without any concert or communication with each other, give the same false account of these doctrines in papers which they knew would be made public in the British Parliament, and consequently in every country of Europe. If there be any statement, therefore, that may be relied upon from the mouth of a Catholic, it must be, that the doctrines that are taught in these six Universities are conformable to the sentiments contained in these papers—since, to suppose the contrary, would be to suppose a degree of profligacy and folly united, of which the world has yet seen no example. Besides the concurring testimony of all the Universities, however, there is the solemn and authoritative declaration of *the Pope himself*, who, in the Rescript already referred to of June 1791, states, in express terms, '*That the See of Rome never taught that faith is not to be kept with heretics.*' And, indeed, the fact is sufficiently proved by the very terms of the *next charge* which is brought

against its votaries—that being, that they hold the Pope able to *dispense* with all the oaths taken to heretics, whether in a public or private capacity—a power which would be quite superfluous, if they were, at all events, at liberty to break faith with persons of that description.

With regard to this third charge, however, against the morality of the Catholics, as to the dispensing power of the Pope, it is to be observed, that it has been considered chiefly in relation to his supposed right to absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance to an uncatholic sovereign; and that a question with regard to its existence in that case, was one of those expressly referred to the Universities by Mr Pitt in 1790, and answered by them in the same clear and satisfactory manner as the more general one with regard to keeping faith with heretics. The University of Louvain says, that it is the doctrine of the Catholics, that 'no man, or assembly of men, nor even the whole church 'assembled in general council, can absolve or free subjects from 'their oath of allegiance.' The University of Paris answers, in like manner, that 'neither the Pope, nor the Cardinals, nor any 'persons of the church of Rome, can, by virtue of the keys or 'otherwise, absolve or free the subjects of the King of England 'from their oath of allegiance.' To the same effect, the University of Valladolid—'Neither the Roman Pontiff, nor the 'Cardinals, nor even a general Council, can in any way ab-'solve the subjects of the King of Great Britain, or any other 'persons, whether Catholics or not, from their oath of allegi-'ance, nor dispense with its obligations.' And the other Universities all answer in the very same terms.

Besides these answers, however, we have to refer to an authority, that ought, in our opinion, to set the most timid and scrupulous at rest, with regard to any danger resulting from the prevalence of such a doctrine among the Catholics of Ireland. The *Class-book* which is used in the instruction of the students of Divinity at the Catholic College of Maynooth, has for twelve years been in the hands of the public; and states, in express terms, under the chapter 'of the Authority and Prerogatives of the Pope'—'that subjects cannot ever be absolved or dispensed with from 'their oaths of allegiance and fidelity to their respective sove-'reigns, by the power of the keys, or by any other power or ju-'risdiction granted by Christ to the Pope or the Church, or to 'any of its ministers:' And 'this doctrine,' it proceeds to state and to show, 'is established by arguments drawn, 1st, from the 'Holy Scriptures; 2d, from tradition; and, 3d, from theologi-'cal reasons.' This, therefore, is the doctrine openly held out by those to whom the religious education of the Catholics is en-

trusted in Ireland, as the settled law of their Church. But not only the book, but the schools themselves, are open to the inspection of the suspicious; and, if any thing were actually taught or insinuated there, inconsistent with what is thus published in their written abstracts of doctrine, it is not possible that it should not, long ere this, have resounded in the speeches of the Orangemen, and been emblazoned in the pages of Dr Duigenan.

Finally, upon this subject, there is the direct and express testimony of Pope Pius VI., who, in the rescript already alluded to, solemnly declares, that, 'the See of Rome never taught that 'an oath to kings, separated from the Catholic communion, can 'be dispensed with.'

As to the *fourth* imputation on the Catholics, that they hold it lawful to kill any sovereign or private person under the Pope's excommunication, it is sufficiently refuted by the authorities already detailed as to the minor offences of breaking faith, or rebellion. Pope Pius, however, has distinctly said—'We, too, 'consider an attempt on the life of kings and princes, under the 'pretext of religion, as *an horrid and detestable crime.*' And the learned Gother, who wrote upwards of a century ago, and whose work 'on the Catholic Principles' is still the common manual of such of the Irish Catholics as can read, has thought it enough to express himself upon the subject in the following terms.

'As for the king-killing doctrine, or murder of princes excommunicated for heresy, (says Gother), it is *universally* admitted in the Catholic church, *and expressly so declared in the Council of Constance, that such doctrine is impious and execrable, being contrary to the known laws of God and nature.*'

The *last* point, then, to which the Catholics have to answer to their Protestant accusers on the score of morality, relates to their supposed belief in the efficacy of absolution and indulgences, and perhaps to their practice of secret and auricular confession. With regard to confession and absolution, it might almost be enough to state, that their canons and their doctrine are almost word for word the same with those of the church of England,—so much the same, that when Sir J. Hippisley read, in the House of Commons, a canon of the English church in 1608, enjoining the priest not to make known to any one what had been revealed to him in confession, no less a theologian than Mr Wilberforce interrupted him, by saying that that was a canon, not of the English, but of the Romish church; and expressed his astonishment, when Sir John showed it to be one of the most recent canons that has been enacted for the government of our own church. The form of absolution, too, is almost identical in the two liturgies; and the notion, that the Catholics suppose that rite to be effectual without

the aid of a sincere repentance and amendment of life, is triumphantly refuted by Sir J. Hippisley, from a great variety of books of the highest authority. It may be sufficient for our readers to peruse the following passage from 'the Book of Prayers, compiled (by an eminent prelate of the Catholic church) for the use of Catholics serving in the fleets or armies.'

"You know," says this learned person, "from the catechism you have learnt, and the books of Catholic instructions you have read, *that the absolution of a priest can be of no benefit to you*, unless you be duly disposed to a reconciliation with your offended God, by true faith, by a sincere sorrow for all your sins, by a firm resolution never to commit them again, and by a willingness to satisfy God, and your neighbour also, as far as justice requires. *Without these dispositions on your part, the act of the priest would not be ratified in heaven;* you would be guilty of the profanation of the sacrament of penance, and provoke the indignation of the Almighty, instead of obtaining his mercy." p. 44.

With regard to the vendible absolutions and indulgences, with her traffic in which the Romish church has been so long reproached, we do verily believe that there are not ten individuals who can read, that really conceive that any thing so utterly absurd or abominable either is, or ever was, carried on with the sanction of the Catholic authorities. Dispensations from *canonical* impediments to marriage, which are not very different from our special licenses, and absolution from *canonical* censures, are issued, no doubt, from the Chancery of Rome; but *indulgences to sin*, or *absolutions from sin*, neither are, nor ever were, granted by this court, or by any acknowledged authority. A fee, too, is no doubt paid to the officer who issues these writs; but this is no more the price of the absolution or dispensation, than the fee paid to the clerk of a magistrate who administers an oath in this country, is the price of the oath. Ecclesiastical penances, moreover, are sometimes commuted into pecuniary mulcts, at the discretion of the proper authority; but these fines always go into a fund for charitable uses: and, in fact, a similar commutation is expressly authorized by the canons of our own church: *vide* Sparrow's Collection, *Articuli pro Clero*, 1584; and 'Canons 1640,' c. xiv., 'concerning Commutations.' Such is the whole amount of the Romish doctrine and practice as to venal absolutions and indulgences.

These, we believe, are almost the whole of the grounds in which the moral antipathy to Popery, which still exists among many conscientious and well meaning persons in this country, has its foundation. How very weak a foundation it has, and indeed upon what utter fallacies and complete misapprehensions it rests, is now apparent, we hope, to all who have honoured us with their attention through the preceding pages; and if half the zeal and

industry were employed to allay animosities and correct prejudices among the uninstructed part of the population, that have unfortunately been exerted in disseminating falsehood and inflaming dissension, we have no sort of doubt, that, in a very short time, the voice of the people of England would be unanimously in favour of the Catholic emancipation. The very feelings that have been suborned, by the basest misrepresentations, in support of the opposite cause, would all lead them to this wise and benevolent conclusion. Their regard for their own safety, and the tranquillity and prosperity of the whole empire, would force them to seek the support of all the talent and enterprise which it can supply; and their brave fellow subjects of Ireland would become the objects of their esteem and their compassion, as soon as they were satisfied that they were not the proper objects of their moral antipathy. It is this ignorant, but honest, prejudice against the supposed vices and corruptions of the Catholics, fomented, as it has been, by the lowest and most assiduous calumnies, that has constituted the great strength of their opponents: and those who wish to see those machinations defeated, must condescend to use something of the same exertions to give currency to truth, which they have directed so unsparingly to secure the efficacy of slander.

But, besides the simple and credulous, who dislike the Catholics on account of their imputed immorality, there are some who have been terrified into a political horror, by their supposed assertion of the Pope's temporal supremacy, and his consequent right to interfere in the civil concerns of all kingdoms. The answer to this is the same that has been made to the former imputations —that it is utterly destitute of truth; it being universally admitted, by all the standard authorities of the Catholic church, that the Pope has no sort of civil authority or power, or right of interference, out of his own temporal dominions. This was the leading question proposed by Mr Pitt to the Catholic Universities in 1790; and their answers are, as on all the other points, clear, consistent, and satisfactory. The University of Louvain, after expressing its '*astonishment* that such a question should, at the 'end of the 18th century, be proposed to any learned body, by 'the inhabitants of a kingdom which glories in the talents and 'discernment of its natives,' answers distinctly, that 'neither 'the Pope, nor the Cardinals, nor any body or individuals of the 'church of Rome, has any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, 'or preeminence whatever within the realm of England.' And the answers of the other Universities are to the full as precise and positive;—the Faculty of the Sorbonne adding to its response, 'This doctrine the sacred Faculty has always held, and upon e-

'very occasion maintained, and has rigidly proscribed the con-
'trary doctrine from her schools.'

In the Class-book of the College of Maynooth, the same doctrine is inculcated with great clearness and precision. 'Christ,' it is there stated, 'has *not* granted to St Peter, or his successors, 'any power, direct or indirect, over the temporal concerns of 'kingdoms,' (p. 241.); and a long argument is added to show, from what peculiar circumstances, and what false reasonings, an opposite idea was adopted by certain zealous or ambitious churchmen in the earlier ages. The deduction, which is conducted with great talent and liberality, is terminated as follows.

'It is not therefore surprising, that the claim to this secondary and temporal influence and power, which the Bishops of Rome had long exercised without objection, should at last have been confounded with their right to that primary and spiritual authority which *alone* had been originally imparted by Christ to St Peter, and transmitted from him by a line of regular succession to them;—especially as *the false decretals* collected by Isidore in the 8th age, the ceremonies of the consecration and inauguration of kings, and the conduct of princes who ceased not to court their influence, were favourable to their pretensions to a divine right of interfering in the temporal concerns of states and kingdoms.' Appendix, p. 50.

Such are the terms in which the usurped authority of certain Councils, or ambitious Popes, in former times, is spoken of by all modern Catholics without exception;—and indeed, even *at* the period of the most recent of those deposing edicts, this was the light in which they were regarded by the whole Catholic world, that was not engaged in the political cabals in which they took their origin. Though sentences of deposition were thundered from the Vatican against our Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, it is perfectly well known, that they continued to be recognized, and treated with, as legitimate sovereigns, by every Catholic prince in Europe. In the time of Elizabeth, too, nearly one half of her subjects were probably Catholic;—and yet, so little were their edicts found to produce of rebellion, that in Carew's *Remonstratio Hibernorum* will be found a declaration, signed by almost all the *deposed* Catholic bishops and abbots, stating, that 'notwithstanding 'that bull, or any other bull that might be issued, they held Eliza-'beth for lawful Queen of England.' A similar declaration, by a large body of Catholic priests, is preserved in Dods's Church History; and it is rather remarkable, that the first name subscribed to it is that of *the very first* Catholic bishop appointed in these realms after the Reformation. That this doctrine was very long ago disowned and abandoned by Catholics of all ranks, is further proved in a very striking manner by the tenor of the speech pronounced by Lord Strafford on the scaffold, in 1680, and of the dying speeches of all the unhappy persons who suffered along with him

on account of Oates's plot. These persons were bigotted Catholics, if the age produced any that deserved that appellation. Yet Lord Strafford, when about to seal his profession with his blood, does not hesitate to say, 'If even a general council should undertake to depose a king, or absolve his subjects from their allegiance, *no Catholic, as Catholic*, is bound to submit to this decree; nor do Catholics, as Catholics, believe that the Pope has any direct or indirect authority over the temporal power and jurisdiction of princes.' And the whole of his fellow-sufferers, speaking after all hopes of pardon were over, and when they had no support but in their priests and their religion, maintain the very same doctrines.

We have dwelt too long, however, we fear, on the refutation of doctrines, which, we are persuaded, no one seriously believes that any Catholic now possesses; and shall take our leave of all this part of the subject, by observing, that even if it could be shown that some of the erroneous opinions ascribed to that sect by the Protestants, really were maintained by some of the low and illiterate Catholics of Ireland, this would afford no intelligible objection to granting the prayer of their present petitions. These relate, as has been already stated, only to their eligibility to seats in Parliament, and to about forty offices of honour and emolument in the law, the army, &c. Now, the evidence to which we have referred, certainly proves, beyond all question, that no such absurd opinions are now *taught* in Ireland, or professed by any tolerably educated Catholic in any part of the world; and therefore, even if it could be proved (which we do not believe) that any such wild notions were spread among a few of the low and untaught Irish (whose condition is not to be altered by the proposed measure, except by giving them a better chance for instruction), there evidently is not the most remote possibility that they should be found among persons likely to be appointed to any of the situations in question. Most of these situations, it will be recollected, are in the gift of the Crown; and, considering the vast preponderance of Protestant property and influence, Parliament itself * could scarcely be opened except by their assistance. Is it to be supposed, then, that a man chosen by the King and his advisers is most fit to be Lord Chief Justice, or Master of the Ordnance, or even that a man, advanced by the favour of a whole body of electors to sit in Parliament, should be one who held

* We have seen a calculation, founded upon an accurate and detailed examination of the political and statistical condition of all the counties and boroughs in Ireland; from which it is concluded, apparently upon very safe *data*, that not more than five or six Catholics would in all probability be returned to Parliament, although the whole of their present disabilities were removed.

that no faith was to be kept with heretics, or that an uncatholic Sovereign might be lawfully put to death? Is it really a danger to be apprehended, that a Judge, or a General, should, in this age of the world, be moved by such doctrines, to act the part of an assassin? or, if he was so moved, would his situation afford any facilities for the execution of his purpose, that he does not now enjoy in the freedom of his individual movements? The questions, as to persons of that rank, are obviously quite preposterous and extravagant; and, with regard even to the wild and ignorant, of whom alone such acts can be imagined, is it not obvious that their temptation to commit them must be prodigiously lessened, instead of being increased, by the favour which is proposed to be shown to their sect?—unless, indeed, we are to believe, that men whom ignorance has made savage, and oppression desperate, are to be still more exasperated by kindness, and driven to phrensy by precepts and examples of indulgence. The whole dangers then that have been predicted from the supposed principles and opinions of the Catholics, are not only utterly visionary in point of fact, but are of a kind, if they actually existed, to be removed, and not to be brought on, by the measure of emancipation. Whatever argument, therefore, the view of those dangers can supply, is an argument in favour of the claims urged in the petitions.

Such, we think, are the whole of the general and radical objections which have been urged against this great measure of Catholic emancipation, with the answers that occur upon a hasty consideration of their import—and such, of course, are the grounds upon which it seems to be agreed that this most momentous question must ultimately be decided. We have already hinted, however, that there are supposed to be peculiar and temporary obstacles that, at all events, render the Catholic claims inadmissible at the present moment. These are—the interpretation which it has been said the King has been persuaded to put on his coronation oath—and the rejection of the *veto* by the Catholic prelates, since the last discussion in Parliament. It is necessary, therefore, that we should add a few words upon each of these distressing topics.

With regard to the coronation oath, we cannot help thinking, that what we formerly delivered upon that subject * has nearly exhausted the argument; and shall endeavour, therefore, to state what we now think material in regard to it, in as short a compass as possible.

The words of the oath are, that the King 'shall maintain 'the Protestant reformed religion as established by law, and 'preserve to the bishops and clergy of the realm, and to the 'churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privi-

* Vol. XI. p. 138.

'leges as by law do *or shall* appertain unto them.' And our first remark is, that this oath has obviously no reference at all to the conduct of the King as a branch of the legislature, but was intended merely to restrain him in the exercise of his prerogative, or of such functions as he might discharge in his individual capacity. It was intended to bind him, by religious sanctions, to observe the law; but by no means to tie up his hands from consenting to such new laws as his Parliament might choose to propose to him. It was intended to guard against the usurpations and outrages of another Mary or James, and not to cripple the salutary powers of the whole legislature. This, indeed, is perfectly evident from the very nature of the contrivance; as nothing can well be conceived more absurd, than to suppose that the Revolution Parliament had it in view to defend the Protestant religion against the machinations of the Lords and Commons of England, by an appeal to the conscience of the Sovereign. That the oath applied only to his acts as an individual, is most distinctly explained, accordingly, both in the debates by which the terms of the oath were settled, and in those that took place shortly after, on a proposal to modify some parts of it. See Grey's Debates, Vol. VIII. & IX.

In the *second* place, it is to be remembered, that this is a promissory oath imposed by Parliament on the Sovereign; and that it is of the nature of all obligations of this sort, that they may be released and discharged by the party by whom, or for whose behalf, they were imposed. If a man swears to pay a certain sum of money to another, it surely will not be pretended that he is bound to fulfil the oath, although the other expressly acquits him of the debt: and, in like manner, if the Parliament of Great Britain propose any law to the King which might appear to contradict the tenor of this promissory engagement, it is plain, that, by that very proposition, they release him from the engagement, and discharge at once all obligation that might be founded upon it.

In the *third* place, it is not easy to conceive how an oath to maintain the Protestant establishment can be in any respect violated by merely admitting *lay* Catholics to the *civil* rights of other British subjects—leaving the Protestant church as the only established one, and in full and undivided possession of all her honours and endowments.

In the *fourth* place, the obligation to 'maintain the Protestant 'religion *as established by law*,' and 'to preserve to the bishops, '&c. all such rights as, *by law*, do *or shall* belong to them,' can evidently admit of no more than two interpretations. The laws, here referred to, must either mean the laws which may be successively enacted by the legislature,—or the laws which had been enacted, and were actually in force, when the coronation oath was framed. If the former supposition be adopted, then there is an

end of the question; for, the relief which is now claimed by the Catholics is a legislative relief; and the laws by which they are to be set free from their present disabilities, will then be the laws according to which his Majesty has sworn to govern his people, and to maintain his Church. If, on the other hand, it be alleged, that the laws referred to in the oath were the laws then in existence, and that the intention of that obligation was to restrain the Sovereign from consenting to any measure by which the rights and privileges of his people, referable to religion, might even indirectly be varied,—then it follows, that in order to implement and render effectual that provision, the Catholic petition should instantly be granted, and the whole privileges to which they there lay claim, instantly confirmed to them by the legislature. For it is a fact which has been studiously kept out of view by the enemies of this claim, that *at the time when the present coronation oath was framed and taken by King William, Catholics sate in both Houses of Parliament in Ireland, and were eligible to all offices civil and military.* The oath was framed in the *first* year of William and Mary; and Catholics were only deprived of the rights which they are now seeking to regain, by the acts of the *third* and *fourth* of those Sovereigns, and by the 1st and 2d of Queen Anne. This dilemma, it is humbly conceived, brings the whole question to a very short issue, and seems to render any further discussion superfluous.

We may remark, however, in the *last* place, that the question seems to have been *practically* settled, in the course of the present reign, in a way that makes it difficult to imagine upon what ground it can *now* be supposed attended with any difficulty. The objection is, that to admit Catholics to civil rights and privileges, from which they were formerly excluded, is, in an indirect manner, to attack and expose the Protestant establishment; and that the King, therefore, cannot admit them to such privileges without a violation of his coronation oath. Now, if this were the first time that such privileges had been claimed or granted, we can understand, that some of the foregoing considerations might have been necessary, to obviate the scruples in which this objection has its foundation. But it is perfectly well known, that, in the course of the last thirty years, the Catholic subjects of the King have been admitted to a great variety of privileges from which they were formerly excluded; and that the remaining disabilities, of which they now pray the removal, are infinitely fewer in number, and more insignificant in degree, than those for which they are already indebted to the goodness of his Majesty, and the wisdom of his advisers. If the coronation oath did not restrain the King from consenting to the repeal of the great mass of the penal and

disqualifying statutes in 1778, 1782, and 1793, by what casuistry can it be shown, that it should now restrain him from repealing the miserable remnant of that disgraceful code,—and, instead of a system fantastically compounded of fair sketches of liberality, and fragments of decayed oppression, ruling all his people by one consistent code of indulgence and justice?

These considerations appear to us at once so obvious and so conclusive, that we really find it exceedingly difficult to believe that there exist in the Royal breast those scruples upon the subject of this oath, to which so much indecent, and so much unconstitutional allusion has been made. We do not know that it is at all lawful to talk of such scruples. We are sure that an honest minister cannot be influenced in his conduct by any consideration of them; and are most confident, that they would have given way long ago, if they had been combated by all those who were satisfied of their fallacy, and aware of the importance of removing them.—But while duty cried out that they should be resisted, interest suggested, that it was better to foster, to flatter, and to fall in with them;—and those who boasted of adhering to the principles of Mr Pitt, bought their power by calumniating that cause, for the sake of which he had laid down his,—and pledged themselves to resist those very claims which he manfully acknowledged that both he and they were previously pledged to maintain. He retired from office, because he could not redeem his pledge to the Catholics of Ireland; and they, calling themselves his disciples, contrived, soon after, to step into it, by pledging themselves against them!

We come now to the question of the *Veto*—a question, in our opinion, in itself of no very great importance, but momentous at the present crisis, from the dissensions it has bred among the Catholics themselves, and from the alarms it has inspired in some, and the apologies for inconsistency it has suggested to others, among their Protestant supporters. Sir J. C. Hippisley's Speech and Appendix, with other documents that have come into our hands, enable us to give a clear statement of the facts with regard to this project. We shall afterwards venture to make some observations on the merits of the controversy it involves.

The Catholic bishops are, as every body knows, elected by their brethren in each province, and their nomination confirmed, and spiritual induction granted by the Pope—the whole business being conducted, like the other rites of their religion, without any communication with Government. At the same time, it is perfectly well known, that, since the year 1782, Government has had an eye on these nominations; and that various communications of an amicable nature have passed between the Catholic

prelacy and the Castle. In 1794, an address of thanks was presented by them to his Majesty, on account of the recent relaxation of the Popery laws; and, in the course of the same year, the college of Maynooth was founded, in consequence of a direct application from the same learned body. When the great measure of the Union was in contemplation, it is equally notorious, that the full measure of Catholic emancipation, and *even something more*, was held out to the leaders of that Body by the agents of Government, both on this and on the other side of the water; and accordingly it appears, that, in 1798, a scheme was actually under consideration for a State provision for the whole body of the Catholic priesthood. At this period, a general meeting of the Catholic prelates was held in Dublin in January 1799; which was attended by the four metropolitans, and the six senior prelates of that church, who unanimously adopted certain resolutions, which were soon after communicated, both to their own flocks, and to the Government of this country. Of these, the most remarkable was, that the proposal of 'allowing Government 'such an interference in the appointment of their bishops as 'might enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the persons ap-'pointed, *was just, and ought to be agreed to;*' and 'that, to 'give this principle its full operation, the names of the candi-'dates proposed should be transmitted to Government; and that, 'if any objection was intimated within one month, the electors 'should again convene, and propose *another* candidate.'

These resolutions were put into the hands of his Majesty's ministers at the time; and, as they had never been disavowed or complained of by any member of the Catholic church, were of course understood, by all the parliamentary friends of emancipation, to contain the sentiments of that Body. The probability and propriety of such concessions, and indeed of a far more extensive system of mutual indulgence and conciliation, was expatiated upon in the debates which took place in 1805, and called out no expression of jealousy or disapprobation on the part of any of the Catholics. The subject was again brought forward in May 1808; and, previously to the discussion in Parliament, Dr Milner, who had been for many years the avowed agent of the Catholic prelates in this great question, suggested to Lord Grenville, Mr Ponsonby, and Mr Grattan, that some effect might be produced, by stating to Parliament, more in detail, the proposal to which his constituents had so long agreed, of giving his Majesty a negative or *veto* upon the appointment of the Catholic bishops; and not doubting in the least, from the tenor of his instructions, that he had full powers to that effect, he did accordingly furnish them with a specific proposal for that purpose, bearing, that, in the event of the

Catholic petition being granted, the bishops were willing, before supplying any future vacancy in their own body, to transmit the name of the proposed successor to the Government, and, in case of his being objected to, to transmit another and another name, till an individual should be found, to whom no objection was made. In terms of this suggestion, this proposition was distinctly stated in Parliament by the distinguished persons already mentioned; and is universally known to have produced an effect much greater than was anticipated by the most sanguine advocates of the cause. It is particularly important to attend to the dates of the proceedings that ensued.

The proposition was announced in Parliament on the 25th of May 1808; and *instantly* became the subject of discussion, both in Ireland and in this country: and yet, no murmurs were heard against it till after the middle of July; nor was any disavowal or intimation of dissatisfaction made by the prelates in whose names it had been made, till the 14th of September thereafter. On the contrary, the thanks of the Catholic Body were returned to the statesmen who had moved and supported their petition; and no hint was given of any dissatisfaction at that proposal, which certainly formed by far the most prominent and remarkable part of their statement. We have reason indeed to believe, that the prelates themselves were for some considerable time perfectly satisfied with the proposition; and, indeed, when it is considered that the whole ten leaders of their Body, who had originally suggested the measure in 1799, were still alive and in authority, it is much more easy to believe this, than to understand upon what ground they could afterwards intimate their dissent. The true history of the matter we believe to be as follows.

There has long been in Ireland a desperate and disaffected party, who, without much regard for the Catholic, or for any other religion, are bent upon the complete separation of that country from England; and would not, in general, scruple to take the assistance of a foreign power to effect that separation. To such persons, the existence of the Catholic disabilities, and of every thing else that was likely to breed hostility between the two countries, was an object of the utmost importance: nor could any thing be more fatal to *their* hopes, than the adoption of a truly wise, liberal, and indulgent policy, by the Government of this country. Seeing, therefore, that this proposal of the *veto* had produced a great effect on the English public, and promised to remove most of the obstacles that lay in the way of this great measure of conciliation, they set themselves to consider whether that dreaded event might not be retarded by exciting jealousies and suspicions among certain descriptions of the Catholics themselves;

and in this unhallowed attempt there was something in the state of the Catholic body that unfortunately promised them but too much success.

The original managers of the Catholic cause were men of singular prudence and moderation of character—of high rank, and acknowledged abilities. The distinction they obtained by their judicious and well concerted endeavours, naturally excited the jealousy of some members of the body, who had not exactly the same qualifications; and the very success which had crowned their efforts, produced, in the more sanguine and impetuous spirits, a degree of impatience at those slow and regulated movements, to which, in reality, they had been principally indebted for their success. In the crowded meetings of the Dublin Catholics, accordingly, there had recently arisen a set of rash, turbulent, ambitious, or bigotted men, who evidently aimed at getting the management of this great cause, and in some measure the command of this great population, into their own hands; and employed, for the attainment of this object, the common arts that are resorted to by all who are more desirous of popularity, than scrupulous about the means of procuring it. They flattered and inflamed their auditors, by speaking in exaggerated terms of their wrongs, their numbers, and their power; and, mingling something like the language of intimidation with their arguments and remonstrances, affected a much warmer zeal for the rights of the Body, and a much more lofty determination to bring the cause to a speedy issue, than had suited the cautious policy of their more experienced leaders. The success of those arts was neither to be wondered at, nor, in common times, very much to be dreaded. The assembled multitudes in Dublin might applaud the vehement and bombastic harangues of a few ambitious counsellors and attornies; but the Catholic prelacy and aristocracy were likely to maintain a practical ascendancy in the management of their common cause. In this crisis, however, the question of the *veto* was suddenly brought under public discussion; and the measure being furiously cried out against by those who trembled at the thoughts of a real conciliation, the cry was rashly taken up by the rash and sanguine, who spurned at the idea of compromise; and by the ambitious, who sought only for an opportunity to distinguish themselves. By their impetuosity and their clamours, they confounded some, and infected others; and appearing, by their noise and activity, to be far more numerous than they actually were, they finally succeeded in *intimidating* the prelates themselves into an acquiescence in their absurd opposition.

That this was actually the course and progress of the business, appears from all that we have been able to collect of the conduct

of that reverend Body. After thanking their agent and their parliamentary advocates, without any hint of disapprobation, and even intimating individually, as has been rumoured, their persuasion, that what had been proposed in their name would meet with their unanimous sanction, they began, about the beginning of July, to take alarm at the clamours which had been excited by the agitators in Dublin and other populous places;—and, after holding a partial assembly in that month, at which they are understood to have been divided in opinion, they postponed coming to any determination till they could take the sense of a general meeting in September. Before the day of that meeting, the ferment excited by designing or bigotted men, had attained a very formidable height; and the prelates, appalled at the idea of a schism in a church so critically situated, and clinging fondly to that popular influence which is the chief reward of their labours, were induced, on the 14th September, to adopt an unanimous resolution, setting forth, that 'it was *inexpedient* (not illegal, or contrary to their 'duty) to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hither-'to observed in the nomination of Irish bishops:' And to this determination they afterwards adhered, in a second set of resolutions, and an address to the Catholic body at large, which they circulated in February 1810.

Such are the facts relating to this projected *veto* on the part of the Crown; and there are only two questions that can be raised upon their statement, with reference to the great measure of emancipation. In the *first* place, it may be asked, whether the Catholics are justifiable in the opposition which they have made to it; and, *2dly*, it may be asked, whether that opposition affords any reasonable ground for the legislature of this country refusing the prayer of their petitions. In our own opinion, *both* these questions ought to be answered in the negative. The demand of a *veto* on the part of Government, was just and reasonable in itself; but there seems to be no sufficient reason for making it a condition of the justice that was due to the laity.

At the very first view, it must appear not a little unreasonable in the Catholics to reject absolutely even the negative interference of Government, in the nomination of their spiritual chieftains. The powers of bishops are very large in that communion, both over the bodies and the spirits of their congregations; and we are not aware of any other society or institution that thinks itself entitled to a regular organization, and to the institution of high offices, without being submitted in some degree to the control of the Supreme Government, by which all of its members are protected. We are perfectly aware of the *spiritual* independency that is asserted by the Catholics, and by many other sects of

religionists; but the *veto* in question had not the most remote tendency to interfere with that supremacy and independence. The bishop, and the bishop alone, was to have spiritual power over his flock; and was to derive the whole of that power from the ordination of the supreme Pontiff. All that the Government asked was, that it should have the means of preventing any disloyal person from being made a bishop—of interposing its negative prior to ordination—and hindering a person, to whose elevation to a situation of great influence in society there were strong *civil* objections, from being elevated to such a situation. We do not think that the pretension was much worth insisting on; but we do think that it had a solid foundation in expediency and justice.

Neither is there the least appearance of its being at all inconsistent with the principles or practice of the Catholic religion. On the contrary, Sir J. Hippisley has shown, in the clearest manner, that something equivalent, or something a great deal stronger, has been adopted in almost all the Catholic communities in Europe. Where the government was Catholic also, there was less need, perhaps, for precaution or jealousy on either side;—and yet it is undeniable, that in Spain, in France, in Austria, in Naples, in Venice and in Tuscany, laws were long ago passed, declaring that no papal bull, edict, letter or decree, though relating only to spirituals, should have execution within these several states, until backed and sanctioned by the *Regium exsequatur* of the civil government:—And by the old *concordat* between Leo. X. and Francis I., as well as by the later *concordat* with Bonaparte, the direct nomination of the French bishops is vested in the civil government, to the utter exclusion of the spiritual power. In countries, again, where the government is not catholic, some controul, either greater, or equivalent to the proposed *veto*, seems to be uniformly retained by the government over these episcopal appointments. In Russia, for example, a Catholic bishopric was created, and the bishop *named* by the late Empress in 1782, and spiritual induction granted by the Pope without any hesitation or remonstrance. In Prussia, in like manner, the Roman Catholic bishops of Silesia have always been directly nominated by the Crown, ever since the acquisition of that province, and their legitimacy recognized at Rome with equal cordiality. In Canada, too, at this moment, the Protestant King of Great Britain actually *nominates* both the bishop and coadjutor, without producing any scandal or discontent in any part of the Catholic church. The usage, in short, of the whole Christian world seemed to recognize the propriety of establishing some such point of contact between the two great establishments of Government and of Religion, in every case where

they were not already in unison: And the nonexistence of any such practice in past times, in the case of Ireland, could only be accounted for from the unusual and disgraceful animosity with which the two religions, of the people and of the government, have hitherto looked on each other; and for this very reason, it appears to us, that the proposal for introducing such a channel of communication ought to have been hailed with gratitude, as the harbinger and the signal of improved and improving cordiality.

So much for the faults of the *Catholics*, in this ill managed business of the *veto*;—faults, however, for which there is at least this apology, that they were committed in agitation of spirits, and on the sudden instigation of fears and passions, excited by designing and intemperate men, among the ignorant and the irritable of an oppressed and ill educated population. If there were corresponding faults on the side of the *Protestants*, they will scarcely admit of an excuse so plausible.

Their first fault, we think, was, in not taking measures, long ago, to prevent the resistance and dissensions by which they have now been obstructed. The true policy would have been, to have applied to *the Pope*, soon after the first proposition in 1799, and to have obtained his sanction to the projected arrangement;—a sanction which would never have been refused to the joint application of the British government and the Catholic prelacy of Ireland; and which would have effectually prevented any murmurs or clamours, similar to what have since been raised by a mixture of bigotry and disaffection.

But in the *next* place, we must say, that we find it very difficult to discover either the wisdom of making this *veto* the condition of granting the prayer of the Catholic petitions,—or the justice of delaying to restore their rights to one set of men, because another has refused to make a reasonable concession. The Catholic petitions are presented in name of the Catholic *laity;* and they pray only for the removal of those civil disabilities, by which they are obstructed in their worldly career of honourable ambition or emolument The *veto*, on the other hand, relates only to the *ecclesiastics;* and goes to vest a sort of negative patronage in government, as to the offices of the bishops.—Are there any grounds then, here, for a fair compensation?—Or, is it equitable to refuse justice to the laity, because the clergy will not hear reason?—When the question was about making a pecuniary provision for the *clergy* themselves, there was a fair opportunity for making such a stipulation in return; but, when the only point is—Whether it be reasonable that deserving Catholics should be excluded from being made Generals, Judges or Commissioners—is it a satisfactory answer to say, that it is not much more unreasonable than for the Catholic bishops to refuse the King's *veto* on their nomination?

So much for the abstract justice and reasonableness of the condition.—Let us look now, for a moment, to its policy. We must have this *veto*, it seems, on the nomination of the Catholic bishops—because the bishops have great influence in society—and the Pope being now in the power of Bonaparte, may open, through them, a secret and most perilous channel of intrigue in the very heart of the kingdom. We do not mean absolutely to deny the danger, (though we think it of no very formidable magnitude); nor to call in question the propriety of attempting to obtain this *veto* as the means of averting it. But we cannot persuade ourselves, that it is a likely way to get it, to postpone the Catholic emancipation till it be conceded; and are quite satisfied, that we incur a far greater danger by leaving the Irish Catholics both without a *veto* and without emancipation, than if they were merely without the former. It does not appear at all probable, that we shall ever persuade the priesthood to allow us this *veto* on the appointment of their bishops, by merely continuing to exclude the laity from places of power and dignity; and if this rigid and exasperating system is not very speedily to produce this effect, is it possible to doubt that we shall be in much greater danger from Irish disaffection and intrigue, carried on either through bishops or through laymen, if we continue to treat their whole population with contumely and rigour, than if we had gained their affection by a system of liberality and indulgence? We have not the *veto* now:—and unless we proclaim an active and exterminating persecution against the whole sect, we must still submit to let them have bishops over whose nomination we have no controul, and through whom the Pope may instil into the nation the poison which he has sucked from the heart of Bonaparte. The question then is, whether this poison is more likely to produce the most malignant effects, upon a nation irritated and disappointed by the depression of its most aspiring minds, and exasperated by the ill success of the legal efforts it has so long made for its liberation, or upon a nation which we had generously pacified, and wisely conciliated,—where every heart was full of joy for its deliverance, and of gratitude to its deliverers—and which had already obtained, from the confiding generosity of its brethren, all that could be boastfully promised by the doubtful and humiliating aid of a foreign avenger?

This is our choice—as to present and probable danger; and, even as to the question of the *veto* itself, we cannot help thinking, that it would be granted with infinitely less reluctance to a Government which had given such a signal pledge of its confidence and affection, than to one which had invited distrust by its suspicions, and justified the apprehension of hostility by the anxiety of its own excessive precaution.

In what we have now stated, we are far from being insensible to the necessity of providing for the prosperity of the two nations by a large and comprehensive scheme of conciliation—embracing many points connected with their religion, as well as many that belong to a different chapter; nor would we insinuate the least censure on the wisdom of the attempt that was made to forward this great scheme, by introducing the *veto*, at the same time that the civil disabilities of the Catholics were to be finally redressed and done away. The attempt, we have already said, was reasonable and wise; and the prospect of success, if judicious means had been employed, very fair and encouraging:—But now, when the attempt has obviously failed, and when obstacles, that cannot be speedily overcome, have put it out of our power to accomplish these two objects together, we do very seriously deprecate the policy or the feeling that would lead us to abandon that which is by far the most important, merely because it cannot now be carried with its most desirable accompaniments. Let us do what it is in our power to do, although we cannot do all that we would wish—and, above all, let us not neglect or postpone the doing of that which is urgent and indispensable, because we are not yet permitted to do all that would be convenient and agreeable. Let us medicate the wound which agonizes, and bind up that which is bleeding to death. There will be time enough, hereafter, to foment those parts that are stiff and tumid, and to spread our balm over the spots that are still irritable and tender.

We have now gone over the greater part of what we proposed to say upon this most momentous question, and willingly cut short what still presses upon our attention. We cannot conclude, however, without taking some notice of the tone that has been lately adopted among the enemies to this cause, of representing it as an *insignificant*, and as a *party* question—a subject which really is not worth considering for itself, and which has derived its whole importance from having been taken up by factious and disappointed men, in order to disturb the peace of his Majesty's government! There is a baseness in the utter and inexcuseable falsehood of such a statement, that not only dishonours the cause it is meant to serve, but, in some measure, degrades the detector who is bound to expose it. Was it an insignificant cause, then, for which Pitt resigned his power in the crisis of his country's fate, and for which Burke declared, that he would willingly lay down his life?—Was it an insignificant cause which deprived the King of a powerful ministry, when there was scarcely an opposition in existence; and introduced their successors to office under the heavy burden of a pledge, till then unknown and unimagined, in the constitution?—which impelled bishops to testify in favour of a rival church, and against the sentiments of the Sovereign; and drove, even those who were pledg-

ed to oppose the measure, to acknowledge the justice of its principle? But there is other proof of its importance. It is a question touching the honour, and the comfort, and the attachment, of *three millions* of our fellow subjects—touching the rights and the pretensions of *more than a half* of our army and our navy.— Upon this subject, Sir J. Hippisley has collected some valuable information. Of forty-six ships of the line successively stationed at Plymouth, the Catholics in the crews exceeded the Protestants in the proportion of three to two—and, at one time, out of 470 patients in the naval hospital, 360 were Catholic. In the army, again, he stated, that it was now universally admitted, that the Catholic recruits greatly exceeded the Protestants. Of 3000 new levies, that marched lately to the Isle of Wight, only 160 were Protestant—and of the 4000 who fought at Monte Video, 3000, at least, were Catholics. * Yet these are the men, about whom, we are told, it is idle to take any interest;—these are the men, whom a Reverend Divine *(since made a Bishop)* has exhorted us 'to drive from our armies and our councils,' †—the men, whom a learned Doctor *(since made a Privy Counsellor)* is pleased to qualify as necessarily 'traitors' to their country! ‡

As to the imputation of this being a *Party* question, it is only necessary to turn to the names of those by whom it has been uniformly and zealously patronized. By a party question, in the sense of this accusation, is meant a question that would only be stirred by those who were hostile to the monarchy—by dangerous Whigs, in short, or persons having a certain tincture of Jacobinism. Yet, who were the great supporters of this cause, but the zealots of royalty—the idols of the antijacobins—Mr Pitt and

* The way in which these brave men are treated with regard to the exercise of their religion, even in spite of the laws which have been passed for their protection, shows, more strongly perhaps than any thing else, the strong tendency to oppression, which is generated and matured into habit, even by what remains of the Catholic code. It is stated by Sir J. Hippisley, in the Speech before us, and abundantly confirmed by the documents annexed, that the Catholic soldiery are most commonly marched indiscriminately to the established church, without being at all permitted to attend their own—though sometimes only obliged to attend the Protestant worship alternately with the Catholic.

† Vide the *Concio apud Synodum Cantuariensem*, July 1807, by Doctor B. E. Sparke, since created Bishop of Chester, p. 13.; where the reverend person says, that while the Catholics persist in their present errors, '*tamdiu illos, tanquam omnis humani pariter divinique juris hostes, pertimescere* ET A CURIA ET MILITIA ARCERE NECESSE EST.'

‡ Vide Dr Duigenan's 'Fair Representation of the State of Ireland.'

Mr Burke? Could that be a party question in which Fox and Pitt were, throughout all their lives, most cordially *united;* and in which Burke, and Windham, and Grenville, continued equally zealous and steady, when they served under the banners of the one or the other of these illustrious statesmen?—Is there one name, in short, that has been loved in our own times, or will be revered hereafter, by any sect or school of politicians, which is not ranked among the supporters of this great cause?—or is there one, almost, among its creditable opponents, who has not, at some time or other, borne testimony to its importance, and to the general equity of its foundations?

It was our intention to have closed this article by the citation of some of the most remarkable passages in which almost all the distinguished men of this age have spoken of the subject now before us; but we have left ourselves no room for marshalling this host of authorities. One or two, however, which have not been brought into general notice, we shall take the liberty of subjoining.

Of Locke, or of Adam Smith, it is unnecessary to mention more than the names; but it may not be so universally known, that Judge Blackstone, in the 4th book of his Commentaries, uses these, we trust prophetical, expressions. 'If a time shall ever 'arrive, when all fears of *a pretender* have vanished, and the ci- 'vil influence of the Pope shall have become feeble and despica- 'ble, not only in England, but in every kingdom of Europe,— 'then will be the time to remove those rigorous edicts against 'the Catholics; at least, till their *civil* principles shall again call 'on the magistrate to renew them.' The time here anticipated by the learned Judge, is now come. There is no longer a pretender to the throne of England; and the Pope is reduced to the condition of a poor stipendiary in a foreign land; and yet we talk of the danger of emancipating the Catholics, with more eagerness than they did in the days of King William.

The sentiments of the celebrated Dr Johnson, the most zealous high-church and high-monarchy man of all his contemporary philosophers, are well recorded by Mr Boswell. Speaking of the dangers to the establishment, from any indulgence shown to the Catholics, and the ever famous cry of Popery! he observed, that 'those who can cry *Popery!* in the present times, would have 'cried, *fire! fire!* in the time of the *Deluge.*' And, on another occasion, 'Bursting,' as Mr Boswell says, 'into a fit of gener- 'ous indignation,' he said, 'the Irish are in a most unnatural 'state;—the minority prevails over the majority. There is no 'instance, even in the ten persecutions, of such severity as that 'which the Protestants of Ireland have exercised against the Ca- 'tholics.' From Mr Burke, we had marked several long periods for quotation; but we restrain ourselves to one short passage;

and chiefly for the sake of the matter of fact it contains. Speaking of the constitution of Canada after its conquest, in his letter to Sir H. Langrishe, he says, 'In that system, the Canadian Catholics were far from being deprived of the *advantages* or *distinctions of any kind*, which they enjoyed under their former monarchy; and when we gave them a popular representation, by the choice of the Landholders, and an aristocratic representation, by the choice of the Crown,—neither the one nor the other was limited by a consideration of religion. It is true, that some people here (and among them one eminent divine) predicted, that, by this step, we should lose our dominions in America. He foretold, that the Pope would send his indulgences thither—that the Catholics would fall in with France—would declare independence—and draw, or force, our other colonies into the same design.—The independence happened, indeed, according to his prediction, but in directly the reverse order; —*all our Protestant colonies revolted*;—all joined themselves to France;—and *it so happened, that Popish Canada was the only place which preserved its fidelity*,—the only place in which France got no footing.'———Such were the fruits of the only full and complete toleration which this country has yet extended to Catholics. Let any candid person say what would have been the consequence, if all persons of that persuasion had been disabled and disconnected from the government in Canada, even as they now are in Ireland?

From the recorded opinions of Mr Pitt or Mr Fox, it is needless to quote any thing; but there is another testimony, upon which also Death has now set his seal, the import of which may not be so generally known. Mr Windham, in a letter to Sir J. Hippisley in 1808, expresses himself with his usual manliness and candour, in the following words.

"The short argument is, that in this, as in other cases, you must chuse between opposite dangers; and that the danger to be apprehended from leaving the Catholics of Ireland in their present state, is greater than any that can be supposed to arise, in whatever length of time, out of the increase of their present privileges.—The condition of Ireland is, for the greater part of its population, that of a sort of semi-barbarism; which not only keeps that country in a depressed state, deprived, for the greater part, of those advantages which nature seems to have intended for it, but renders it, in the present circumstances of the world, a source of continued and imminent danger to us. This depressed and disordered state seems to have been altogether produced by the system of laws and government adopted originally, perhaps necessarily, but since continued unnecessarily. With respect to the Catholics, without converting them, the only operation of these laws has been to brutalize and barbarize them, rendering them at the same time our enemies. Of

these laws, the greater part have, during the present reign, been repealed; and, upon the same principle, *as also with a view to convey to the Catholics the real and practical benefit of what has already been done for them*, it would be right, in my opinion, to repeal the remainder. The danger of such repeal, even at any period the most distant, *I cannot persuade myself to be any at all.* If the Church of England is ever to be overturned or undermined, it will not be by the Catholics, but by sects of a far different description, or by persons of no religion whatever." p. 86, 87.

The late Protestant bishop of Elphin, an Irish bishop, speaks thus of the Catholics around him.

" By far the greatest part of the population of my diocese are Roman Catholics. I know I cannot make them good Protestants; I therefore wish to make good Catholics of them; and, with this intention, I put into their hands the works of Gother, an eminent Catholic divine." He adds, that " speculative differences in some points of faith were of no account. His Roman Catholic brethren and himself had but one religion, the religion of Christians;—and that, *without justice to the Catholics*, there could be no security for the Protestant establishment." App. p. lxxix.

The opinions of Dr Paley are fortunately well known; and, we have no doubt, will ultimately produce much effect. Those of Bishop Watson, perhaps, are equally notorious; but we cannot resist the temptation of copying the following advertisement to his charge to his clergy, delivered in 1805, but not given to the world till 1808. It is in these words.

" A numerous and respectable part of the clergy of my diocese requested me, at the time it was delivered, to publish the Charge now submitted to the world. I excused myself from complying with their request, because I considered the Catholic Question to have been then settled, at least for a time; and I was unwilling to revive the discussion of a subject, on which I had the misfortune to differ in opinion from a majority in each House of Parliament. I have still that misfortune;—but, looking upon the situation of the empire to be abundantly more hazardous now than it was three years ago, *I have thought it a duty to declare publicly my approbation of a measure, calculated, I sincerely believe, above all other measures, to support the independence of the country*, to secure the stability of the throne, to promote peace among fellow subjects, and charity among fellow Christians; *and in no probable degree dangerous* to the Constitution, either in Church or State." App. p. lxxix, lxxx.

Another testimony, more honourable and more unequivocal, has still more lately been borne from the same Venerable Bench. The Right Revered Dr Bathurst, Lord Bishop of Norwich, in the last debate upon this great question, delivered a speech, in support of the motion for going into a committee, so full of sound reasoning, candour, and conciliation, as to make a sensible impression on the whole of his noble auditory; and from which we

would gladly make a large extract, if our limits did not now impose upon us the necessity of drawing to a conclusion.

To these names we shall add another, which we believe was never coupled with them before—the name of the Right Honourable Dr Patrick Duigenan! This learned person, who has lately maintained, that to admit Romanists into Parliament, would be, 'to 'call *traitors* to the sovereignty;' and described the Catholics, in general, as persons 'taught by their religion to renounce and 'disobey the legislature of their country; and thus *to allay superstition with treason*, and to *sanctify rebellion:*'—this very zealous and charitable person, in a printed letter addressed by him to Mr Grattan in 1798, when his employers were canvassing in all quarters for the Union, is pleased to give it as his opinion,

—"That were we one people with the British nation, the preponderance of the Protestant body in the whole empire would be so great, that all rivalships and jealousies between Protestants and Romanists *would cease for ever; and it would not be necessary to curb Romanists by any laws whatever.*" p. 59, 60.

This is enough for Dr Duigenan: nor should we have thought it worth while to bring the inconsistencies of such a writer into notice, if the passage now cited did not prove how very openly and clearly the avowed agents of Government held out the promise of entire emancipation to the Catholics, when their aid was supposed to be necessary to render them and the English Protestants 'one people.' That great event has now been accomplished for ten whole years; and our readers have already seen, in the recent language, and the recent honours of Dr Duigenan, how scrupulously his promises have been kept, by himself and by his constituents.

ART. II. *Mémoires du Prince Eugène de Savoie, Generalissème des Armées Autrichiennes. Ecrits par lui-même.* 8vo. Paris, 1810.

AN acquaintance with the general facts of modern history, is, after all, but an introduction to that accurate knowledge of affairs which can only be gained from the study of Biography. Into this all the details of the annalist, and much of the speculation of those who write the philosophy of history, resolve themselves. In very long periods of time, or in certain critical conjunctures, the operation of general causes may be traced with considerable certainty; but, in the details of particular events, the opinions and actions of a few eminent individuals are generally quite decisive; and, while the eyes of the multitude are fixed on the great movements of politics or war, the governing springs are generally concealed from their view. To remedy this defect, the

historian sometimes ventures to interpose the efforts of his own sagacity, and to supply, by conjecture, the want of actual information. Hence the number of contradictory theories and extravagant imaginations with which we are daily presented under the name of historical compilations, and which seem calculated for no other purpose than merely to exasperate the animosity, or to gratify the eagerness of party feelings. To a certain extent, both sides agree, in matter of fact; but doubt, dissension, and mutual revilings arise, when the causes and the minuter details of great events are to be analyzed. It is then that we wish for the power of Gulliver, to call up the illustrious dead, and to interrogate them respecting their secret counsels and transactions. Fortunately, a regard for the opinion of posterity, has induced some of them to leave memorials of this nature, deposited among their families or friends; and we are now to notice one of the most curious and instructive monuments of this kind that ever found its way into public notice.

We are admitted, in these Memoirs, into the confidence of a statesman and hero, with whose life a very important period of our history is closely connected. We are instructed by the candid recitals of a powerful mind, viewing every object in a great and masterly style; disclosing the most secret causes of events; simplifying the apparent mysteries of Court intrigues; doing justice to neglected or injured merit; and throwing the broad light of genius over the obscurest parts of his career.

We are particularly struck, in this work, with the candour and warmth of heart, displayed by Prince Eugene, in speaking of the French Generals to whom he was opposed, and by the simplicity with which he relates his own actions, as well as the severity with which he judges his own mistakes. It is in this respect, perhaps, that we feel the strongest and the most humiliating contrast to the habits of modern times, when, instead of this chivalrous tone of magnanimity, modesty and candour, we meet with nothing, even in the narratives of great commanders, but specimens of that vulgar boasting, and degrading rancour, which used to be the characteristic of the lowest of the people. Of his friends and colleagues, the Prince generally writes, or rather speaks, with enthusiasm: for he appears to have dictated the greater part of the book to a secretary, in consequence of which, perhaps, it has all the ease and poignancy of private conversation. We consider it, indeed, as a treasure of anecdote, and shall make pretty free with its contents; though few of our readers will probably neglect to give the original a place in their libraries.

The editor of this work is a French emigrant who chuses to conceal his name; but he has given a full account of the manner in which the manuscript came into his hands. It was originally

lent by the Princess of Hildbourghausen, niece to Prince Eugene, and his heiress, to the Count de Canales, who contrived not to return it. From him it came into the possession of the Comte de Guasco, and, upon his death, into that of M. de Ferraris, who gave it on his deathbed to the editor. It was originally published at Weymar, in 1809: and several names and dates are given, by which the account here presented may be verified in all its particulars.—The work, however, bears internal marks of authenticity. It is written with great brevity, great carelessness, and great vivacity—in a tone of levity and occasional hardheartedness, that marks the man of the world—and with so much of the gay, familiar, and sarcastic manner of the genuine French wits, as frequently to remind us of the brilliant Mémoires de Grammont.—But it is fair that the reader should now have a few specimens. The short Preface of the author, we think, is very characteristic.

" Some historians, good or bad, will probably take the trouble of entering into the details of my youth, which I no longer remember. At all events, they will speak of my mother; a little too intriguing, to be sure; driven from the Court, exiled from Paris, and suspected, I believe, of sorcery, by people who were no great conjurers. They will tell, too, how I was born in France, and how I left it, burning with fury against Louis XIV. who refused me a company of cavalry, because, he said, I had too weak a constitution; and an abbey, because he pretended (on I do not know what stories respecting me, current in the gallery of Versailles) that my vocation was rather to pleasure than piety. But, however that was, no Huguenot, banished by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, ever cherished a stronger hatred against him: and when Louvois said, on hearing of my departure, " It is all the better, he will never see France again, "—I vowed that I never would, except as a conquering enemy—and I KEPT MY WORD. I have seen it on more sides than one; and it has not been my fault if I have not penetrated farther. But for the English, I should have given law in the capital of the Grand Monarque, and shut up his MAINTENON in a convent for life! "

This personal pique against Louis XIV. is apparent throughout the work. In this slight manner did that politic monarch create his most formidable adversaries!

The Memoirs begin, in 1683, with a smart sarcasm against Louis, for his connexion with the Turks, in spite of his devotion; and with an account of the authors's first military service at the battle of Vienna, where he says—

' The confusion of the day can only be confusedly described. The Poles, who had clambered up to Leopoldsberg, nobody knows why, came down again like madmen, and fought like lions. The Turks, not knowing which way to front, having neglected the advantage of the ground, behaved, as usual, like idiots. '

We omit some spirited pictures of different actions with the Turks, to quote a characteristic passage, respecting the assault on

the Castle of Borda, where Prince Eugene was left to guard the Imperial lines.

'But this accursed Grand Vizier, quiet on a height, not daring to attack me, I do not know why, saw, with more coolness than myself, this important place taken and plundered before his face.'

Again, after an animated description of the taking of Belgrade by storm, he adds, in his peculiar manner—

'Nothing could be more brilliant,—or more sanguinary. How strangely one may sometimes find amusement in the midst of horror! I shall never forget the appearance and grimaces of some Jews, who were employed to throw into the Danube about twelve thousand dead bodies, to spare the trouble and expense of burying them.'

We are next presented with his negociations, to engage the Duke of Savoy on the side of the Emperor, in which he did not completely succeed. He observes of this Prince, and the Duke of Lorrain, that 'their *geography* prevented them from acting like men of honour.' Alas, this powerful motive is too much extended in our times!

We shall give his account of the battle of Staffarde, as a specimen of the colloquial style of these Recollections.

'The ministers of the Emperor had promised to let me have seven thousand men, to support Victor Amadeus. I knew the slowness with which every thing is decided and ordered at Vienna; and, eager to engage the French, whom I had never yet seen opposed to me, I went to join the Duke of Savoy at his camp of Villa Franca. "You are come in good time," said he; "I am just going to give battle to Catinat."—"Then you must take care of your movements," said I; "he is an excellent general, and commands the old troops, the flower of the French infantry. Your's are new levies, and mine are not yet come up."—"What does that signify?" said the Duke; "I know the country better than Catinat: to-morrow I shall advance with my army to the Abbey of Staffarde." Instead of making the attack, however, we had to sustain it. The right wing, where the Duke was placed, was attacked in front. The French wing crossed marshes which were believed to be impracticable; and after having turned, and beaten ours, both their wings united, and fell upon our left, where I commanded. I made my retreat in as good order as I could; and in the rear-guard, composed of gendarmes, and the lifeguards of Savoy, I was slightly wounded by a spent ball. I did not choose to remind my dear cousin of his presumption, or my prediction; but I endeavoured to repair matters a little, at least in point of glory; for, some time after, I had the good fortune to cut off a large detachment, which had pillaged Tivoli. It fell into an ambuscade, from which, hearing the French coming, who sung to the utmost stretch of their throats, I sallied out to fall upon them. I scolded my soldiers for treating the prisoners *à la turque*. But they had been so long on that service, that they had forgot that it was usual to give quarter to Christians.'

In 1692, Prince Eugene prevailed on the Duke of Savoy to invade France, on the side of Dauphiné, which, he says, would have been successful, had not the Duke been seized with the smallpox,—in consequence of which the army retreated. This fact, we believe, has been little known, at least in its full extent. There are many traits of the Duke's instability, which are extremely *piquant;* but they would occupy too much of that space which must be devoted to more interesting matter. Though constantly at war, and fighting with the most desperate bravery, it was always a very doubtful point, whether he wished to gain even the battles which he fought.

In 1696, Louis attempted to regain the Prince, and made him offers, which were indignantly rejected. This fact, we believe, is entirely new. So is the following.—While the Prince was on his march to attack the Turks at Zenta, a courier brought him a positive order from the Emperor to avoid a battle. He put the letter in his pocket, attacked the enemy, and obtained a signal victory; which is described in his energetic manner. On his return to Vienna, the Emperor sent to demand his sword; and put him under arrest. On the report that he was to be tried for his life, an insurrection took place in Vienna. He was enlarged, and sent to command in Hungary.

In 1699, he gives a sketch of his private life.

'In this year I began my fine library, and conceived a passion for gardens and palaces. I bought, from time to time, some beautiful cabinet pictures, and some drawings very little known. I was not rich enough yet to form a gallery: and I did not like prints, because others might have the same. I have never liked copies of any kind, or talents which consume valuable time. Some wind-instruments, marches, military or hunting airs, trumpet-calls, or agreeable airs of comic operas, dispensed me from talking during dinner, or from hearing tiresome speakers.'

In 1700, began his friendship with Villars, then French ambassador at Vienna, which seems to have been warm and sincere on the part of both these great men. Here follows one of the curious conversations, which, the editor informs, are written in the Prince's own hand.

"It is no fault of mine," said Villars, "if, without stopping to quell the rebellion in Hungary, you insist upon going to war with us. I only wish, my Lord, that you would be persuaded to treat me, like those gentlemen, who turn their backs on me here, and who will do the same elsewhere, if I command an army."—"This," says the Prince, "was a sally *à la Villars.* You think, perhaps," he added, "that the Turks will take a part, because the Abbé Joachin has prophesied that the Empress will have twins, one of which will gain the throne of Constantinople."—"I myself have no quarrel with you, M. de Villars," said I; "for in your correspondence, a

little in the light French style, you have drawn my portrait with the hand of a friend: but there are people who complain of your imprudences; and the Court complains of having read in your despatches, "We shall see whether the Christ of Leopold's Chapel will speak to him, as it did to Ferdinand II. It is there still; I have seen it with my own eyes."—Even private men never forgive ridicule; judge of the effect which a sarcasm must produce on a sovereign. "I have only supported myself in this country," replied he, "by singular reserve in conversation. But I am a little angry at your Austrians, who, among other stories, say that I conspired with Ragotz against the person of the Emperor."—"That is another piece of stupidity," said I; "it was owing to the recollection of this phrase in an intercepted letter, while you served with us as a volunteer: 'I am an Austrian in the army, but a Frenchman at Vienna.'"—"There is much implied in that," said the Noodles. "There have been no conspiracies against our Emperors; they have never been assassinated. We have no Jacques Clement, or Ravaillac. Our people are not enthusiastic like yours; but they are more steady. There are scarcely any crimes committed in Austria."—Some persons wished to persuade Leopold, last year, that there had been an attempt to kill him, because a ball had passed through his hat, in hunting. "Let them find the man," said he, with his Spanish air; "he is a bungler of one kind or other; he is dying with fear, or dying of hunger; give him a thousand ducats."

In speaking of the celebrated surprise of Cremona, the Prince pays high compliments to the courage of the French; and intimates, that he was much dissatisfied with the conduct of his own troops. His account agrees very nearly with that of Folard.

Of the Duke de Vendome, he uniformly speaks in the warmest terms of eulogium.—'The able, the intrepid, the amiable, the generous, the dexterous discoverer of his enemy's projects—sometimes indiscreet respecting his own—the affable, the indolent Vendome!'—Such is the language which he supports, even respecting those great battles, in which he defeated this general. During Prince Eugene's blockade of Mantua, he threw up entrenchments round his camp, twenty feet high. 'Who,' says he, 'would believe that I had learned something from the Turks, and that the Turks had learned something from the Romans? This practice they must have derived from some of those omnipotent colonists, like the Etruscan forms of vases and pitchers, which are to be found in every cottage.'

He confirms the curious fact, of his having attempted to surprise the French army, by lying in ambuscade with his own, on the spot where they intended to take up their encampment. This bold idea was frustrated, as is well known, by the accident of a French officer's mounting the dike, to gain an extensive view of the country.

In 1703, we find him, as War-minister, telling the Emperor most important truths. 'Your army, Sire, is your monarchy; without that, you would soon be a vassal of the Turks, the French, or, perhaps, the Hungarians. Your capital is a frontier town. Your Majesty has no fortress, on any side; every one is paid, excepting those who serve you. Make peace, then, Sire, if you cannot carry on war; which it is apparent you cannot, without the money of England. What are your ministers doing, to take no advantage of the national hatred against France, and to embroil you with all Europe, even with your own subjects?' In the next year, the Hungarian insurgents actually entered the suburbs of Vienna, and endangered the safety of the court.

Leopold, he says, could never bear to hear truths, excepting when he was afraid. The Prince now gained over Queen Anne and Marlborough to the Imperial interest; and began his great campaigns against France. We shall give his account of the battle of Blenheim.

'With patience, and without fighting, Tallard and Marsin might have forced me to abandon Bavaria; for I had no other place than Nordlingen for the establishment of my magazines. But these gentlemen were impatient; and the Elector was enraged at the pillage which I had allowed Marlborough to commit, who, by that means, was entirely with me. We loved and esteemed each other sincerely. He was a great statesman and general.

'They had eighty thousand men as well as ourselves. But why did they separate the French from the Bavarians? Why did they encamp so far from the rivulet, which would have impeded our attack? Why did they throw twenty-seven battalions, and twelve squadrons into Blenheim? Why did they disperse so many other troops in the neighbouring villages? Marlborough was more fortunate than myself, in his passage of the rivulet, and his fine attack. A little steepness of the bank made me half an hour latter. My infantry behaved well; my cavalry very ill. I had a horse killed under me. Marlborough was checked for a moment, but not repulsed. I succeeded in rallying some regiments, which had at first been shy of attacking; (qui d'abord n'avaient pas voulu mordre.) I led them back four times to the charge. Marlborough, with his infantry and artillery, and sometimes with his cavalry, got rid of that of the enemy, and went to take Blenheim. We were all driven back for a moment by the gendarmerie; but we ended, by pushing them into the Danube. I had the greatest obligations to Marlborough, for his alterations in the dispositions, according to circumstances. A Bavarian dragoon took aim at me; one of my Danes luckily prevented him. We lost nine thousand men; but twelve thousand French killed, and twenty thousand eight hundred prisoners, prevented them, this time, from singing the usual *Te Deum* for their defeats, which they make it a point never to acknowledge.'

These rapid, but masterly pictures of great actions, are inestim-

able. They resolve many curious questions in tactics, when closely studied; while they make us almost partakers in the scene, by their general spirit and effect. But they occur too frequently, to be particularized. For this reason, we shall pass over the battle of Turin, giving only the Prince's striking and candid acknowledgement at the close. 'My good fortune would have it, that Marsin stayed to receive me, with his eighty thousand men behind the lines: if he had come to attack and turn me beforehand, I should have been a good deal embarrassed with my thirty thousand.' Nor must we omit his remark on the noted Bonneval and Langallerie, whom he had promoted to the rank of generals in the Imperial service: 'I was sorry that they turned out ill: they pretended to be freethinkers, who are almost always unsteady. The affectation of irreligion is, independent of its foolish impiety, a mark of bad taste.'

In 1707, he meditated the invasion of France, on the side of Toulon. 'This,' he says, 'would have infallibly succeeded, had not two cursed cardinals, Grimani and Pignatelli, engaged the Emperor, in spite of the Duke of Savoy and himself, to undertake the conquest of Naples.' Louis XIV, he observes, would have been much more mortified by the loss of Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Provence. The absence of the Dutch fleet, in the Neapolitan expedition, saved Toulon. 'Such,' he exclaims, 'are cabinets, parliaments, states-general, and coalitions!'

We cannot resist the temptation to translate the account of the battle of Oudenarde, in 1708. It abounds in curious particulars.

'The French had 100,000 men in the Low Countries; Marlborough had only 60,000. I received orders to march to his assistance. I pushed on my troops by forced marches, and rode post myself, fearing that a battle might be fought without me. Cadogan came to compliment me at Maestrich. He told me that the French had surprised Ghent, Bruges, and Plaskendael, and that I was wanted. I passed through Brussels, where my interview with my mother, after a separation of twenty-five years, was very touching, but very short. I found Marlborough encamped at Asch, between Brussels and Alost; and, learning that the enemy had their left on the other side of the Dender, I asked Marlborough, on arriving, whether he did not intend to give battle? "It is my intention," said he, "immediately; and I see with pleasure, but without surprise, that the same reflection has occurred to us both, that, without fighting, they might cut off our communication with Brussels. I should like, however, to wait for your troops." "I would not advise it," replied I; "for the French would have time to retreat."

'Vendome wished to oppose our passage of the Dender. He said to the Duke of Burgundy, whom bad advisers inclined to march towards Ghent, "When you let Prince Eugene see that you wish to

avoid an action, he knows how to force you to it." I saw this phrase in his justificatory letter, which he printed on his return to Paris.

'Cadogan went to Oudenarde; and, in a few hours, threw a bridge across the Scheldt. "It is still time," said Vendome to the Duke of Burgundy, "to countermand your march, and to attack, with the troops we have here, that part of the enemy's army which has passed the river." The Duke hesitated; stopped on the height of Garves; lost time; wished to turn back; sent twenty squadrons to dispute the passage; recalled them; and finally said, "Let us march to Ghent."—"It is now too late," said Vendome; "you cannot move at present; in half an hour you will have the enemy upon your hands."—"Why did you stop me then?" said the Duke of Burgundy.—"In the hope that you would attack immediately," replied he; "but there is Cadogan already master of the village of Hurne with six battalions. Let us draw up at least as well as we can." Rantzaw began the attack. He overthrew a column of cavalry, and would have been defeated in his turn, but for the electoral prince of Hanover, who, in the charge, had his horse killed under him. Grimaldi ordered a charge too early, and unskilfully. "What are you doing?" cried Vendome, who came up at full speed: "you are wrong."—"The Duke of Burgundy has ordered it," replied he.—"Ah! the Duke is angry at having been contradicted, and only thinks of contradicting others." Vendome wished the left to charge. "What are you doing?" said the Duke of Burgundy; "I forbid it: there is a ravine, and an impassable marsh." One may imagine the anger of Vendome, who had passed over the ground a moment before. Without this misunderstanding, we should perhaps have been beaten; for our cavalry was more than half an hour in order of battle before the infantry could join. For this reason, I abandoned the village of Hurne, to send the battalions to support the squadrons on the right wing. But the Duke of Argyle came up, with all possible speed, at the head of the English infantry; —afterwards the Dutch, though much more slowly. "Now," said I to Marlborough, "we are at last ready to fight." It was six o'clock in the evening, on the 11th of July; so that we had still three hours of daylight. I was on the right, at the head of the Prussians. Some battalions turned their backs, on being attacked with unexampled fury. They rallied, and repaired their fault; and we regained the ground we had lost. The battle then began along the whole of the line. The sight was superb: it was one sheet of fire. Our artillery produced a vast effect. That of the French, by the uncertainty which prevailed in their army, from the disunion of the commanders, was very ill posted, and did little execution. With us it was very different: we loved and esteemed each other. Even Marshal Ouverkerke, venerable for his age and services, an old friend of mine and Marlborough, obeyed us, and fought ardently.

'As a proof of our good harmony;—affairs were going ill on the right, where I commanded. Marlborough perceived it, and sent me a reinforcement of eighteen battalions, without which I could

scarcely have supported myself. I then advanced, and made the first line give way; but I found, at the head of the second, Vendome on foot, with pike in hand, encouraging his soldiers. He made so vigorous a resistance, that I should never have succeeded, but for Natzmer, who, at the head of the Prussian gendarmes, pierced, broke the enemy, and gave me a complete victory.—Marlborough purchased his success more dearly on the left, where he attacked in front. While Ouverkerke dislodged the enemy from the hedges and villages, Nassau, Fries and Oxenstiern pushed their infantry beyond the defiles, but were roughly handled by the household troops, who came to its assistance. I now returned my obligation to the Duke. I sent Tilly, who, making a great circuit, took the brave household troops in the rear, when they had almost snatched the victory from us; but at length it was decided. The darkness of the night hindered our pursuit, and suggested to me a method of increasing the number of prisoners. I sent drums to different places, with orders to beat the French retreat; and I placed my French refugee officers to call, on all sides, *Here, Picardy!—Here, Champagne!—Here, Piedmont!* The French soldiers flocked in, and I made a good harvest of them: we took seven thousand in all.'

We meet with a most singular avowal, on occasion of an interview with his mother, after this battle, and with a secret anecdote of that lady.

'The joy of revenge mingled a little with that of our victory; she was pleased to see the King humbled, *who had quitted her for another woman in her youth*, and had banished her in her old age. It is singular, that, when advanced in years, she married the Duke d'Ursel, without taking his name. This was unknown to every one. It could neither be a marriage of conscience or of convenience, but probably of idleness and ennui. We could not help rallying a little on the former devices of the amorous monarch, and his *Place des Victoires.*' p. 82.

Next comes a most spirited description of the taking of Lisle, with many expressions of esteem and pity for Vendome, who urged the Duke of Burgundy, without effect, to attack the besieging armies. The Prince mentions, on this occasion, the story of an attempt to poison him, by a piece of paper enclosed in a letter, and comments on it with the most gallant spirit. 'I am persuaded,' says he, 'that it was untrue; because, at Versailles, they were too generous, and, at Vienna, too devout.'

We omit the brilliant, and even gay picture of the taking of the Citadel, to introduce one of the conversations (peculiar to this book) with Maréchal Boufflers, after its surrender. Prince Eugene said to him,

"If you could have been both within the place and without, at the same time, M. le Maréchal, and if there had been no other princes in France than M. de Vendome, whom I name as such from my love of Henry IV., I should never have taken Lisle."—"Do

you believe in good luck, in making war?" said he; "I see nothing in you but good management."—"If my management has sometimes succeeded," replied I, "it was partly because I had the good fortune to be opposed by bad generals; and that is good luck."—"The only kind of bad luck which I will allow," said the Maréchal, "is the want of opportunity: but a beaten general is always in the wrong, without some extraordinary accident; such as an order misunderstood, or the death of the messenger: he may then have some excuse; but there can be none for a general who is surprised and defeated. The ignorant alone make war a game of chance; and they are caught in the end. Charles XII. is not one of them; and I see, by the news which I received this morning, that while we are speaking, he is playing very deep."

In 1709, we find the Prince and Marlborough endeavouring to draw Villars from a strong position, by laying siege to Tournay; but in vain. 'Let us go and take Mons,' said I to Marlborough; 'perhaps this devilish fellow will tire of being so prudent.' The arrival of the troops of Tournay, however, decided our heroes to attack the French; and gave them the victory of Malplaquet, which has been so much discussed by the French military writers. We have the uncommon satisfaction of comparing the accounts given of this action by the opposing generals themselves, by referring to the Memoirs of Maréchal Villars, written also by himself, and published at Paris in 1785. They agree in the principal facts; but, while Prince Eugene tells us, that he finished the battle by turning the enemy's centre after the defeat of the wings, the Maréchal informs us, that had not himself and Albergotti been carried off the field wounded, and two generals killed, the Prince would have been taken in flank and defeated, during this manœuvre. But the French officer, who commanded on the right, durst not take upon himself the important movement of quitting his entrenchments, to attack the allies. During the sieges which followed this victory, the Duke of Marlborough proposed to attack Villars, in his position of covering Arras. 'I will wager,' said Prince Eugene, 'that you will find nothing can be done. But let us reconnoitre him.' When the Duke had satisfied himself, he said—'It is so—let us go on taking towns.' But this brilliant career was soon to terminate, by the secession of England from the alliance,—an event, of which the illustrious author gives the following most improbable account.

'Tallard, more dangerous in peace than in war, whom I should not have left prisoner in England, if I could have suspected that he would obtain credit there, made the Tories triumph, and crushed the Whigs. His attentions to Miss Masham, the Queen's new favourite in place of the Dutchess of Marlborough; his address in society; his presents of burgundy and champagne, to Right Honourable Mem-

bers of Parliament, who admired them, *changed the face of affairs in Europe!*'

We believe that there has seldom been less purity of principle in English statesmen than during the greater part of the glorious reign of Queen Anne; but we look upon this story as one of the common blunders of foreign politicians in judging of English affairs. Indeed, the illustrious author, who had certainly more means of seduction than the captive Tallard, afterwards admits, that he found this expedient for changing the face of Europe not very successful. He could not get the war renewed, nor Marlborough replaced, though he came to England on purpose; where, as he says himself, 'Je caressais beaucoup les gens en place. Je fis aussi des presens: *car on achete beaucoup en Angleterre.*'

His farewell to the Duke of Ormond on his withdrawing the English troops, was severely ironical. 'Well, Sir,' said I, 'I shall contrive to do without your eighteen thousand men.'—'I must march them,' said the Duke, 'to take possession of Dunkirk, which the French are to put into my hands.'—'I congratulate the two nations,' said I, 'on this operation, which does equal honour to both.'

We now arrive at the decisive action of Denain, in which these two extraordinary men, Eugene and Villars, personal friends, yet active public enemies, were to struggle for the fate of France. Eugene speaks of the resolution which has been attributed to Louis, of perishing at the head of his nobility, in case of the fall of Landrecy; but he mentions it with doubts.

The Dutch deputies had a grand magazine at Marchiennes, which Eugene wished to remove to Quesnoi. They opposed him, from motives of economy. This made him exclaim, one day, with an oath, when the conquests of Alexander were mentioned—'He had no Dutch deputies in his army!'

In describing the action of Denain, there is a surprising coincidence between the accounts of Eugene and Villars; but there is so much simplicity and moderation in that given by the Prince, that we cannot forbear translating it completely.

'I have spoken of my vexation at having the magazines, on which the continuance of the siege depended, left at Marchiennes. Two leagues in extent were too much for the Dutch corps; though, without the defection of the English, they might have been defended. Now, observe a proof of the talents of Villars, and a sort of fault which I must impute to myself. To conceal a movement of his left to the Scheldt, with the greatest secrecy and celerity, he drew my attention with his right, to Landrecy, as if he meant to attack the lines of contravallation. He threw back, at once, the right upon his left wing, which, during the night, had easily made bridges, because the Scheldt is not wide there. The two wings, united, advanced, unknown to the Earl

of Albemarle, who tried, in vain, with his cavalry, to repulse those who had passed. At the first cannon shots, I marched to support him, with a large detachment of dragoons, on full trot, to make them dismount, if necessary, followed by my infantry in a quick march. The cowardice of the Dutch rendered my attempt fruitless. Had they only held out half an hour, in the post of Denain, I should have come up in time. I had always calculated thus, at the worst, supposing that I had been deceived by Villars's manœuvres. I found only eight hundred men, and three or four generals, drowned in the Scheldt, and all those who had been surprized in the entrenchments, killed without resistance. Albemarle, and all the princes and generals in the Dutch service, were made prisoners, in trying to rally their troops. — — — — — — — — I frequently take myself to task for that day's battle, as severely as possible. I think, if I had placed twenty battalions more in the lines, which would have been necessary to protect them, Villars, who would then have been stronger than me, would have beaten me. Without the lines, posted as I was, I could provide for every thing. Could I suppose, that the difference of an hour, at the utmost, would be decisive of my glory, of the war, and of the safety of France? The artillery, with which the lines were bristled, ought alone to have given me time to advance. In place of being well served, it was weakly abandoned along with the entrenchments. My two faults were, that I did not laugh at the remonstrances of the deputies, on the subject of Marchiennes, and that I confided so important a post to their troops, the flower of which had fallen at Malplaquet.'

At last, we find Eugene and Villars employed in the negociations for peace, at Rastadt. Out of many curious notes of conversations, we shall only select the following, as strongly characteristic of the Prince, and as very remarkable in the concluding hint.

"You will be angry with me for what I am now going to say," said Villars. "Do you know the foolish story which has been told, to account for the loss of the battle of Denain?"—"Let me hear it," said I; "it will amuse me."———"Well, it was said that you had a mistress at Marchiennes, a very handsome Italian dancer; and that you had troops in the post, only to guard you in your nightly visits."—I laughed with him a good deal at this story. It would have been rather too late for me to have caught this foolish fever, called love. I had better have taken it at Venice, or Vienna, when we were young. "You attended to ladies, I remember, but it was without loving, or being loved by them; for they like a Frenchman only by way of fashion."—"Nay, that often happens to us in France, too," replied he; "it is a fashion there too—even an employment—when we have nothing else to do: indeed, it is almost necessary to save our credit. *Consider what they have said of M. de Vendome, and of Catinat.*" p. 121.

The gross, and almost brutal manners of Vendome might give rise to the horrible suspicions here alluded to; but, with respect to Catinat, it is to be hoped, that the malignity of the pretended devotees, with whom the French court then swarmed, was the only source of such imputations.

The death of Louis XIV. awakened that sensibility which is so forcibly expressed by Eugene, in these pages. 'I own,' says he, 'it produced the same effect on me, as the fall of a noble old oak uprooted by a tempest—he had stood so long!' Though Eugene had eagerly endeavoured to accomplish the fall of the monarch, he was softened by the fate of the man. Such is the caprice of our nature; but in this instance it is adorned with heroic feelings.

On the battle of Belgrade, which Eugene gained by fortunate rashness, he has given a severe self-criticism; for he admits, that he might have been ruined, if a flood, or the enemy's cannon, had destroyed his bridges. He deprecates, therefore, both praise and blame, if his manuscript should come to light;—but he adds, 'that, after all, he might not have fared so well, but for the protection of the Virgin Mary, according to the opinion of Charles VI., his confessor, and the pious souls who wished him at the devil; for the battle was fought on Assumption-day.'

For several years after the treaty of Passarowitz, we find him engaged in directing the internal affairs of the empire, and in combating the wretched bigotry which prevailed at court, among '*les trop bons catholiques, et les grosses perruques.*'

In recounting his interview with the King of Prussia (father of the great Frederick), Eugene has declared himself decisively against the fopperies which have since but too often passed for military knowledge. 'The King,' he says, 'thought of military affairs only; but they were nothing more than parades, exercises, short jackets, little hats, and tall men.' He adds, 'I had succeeded too well by great manœuvres, to trouble myself about wheeling to the right and left, or the manual exercise.'

It is impossible to read, without admiration, his prophetic observations, made to avoid a war with France, in 1733. 'The Russians are too distant to aid us:—Before they could come up, the empire and Italy would be invaded. Let us remember the instability of England in my younger days: her commercial policy is always hearkening at the doors of her Parliament. The English, just, noble, upright, generous as individuals, are exactly the reverse on the score of their country.'

His dissuasions were useless, however disinterested. 'For myself,' says he, 'I love war; and I wished, in this respect, for a death like Turenne's.' This sentiment is still more strongly ex-

pressed, on occasion of the death of the Duke of Berwick by a cannon-shot. ' I was envious of it; and it was the first time in my life that I had been so.' Again we meet with it, in describing his feelings on quitting the army, after the taking of Philipsburg. ' I can scarcely express my pain, on taking leave of my army. It was most dismal.—One must be an old soldier, to know what it is to bid a last farewell to such brave fellows, whom one had led so often to face death, which I would gladly have found myself, in a happy manner, quick and glorious. It is the only good fortune which God has refused me. With tears in my eyes, I gave up the command to the Duke of Wirtemberg.'

It is astonishing that the advice given by Eugene, to fortify Lintz, after the loss of Philipsburg, was never attended to. The consequences have been too deeply felt.

The latter part of these Memoirs, in which he complains too much of the decline of his credit at court, indicates something of the infirmity of old age: but still it is the decay of a great man. We leave to the reader's own reflections, at this momentous period, the following curious speculations, thrown out to Count Zinzendorf, in familiar conversation. ' The face of Europe changes, like that of a plain or a mountain, by the accidents of light and shade. It is said, such a kingdom is the natural enemy of another. By no means.—If they are in contact, their friendship should be obtained; if not, their alliance, to defend themselves against the ambition of some more remote power.—*Why, after the peace of Rastadt, did we not unite sincerely with France?* The party which had opposed France, in England, had been overpowered; we should have saved many millions of money, and thousands of lives. When we cannot dictate, we should think of avoiding submission. But what is it which we call the politics of a court, and reasons of state? The personal interests of ambition, or vengeance of a man in power. This last motive, Count, for instance, in looking into myself, I believe has operated a little too much upon me, as well as the first; and a desire of power and riches gave a little bias to Marlborough.'

The end of this remarkable volume exhibits much of Eugene's personal character:—his confidence in the prayers of old dragoons, in preference to those of old ladies and priests;—his confessions of faults, humorously tinctured with military enthusiasm; for example—that he had sometimes spoken ill of his neighbour, but he could not help it:—when he was obliged to say, such an one is a coward—such an one is a rogue—that he was sometimes in a rage: but, ' who could help swearing, on seeing a general, or a regiment, who do not do their duty, or an adjutant who does not understand an order?' His attachment to his religion was sincere

and deep-rooted; but the superstition of the Court of Vienna, and the frivolous impiety of the French, preserved him from extremes. He expects the termination of life with tranquillity; considering the past as a fine dream. After all these religious and moral reflections, he adds, that if there were a company of French players at Vienna, he would go to see Athalia, Esther and Polieuctes. His physician, Dr Carelli, takes care to prolong his life, by supporting the radical moisture, which was a little dried up at 72. We are forcibly reminded of Sterne's uncle Toby by many of these passages; especially when he observes, that he employed 1500 workmen in his gardens and palace, during a year of scarcity, because that was useful to the town. He concludes his history abruptly, to get on horseback, he tells us, to see a fine lion which was coming to his menagerie.

We close this volume, with a mixed sensation of admiration and dislike; and with reflections a little more serious than the lightness of its tone may seem to render suitable. After retracing the various important actions in which this great warrior was engaged, and the influence of his activity on the fate of Europe, the moralist will feel peculiar satisfaction in deducing the humiliation and public misfortunes of Louis XIV. from his private vices, which provoked the enmity of the mother and the son. It may be an useful lesson to humble individuals, and show them, that the greatest plenitude of earthly power does not exempt the possessor from even the temporal evils attendant on immorality; and, if he extend his view to the unequal and ill-starred alliances of that monarch's children (*ces amours des chambrieres*, as Eugene terms them), as they are developed in the letters of Madame de Baviere, it will be found that his domestic comforts were poisoned from the same source. The decay of the French military power in the feeble reign of his successor, may be easily traced—to the despotic acts of Louis XIV, who was a tyrant in the minutest points of his government,—to his dread of the influence of deserving generals,—and to the umbrage which he felt from the shadow of independence, preserved in the routine of promotion in the army. As he brought every rank of officers into almost immediate dependence on himself, by abolishing the ancient regulations, a spirit of servility and a disregard of professional knowledge and discipline pervaded the candidates for military honours. Every general depended, for promotion or protection, on the favourite mistress; and the progress of a campaign was regulated by the most wretched court-intrigues. This was the history of the French monarchical army, down to the reign of Louis XVI, when its final dissolution took place, under the well-intentioned, but inconsiderate, administration of St Germain; and thus some part of the late revolution may be directly referred to the arbitra-

ry changes effected by Louis XIV.'s jealousy of talents, and his desire to concentrate all power and influence in his own person. Yet, when we consider the incense perpetually offered to his vanity by the ablest men of the most polished nation then in Europe,—his early successes,—and the solid greatness of his power, till he began to tamper with the constitution of his army,—we must acknowledge, that it would have required a most extraordinary mind to have avoided his faults: and, when we regard the narrow policy, the wretched superstition, and the cabal of devotees at the court of Vienna, it is evident that nothing could have preserved them from the arms of France, but the casual acquisition of the distinguished foreigner whose work we have been considering.

Upon the whole, we conceive, that the perusal of these Memoirs will afford a very high gratification to the lovers of anecdote, of smart writing, and of condensed good sense. To the student of history and of military tactics, they will not be less interesting; but they will grievously afflict the sentimental philanthropists; and certainly tend rather to depress than to exalt those hopes which an enlarged philosophy perpetually suggests, as to the progressive advancement of human virtue and happiness. In our horror at the scenes of misery and oppression that are passing before our own eyes, we are apt to imagine, that they are without example in the days that are past;—that there was less wanton cruelty, less unprofitable slaughter, less disdain of the rights and feelings of mankind, in former conquerors, and former wars;—that what we ourselves have witnessed is an unparalleled excess; and must lead, as the consummation and last extreme of human guilt and misery, to some new and better order of things.—Alas! it was *always* thus.—Warriors and military princes have been much the same from the beginning of the world;—the same love of havoc and slaughter,—the same disregard of the lives and comforts of private persons,—the same contempt of law and of humanity, when great power, or pretended necessity, enabled them to trample on them with impunity,—the same pride, tyranny and ambition,—with scarcely a distinguishable shade of difference, as to mildness or humanity, from the days of Sesostris down to those of Bonaparte!

This prince lived in the best and most polished times of European history, and was himself one of the least exceptionable persons who adorned that brilliant period. Yet we shall find in these Memoirs, if we would but sift them a little maliciously, repeated instances of almost all the atrocities which we sometimes impute to the *invention* of our present adversaries:—quarter refused—neutrality violated—pillage not only permitted, but com-

manded—contributions levied, and prejudices insulted—besides stratagems that border upon dishonourable falsehood, and carnage persisted in without need, and dwelt upon with all the gaiety of a sportsman or a butcher. We wish to say nothing against Prince Eugene, or in excuse of Bonaparte;—but it is sickening to see of what materials military glory is compounded,—and dismal to think how far more powerfully it attracts great talents, than glory of any other description.

Since the preceding observations were brought to a close, we have received a new Paris edition of the work to which they relate, in which several considerable variations are introduced, without any authority or explanation. The new editor prefixes a short advertisement, in which he boasts merely of having added a few foot-notes, a running marginal argument, and a table of contents; but gives no hint of any alterations in the body of the work. Without having collated the whole book, however, we can take it upon us to say, that the alterations are very considerable. The greater part of those we have noticed, are *suppressions* of what is contained in the former edition. Thus, the whole of the passage which we have translated at p. 43, about the Prince's collection of pictures, &c. and his preference of music to dull conversation, is entirely omitted in the edition which has since been transmitted to us. In the remarkable conversation with Villars, in like manner, which we have also given at p. 43 and 44, the passage relating to the Christ of Leopold's chapel, and the effect of ridicule on sovereigns, as well as that about Jacques Clement and Ravaillac, and the superior morality of the Austrians over the French, is entirely left out of the new edition; and, a little further on, the singular anecdotes which we have inserted at p. 48 of Louis XIV.'s former *liaisons* with the Prince's mother, and her private marriage with the Duc D'Ursell, are also completely suppressed. In the same manner, we find the whole of his curious conversation with M. De Boufflers after the siege of Lille, which we have translated at p. 49, about good luck in war, omitted in this new edition. The striking remarks on the English, too, which we have given at the bottom of p. 52, are retrenched in the same way.

When we find such important variations in the passages which we had actually extracted, it is natural to suppose that there must be many more in the other parts of the work. We have not had time to compare the two copies with any sort of accuracy; but in merely glancing them over, have been struck with the following. At p. 37 of the first Paris edition, the Prince having forcibly violated the neutrality of the state of Venice, talks in this light way of the circumstance. 'C'était là le cas de lacher

' le grand mot de *circonstances imperieuses*, de mal entendu, et de ' l'incertitude d'un assent general dans un Republique—et je n'y ' manquais pas,' the whole of which is left out in the new impression. At p. 75 of the first edition, there is a still more remarkable passage, which is, in like manner, omitted in the new one. It is in these words. ' J'ai toujours pris pour base de ma ' politique, *l'interêt* des gens à qui j'avais affaire; et ai detesté ' les flatteurs du cour qui disent, " *Ces Princes sont attachés* " *personnellement à votre Majesté.*" Ainsi l'on berce l'amour ' propre des souverains, qui aiment autre cela qu'on leur dise, " *Tout va bien—au mieux!—ou va être reparé.*" At p. 100 of the first edition, there is also the following passage, which the last editor has been pleased to suppress. ' Je lui prouvai' (he is speaking of Frederic-William of Prussia) ' que depuis Pultava ' il n'y avait plus de Charles XII, et qu'il était prisonnier chez ' ses amis les Turcs. J'en etais faché, car il ne pouvait pas être ' un Gustave Adolphe, qui faisoit trembler l'Empire; mais je ' voulais qu'on empechât celui de Russie de s'agrandir, et je re- ' gardais le Suede comme un contrepoids pour l'équilibre de ' l'Europe.' At p. 120. there is another passage about the French military character, which does not appear in the last edition; and at p. 148, a severe attack on the influence allowed to kept-mistresses, valets and grooms, in the French court, which is suppressed in like manner. To make amends, we have, at p. 189 and 190 of the new edition, two lively paragraphs about the abuses and the uselessness of domestic *espionage*, which are not to be found in the former; and at p. 217, a whole page about counsels of war and court flatterers, to which there is nothing corresponding in the copy we have used in the preceding review.

We cannot tell what to make of these variations. To speak candidly, we do not see what interest or feeling of Bonaparte's could be served, either by the suppressions or the interpolations. The latter are in the spirit of freedom, as well as in the style of the rest of the work; and though the former may be supposed to be dictated by a jealousy for French honour, or royal dignity, yet it is difficult to ascribe them to this cause, when we find so many passages far more exceptionable allowed to remain. The arrogance of Louis XIV, the desolation of the Palatinate, and the instability and levity of the French character, are spoken of without reserve in fifty places of the new edition. One thing, however, is certain, that those variations cannot have been introduced by accident or neglect; and that they afford a new and striking proof of that unprecedented faithlessness in the Parisian presses, which renders it necessary to watch over all their productions with the most unceasing jealousy.

ART. III. *A Comparative View of the Plans of Education, as detailed in the Publications of Dr Bell and Mr Lancaster. The Second Edition. With Remarks on Dr Bell's "Madras School;" and Hints to the Managers and Committees of Charity and Sunday Schools, on the practicability of extending such Institutions upon Mr Lancaster's Plan.* By JOSEPH FOX. 8vo. pp. 76. Darton and Harvey, London, 1809. *

Instructions for forming and conducting a Society for the Education of the Children of the labouring Classes of the People, according to the general Principles of the Lancastrian or British Plan. Second Edition, with considerable Additions. 8vo. pp. 30. Longman & Co. London, 1810. *

The New School; being an attempt to illustrate its Principles, Details and Advantages. By SIR THOMAS BERNARD, Bart. Third Edition. 8vo. pp. 111. Hatchard. London, 1810. †

THESE tracts relate to one of the most interesting and momentous subjects which have ever attracted the notice of those whose stations or whose virtues give them an influence over the lot of their fellow creatures. A method has been devised, and, after various improvements, seems now to be brought very near to perfection;—by which the blessings of education may be extended to persons in the lower ranks of society, at a price within the reach of all but the poorest, and to them also, with a very moderate assistance from their happier brethren;—by which the facility of learning is incalculably augmented to children of every class, and a vast saving of time secured even to those whose circumstances may put economy of money out of the question; while the facility of teaching is so much increased, that, within almost any given time, an indefinite number of instructors can be provided. This method, which, from its regular form and successful experimental improvements, we may well denominate a practical system, having from the first attracted considerable attention, has of late (owing, in some degree, to certain hostile de-

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* * The two first mentioned works are printed at Mr Lancaster's press;—an establishment, the profits of which are devoted to the promotion of his system.

† This tract is published for and by the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor; of which Mr (now Sir T.) Bernard has long been a most active and distinguished member.

monstrations on the part of the bigotted and persecuting classes of society) increased in popularity, and shown signs of spreading, we would fain hope, over the whole empire. It is with the view of contributing our aid to so great and good a work, and of recording the history of the system, that we now again bring this subject before our readers, after an interval of three years; during which, the new doctrines have been working their way, through the affected contempt of some, and the feeble and forgotten resistance of others.

We have, on former occasions, (see particularly No. XXI. of this Journal), explained the principles of this plan of education, and traced their operation in practice; and we refer the reader to those articles, and to the excellent writings of Mr Lancaster and Dr Bell themselves, for a full elucidation of the system. We purpose, at present, to consider the questions connected with its more general diffusion; and it is with unfeigned regret that, in the outset of this inquiry, we find ourselves involved in a controversy, which we heartily wish we could avoid, on every account,—from our respect for the excellent persons engaged on both sides—from a natural dislike of all such disputes—but more especially from an apprehension that the great cause itself may suffer by a protracted discussion among persons who, having the same benevolent object in view, should exert themselves in perfect harmony to attain it.

The subject now before us, the extension of popular education, gives rise to two distinct questions. It has unhappily been contended by some persons, that no good can result from promoting the instruction of the bulk of the community. They have even pretended to foresee a variety of evils as likely to originate in the greater diffusion of knowledge; and, combining with their fanciful anticipations of danger, views of past events just as fanciful, have not scrupled to raise apprehensions of anarchy, tumult and revolution, from the progress of information among the people. The first question, then, and one of a preliminary nature, is raised by those persons; and, should their objections be successfully obviated, there follows, of course, the inquiry as to the best means of diffusing education, which involves the matters in dispute between the patrons of the different plans now under consideration.

The general objections to educating the poor, need not surely detain us long. Had they not received a higher sanction in the authority of some eminent statesmen, than they usually claim from the character of their ordinary supporters, we should willingly have left them to their fate. They are certainly not of a modern date; and the following passage from Mandeville will show that they are not purely of clerical origin. After expatiating upon the uses of poverty in society, and the necessity of keeping up, by all

possible means, the stock of poor people, this licentious writer proceeds—'To make society happy, and people easy, under the 'meanest circumstances, it is requisite that great numbers of them 'should be ignorant, as well as poor. Knowledge both enlarges 'and multiplies our desires; and the fewer things a man wishes 'for, the more easily his necessities may be supplied.'* Now, were it not trifling with our readers to answer such positions, we might observe in passing, that his two arguments in favour of ignorance and of poverty, are altogether at variance with each other; for, the more contented a poor man is, the less will he work: and you have no surer way of getting him to labour, than by multiplying his desires; that is, by enlarging his knowledge. Dr Mandeville always supposes, like his orthodox followers in modern times, that, by increasing the knowledge of a poor man, you give him, not merely new desires, but new supplies, without labour, both of those necessities which he always had, as well as new gratifications of his newly acquired desires. In this strain he proceeds—'The welfare and felicity of every state and kingdom, 'require, that the knowledge of the working poor should be con-'fined within the verge of their occupations, and never extended '(as to things visible) beyond what relates to their calling. The 'more a shepherd, a ploughman, or any other peasant, knows of 'the world, and the things that are foreign to his labour or employ-'ment, the less fit he'll be to go through the fatigues and hardships 'of it with cheerfulness and content.'† The answer to all which is so singularly apt in a subsequent passage of the same work, that we shall save our own time by placing them together. 'A man,' he observes, 'who has had some education, may follow husbandry 'by choice, and be diligent at the dirtiest and most laborious 'work; but then the concern must be his own; and *avarice*, the '*care of a family*, or *some other pressing motive*, must put him 'upon it.'‡ It is no doubt exactly so: the *pressing motive* of want alone could make any man work as a day-labourer; nor will all the learning of the schools lessen that motive, unless knowledge shall somehow or other acquire the property of filling the belly and covering the back. Nor, again, is it educated men alone to whom Dr Mandeville's remark applies, unless he can also show that, without reading and writing, a man cannot tell whether or not he wants food and clothing. And then, if it be said that a learned peasant will neither do without eating, nor work to gain his bread, it must follow, that the love of labour, for its own sake,

* Fable of the Bees, vol. i. p. 256. (Essay on Charity, and Charity Schools.)

† Id. ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 258.

is natural to man, and that it requires deep learning to make him prefer plenty and ease.

But let us look to his other arguments; for it does so happen, that this PIOUS author has anticipated all the topics which have lately illuminated some of our pulpits, excepting the common addition of the French Revolution, which is now-a-days added to every argument against improvement, as regularly as the money counts, or the names of two distinguished legal characters, are to certain parts of a record. Dr Mandeville pursues his reasoning thus—'Reading, writing, and arithmetic, are very necessary to 'those whose business requires such qualifications; but, where 'people's livelihood has no dependence on these arts, they are 'very pernicious to the poor, who are forced to get their daily 'bread by their daily labour. Few children make any progress 'at school, but, at the same time, they are capable of being em-'ployed in some business or other; so that every hour those sort 'of poor people spend at their book, *is so much time lost to the* '*society.*' * To which the answer is obvious:—Either instruct children at so early an age, that the loss of their labour is not worth the trouble of reckoning; or, if you teach them when they might be employed in earning their subsistence, take care to let their parents maintain them all the while; and educate no one for nothing, unless his parents can, at the same time, afford to support him. This check will affix limits within which the gratuitous assistance of the higher classes never can, by possibility, either diminish the industry of the lower orders, or in the smallest degree derange the general structure of society. And let it be observed, that this remark presupposes no material benefit to be derived from the education of the children in question;—nothing to be communicated which is worth the value of their labour.

The *reverend* author, whose work we are consulting, then brings forward another, and one of the most favourite of the modern topics—'Reading and writing,' he says, 'are not at-'tained to without some labour of the brain, and assiduity; and 'before people are tolerably versed in either, they esteem them-'selves infinitely above those who are wholly ignorant of them; 'often with as little justice and moderation, as if they were of 'another species.' † To this, also, the answer very commonly given, seems quite irrefragable—that if all men were well educated, no one would be vain of his acquirements, any more than any man is, in this country, vain of wearing a hat; which, nevertheless, is, in some countries, a distinction confined to the prince; and, of course, an object of great vanity. Akin to this, is the

* Ibid. p. 257. † Id. Ibid.

notion, that the education of the poor would be hostile to subordination—an argument much used in the present day, and mixed up with the 'French Revolution;' but fully expounded by our *venerable* author, although without that addition—'When 'obsequiousness and mean services are required, we shall always observe, that they are never so cheerfully, nor so heartily 'performed, as from inferiors to superiors; I mean, inferiors, 'not only in riches and quality, but likewise in knowledge and 'understanding. A servant can have no unfeigned respect for 'his master, as soon as he has sense enough to find out that he 'serves a fool. When we are to learn or to obey, we shall experience in ourselves, that the greater opinion we have of the 'wisdom and capacity of those that are either to teach or command us, the greater deference we pay to their laws and instructions. No creatures submit contentedly to their equals; 'and should a horse know as much as a man, I should not desire to be his rider.' * But, surely, it does not follow, that, because the poor learn something, the rich may not learn more: Nor, even if it did, would there be any proof given, that his learning must needs make a poor man despise his equals in knowledge; for, by the argument, they are only put on an equality. However, we utterly deny the whole of the facts on which this argument rests. As long as a man cannot live without labour, he will work, and no longer—whether he be ignorant or well informed. As long as servility is necessary to some men's livelihood, they will obey others who can support them. As long as servility is conducive to the fortunes or supposed interests of some men, or to their gratification, they will truckle and fawn to their superior, we much fear, without inquiring exactly whether he is their equal in learning or abilities. It is truly lamentable to see how far a theory will carry some people. Had Dr Mandeville lived in a cloister (we ought perhaps rather to say, a hermitage—or, at least, a convent where there was no superior) we might have expected to find him alarmed lest the progress of learning should level the distinctions of rank, and knowledge bear away their just influence from wealth, nobility and power. But he lived in the world of squires and parsons—of patrons and poets—of dowagers and physicians—to which class he himself belonged;—nay, he was born in the country of burgomasters, and passed a great part of his life in a land of bishops, priests, and deacons. But what shall we say of those who reecho his doctrines from the very centres of patronage and dependency? who, having reached the heights of society, by

* Id. p. 258.

bowing down their knowledge and talents before wealthy ignorance and titled imbecility, cry out to the multitudes over whose heads they have thus crawled, ‘ Beware of knowledge, for it ‘ begets PRIDE!’ who feeling—one should hope, painfully feeling—how requisite to their progress abject submissiveness had been, and how useless mere merit, all of a sudden, and without changing their own humble nature towards such as are still above them, begin to feel, or to affect, a dread lest the scattering of a little knowledge should absolve men from the necessity of cringing—reduce the office of a courtier to a sinecure—and people our levees, cathedrals, and counting-houses with Spartans, and Catos, and Andrew Marvels!

We lament to find Dr Bell * among the followers of Mandeville. We do not impute to his writings the intentions of that licentious author, or the immoral tendencies of his works; any more than we do his eloquence, his wit, or his acuteness. But we find the same foolish alarm about the dangers of knowledge to society; with this further exception, that as Dr Bell is friendly to a certain portion of education, nay, has been one of the most useful promoters of the new system,—when he comes to boggle at the *excess*, and to draw lines of distinction between reading, which is innocent, and writing and arithmetic, which are pernicious, he exposes himself to a charge of inconsistency, perhaps, not to be paralleled in the history of feebleness and bigotry—a charge from which his intrepid predecessor is wholly free. ‘ It is not proposed,’ he says, (p. 90, 3d ed.) ‘ that the ‘ children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, or ‘ even *taught to write and cipher*. Utopian schemes’ *(Utopian*, our readers will recollect, always means *modern*, or *French)* ‘ for ‘ the diffusion of general knowledge, would soon *realize the* ‘ *fable of the belly and the other members of the body*, and con- ‘ fuse that distinction of ranks and classes of society, on which ‘ the general welfare hinges, and the happiness of the lower or- ‘ ders, no less than that of the higher, depends.’—‘ There is a ‘ risk,’ he afterwards adds, ‘ of *elevating*, by an indiscrimi- ‘ nate education, the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of ‘ daily labour, *above their condition*, and thereby rendering them ‘ discontented and unhappy in their lot.’ Now, passing over the manifest absurdity of supposing that all this can arise from

* To prevent all misconception, we must add, that it is in no respect whatever to DR BELL that we apply the remarks in the last paragraph. He owes his preferment to his intrinsic merits, and to the unsolicited patronage of the prelate to whom he was personally quite unknown.

writing and ciphering—whilst from *reading*, to any extent, the worthy author apprehends no danger; does he really think that the influence of the belly over the other members is founded in matter of opinion, or of fancy? Let him look once more into his Roman history, (in *reading* there can be no danger,—though we see now there may actually be some in *writing*), and he will find that he has made a slip, of which Mandeville never would have been guilty. The limbs, puffed up with pride—mad, as it were, with too much learning—mutinied against the belly:—But how did their rebellion end?—why, they were speedily, for all their learning and pride, starved into implicit obedience. And, to make the blunder of Dr Bell still more unhappy, this fable was expressly introduced by the orator for the purpose of showing the *necessary* and natural dependence of the lower on the higher ranks, a purpose which it effectually served. '*Comparando* '*hinc*,' says Livy, '*quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset* '*vice plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.*' (*Dec. I. lib.* 2.) —It is thus that the fable of the belly and the other members always will be realized. And admitting (what it seems somewhat extravagant so constantly to assume) that the natural effect of knowledge is folly and discontent, until it shall also have the effect of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, we may feel quite secure against its either promoting idleness or revolt.

To all fears of the tendency which the diffusion of knowledge may have towards injuring the character of mankind, one answer has often been given, which seems absolutely decisive. Those fears, if well founded, go infinitely too far. They go to prevent all books from being published—all pictures from being exhibited—all discourse from being held among men, without the presence of the civil magistrate. Immoral or seditious books may, it is very true, be read by the people, if you teach them to read; but, then, so may improper discourses be heard, and improper pictures gazed at. And unless every one of them is kept equally ignorant, it signifies nothing to restrain a few, or even the greater number; for one man may read and tell; and they who repeat may make it worse: and, unless every book containing free discussion is prohibited, it is of no use to keep the multitude on short allowance of reading; because the few they do read, may do all the mischief: nay, the less a man reads, the more likely he is to be misled by plausible errors, or injured by unsound morality; so that what is so safe to the well informed, that no legislature could think of suppressing it, may to the ignorant be dangerous in the extreme. And, accordingly, the evils which are now not unfrequently occasioned by the daily press, are owing entirely to the ignorance of the community.

As it is not our design, here, to enter at large into a question so trite, and, one should hope, so well settled as the present, we have only occupied ourselves in replying to the arguments most commonly urged against popular education, taking them where we could find them, both best stated and urged by a writer whom there was little danger in attacking. We shall not detain the reader with many words upon the positive benefits to be expected from a more general diffusion of knowledge. We should almost be contented to put the question upon one issue—Are talents equally distributed among the different orders of the community?—or, is it contended that persons of a certain yearly income engross, among them, all the natural genius of the human race?—We apprehend, that the most devoted slave of aristocracy will scarcely maintain the affirmative of the latter question. If, then, among two millions of persons, in the lower ranks, who now receive no education at all, there are a certain proportion of fine understandings, utterly buried, and for ever lost to the world, for want of cultivation,—would it not be worth while to give all that brute matter a certain degree of attention, for the bare chance, that, in the mass, some vein of exquisite lustre may be made to shine in the general polishing—for the possibility that some 'mute inglorious Milton' may, perchance, be roused into deathless song;—some Chatham awakened to stay the fate of empire;—or another Newton, to raise the species itself in the scale of universal being. Fanciful, and even puerile, as the topic will, no doubt, seem to many of our readers, we cannot, by any means, abandon it, without admitting one of two positions, both of which are unquestionably absurd;—either that such minds are only to be found in families of a certain rank—or that, to give them a chance of displaying themselves, something more than education is required. But, to some readers, it will be a better defence, if we remind them, that the very argument which we have just stated, forms the chief of the reasons urged by Dr Paley, in support of a national religious establishment. It is, indeed, his answer to the main objection urged against a separate order of clergy.—'We sow (says he—*Moral Philosophy, II.* 308.) 'many seeds to raise one flower. In order to produce a few ca-'pable,' &c.

To other readers, it might be more satisfactory, were we to enter upon that beaten question, of the connexion between morals and education;—but we must confine ourselves to a few facts, which, being of recent occurrence, may be viewed as additions to the ample evidence already produced on this part of the subject. Mr Raikes (whose enlightened and active benevolence is too well known to need our feeble testimony) has stated, that,

during a period of twenty years, that is, since the first establishment of Sunday schools at Gloucester, about 3000 children have received education there; and, though he has regularly visited the county and city gaols, he only has met, during that period, with *one instance of criminality*, in any of those 3000 persons. In like manner, Mr Lancaster has never yet had occasion to learn, that any one of the four thousand children whom he has educated at the borough school (though taken from the lowest classes of society), has been charged, in a court of justice, with any offence;—a piece of information which, there is every reason to think, some of his enemies would have been too glad to communicate, had there existed such instance.

We shall hereafter have occasion to consider, more particularly, some of the calumnies lately vented against particular plans of education, for the most base and unworthy purposes. '*Revolutionary*' is the word generally resorted to by the meek, discerning, and pious personages to whom we allude; but, at present, we have only to do with the similar charge brought against *all* attempts to diffuse knowledge among the lower orders,—brought, too, not by such interested and contemptible intriguers, but by men of unimpeachable character and unquestionable talents. There is nothing in this unhappy error more to be regretted, than that it lends a sort of countenance to the arts of those little souls. When a being like Mr Windham was seen to question the advantages of knowledge, from his fear of revolution, (a fear which all men knew to be in him serious and systematic), the world felt mortified and humiliated,—not because his resistance was likely to retard the progress of education, when it had been found so unavailing to protect the slave trade,—not because it was afflicting to be forced to differ from such a man on any great question,—nor yet because all the sad vicissitudes of human affairs offer no more humbling spectacle than the 'fears of the brave and follies of the wise;'—but because a protection was afforded to timidity and weakness;—a veil was thrown over low, selfish artifice, under which it might take shelter and escape detection, while it worked in secret the gain of the few, out of the public loss;—a sort of false lustre was shed by the high name, the unsullied honour, the fine genius, and exquisite accomplishments of so rare a personage, over the paltry things who were crawling, by accident, in the same path, but whom it would be a sort of sacrilege to name in the same page with Mr Windham. His fame, indeed, could not be contaminated by the unnatural association, any more than it could suffer by the fellowship which all lovers of *practical* corruption affected with the most illustrious enemy of reform. But it is the lot of extraordinary

virtue, that, though it may pass unhurt through the darkness of error, and sojourn undefiled in the tabernacles of the wicked, its eclipses more or less benight the age; and its evil communion lends strength to the arms of corruption.

We come now to that system of education which forms the subject of the works before us. Its general advantages, which we briefly stated in the outset of this article, are so vast—and so happy is the facility with which it may be introduced into any community, that its successful diffusion was, from the beginning, almost certain. This has been, however, retarded by some attempts, of which we are unwilling to speak harshly; because it is *possible* that they may have had their origin only in mistaken zeal for establishments that were never in danger, or in a real blindness to what, we think, no man of understanding, who considers the subject, can fail to look upon as the right path.

The system was first introduced, into this country at least, by Joseph Lancaster,—a man so well known to all our readers, that it would be impertinent to detain them with any praise of his universally acknowledged merits. Thus much is admitted on all hands. Whether he invented the plan himself, or only imported it from Madras, or took a hint from that scheme, and improved upon it, is an after question: But there is no one who has ever denied, that he was the first who established in England (we may say in Europe) a system of education whereby one master can teach a thousand, or even a greater number of children, not only as well, but a great deal better, than they can possibly be taught by the old methods, and at an expense of less than five shillings a year for each. While he was gradually bringing this plan to perfection, and struggling with the various difficulties which the novelty of his subject, and the slender amount of his pecuniary resources, almost daily opposed to his progress, his undertaking succeeded sufficiently to attract the notice of some distinguished patrons among the nobility and gentry of the metropolis; and, what was of infinitely greater moment, on every account, he obtained the countenance and support of the Royal Family;—the King himself, to his immortal honour, standing forward to set the example. Had it not been for this most auspicious circumstance, there is no sort of doubt, that an outcry would have been speedily raised, by intrigue or bigotry, sufficient to have overwhelmed, in an instant, this meritorious person and his system together. For some of those persons who, being on the look-out after comfortable temporalities, have a peculiarly nice sense of the approach of danger to the spiritual concerns of the community, soon discovered that this plan of education was fraught with the worst dangers both to the Church and to Reli-

gion itself. Mr Lancaster was a sectary—a respected and cherished member of that peaceful body of Christians, who alone never either persecuted, nor fought, nor intrigued, nor ruled; and who, having no establishment, nor, indeed, any order of priests, are not much in favour with such as delight to mingle, with the pure clerical functions of Christian ministers, the enjoyment of patronage, wealth and power. If then the first alarm was given, by the idea of '*the poor being taught*,' a louder note was soon sounded, when it was found that '*the poor were to be taught by a Quaker.*' A thorough sifting of the plans and practices of Mr Lancaster was then performed;—for the countenance of the Sovereign prevented any outcry of '*No Quakery;*' and the law was against his being operated upon by fire.

From this scrutiny, various charges were collected, and set forth by a Reverend Lady, who, without exactly possessing the kind of talents which render Mrs Hannah More and Miss Edgeworth the envy of their sex, and the ornaments of their country, has unquestionably written as many volumes as both put together. Mrs Trimmer, however, though extremely well-disposed, was not very successful; and the cry which she set up was not much echoed, and soon died away. No doubt, she exhibited many charges against the system;—scarcely a leaf of Lancaster's books was there, that did not teem with the principles of infidelity,—or one of his practical methods, that did not aim some blow at the Church or the State, or the morals of England. Nor were the blows struck feebly, or at random. What more deadly attack upon religion, than teaching children to read the Bible, without prescribing also the gloss and commentary which Episcopacy has sanctioned? What greater injury to the Establishment, than to instil the Christian religion, pure as it flows from the inspired penmen, without conveying along with it the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England? What more palpable satire against hereditary rank and the British constitution, than the practice of giving the children of paupers medals to wear about their necks, as rewards for spelling or reading? Nay, what lesson more hurtful to the morals, than teaching habits of ridicule, by allowing the boys to point or laugh at a slovenly or idle companion, instead of laying on, with 'truly British vigour,' the good old birch of our ancestors? Will it be believed, that such alluring topics almost wholly failed? Will it be credited, by those who read the history of Ireland during the last four years, that, during the same period, a cry, raised by persons both orthodox and feeble, upon such admirable grounds, was scarcely repeated at the moment, and is now almost quite forgotten? This phenomenon we owe to the honest and intrepid support which the Monarch, the Head of the Church, gave to the

oppressed sectary; and we really do, in our conscience, think it the brightest passage in the history of his long and eventful reign.

To some few persons, however, the allurements held out by Mrs Trimmer and her brethren proved irresistible; and, among the first to be overpowered, was Mr Archdeacon Daubeny. Indeed, like other great steps in the progress of society, it is not quite well ascertained which had the glory of converting the other; and the future historian will probably inquire, with anxiety, whether the reverend dignitary, or the voluminous female, first sounded that alarm, which had so much less success than its merits deserved--that only cry of danger to the Church which ever failed. Certain it is, that the Archdeacon was the first who sounded it from the pulpit: this is what not even the reverend lady can contest with him. In a Visitation Charge to the clergy of his diocese, * he denounced Joseph Lancaster as an infidel and a deist; or, if not so himself, as the tool of deists; and his system of education as 'deism, under the imposing guise of philanthropy, making a covert approach to the fortress of Christianity, with a view to be admitted within her walls.'

Still the cry did not spread.—Somehow or other it did not answer,--there was 'more cry than wool;' and the practitioners in this line seemed shy of touching the subject. Lancaster published a confession of faith, sufficiently ample and earnest to satisfy the most orthodox Christian: the Archdeacon was silent for a season; and there was no offence in Mrs Trimmer's mouth. The new system flourished more and more: the subscription increased daily: the steady patronage of the Royal Family continued to defend and to promote it. By the assistance of his friends, the financial concerns of the able and zealous projector were reduced to order and regularity. Schools were established in different parts of the country; and tens of thousands of poor children were receiving the inestimable blessings of education, and acquiring regular habits of industry, who would otherwise have languished in ignorance and vice. The friends of ignorance and persecution began to suspect, that they had mistaken their age or country; or, at any rate, that they had not hit upon the right mode of attack: and, as it was obvious that the new system of education must succeed, and spread over the world, the only thing that remained was, to try and get the management of it into their own hands, whereby they might hope both to alter the course, and moderate the vehemence of its operation --at once to dole out to the lower orders that lower degree of knowledge which best fits their station, and that peculiar kind of instruction which most exactly suited their own interests and opi-

* Sarum, June 1806.

nions. The cry, therefore, now became prevalent among the same persons, that it was the province of the Establishment to educate the poor; that a sectary could only teach sectarian, or, at any rate, latitudinarian principles; and that, if the regular clergy did not take up the subject, the Church, perhaps the religion itself, was gone. But the difficulty remained nearly as before. The Royal Family patronized Lancaster's plan; therefore it must be attacked with infinite caution, out of delicacy to the Royal feelings—always amiable and worthy—and never more so than when excited by the state of the poor,—but unhappily, by some misfortune, upon this occasion taking a course, upon the whole, not quite satisfactory. Moreover, the plan itself, or something like it, would alone answer the universal demand of all ranks for a better system of popular education. Therefore, in order to supplant the sectary, there must be found a churchman; and the irregular, empirical scheme, already spreading with the rapidity of error, and the steadiness of truth, must be succeeded by some more correct, orderly, clerical system, which should at once resemble it, and coincide with the Establishment. By this means, the progress of the successful plan might be stopt; its misguided adherents reclaimed from their errors; and the Royal patronage itself (the grand difficulty through the whole business) be either withdrawn and transferred to the regular Establishment, or, at any rate, divided and weakened.

It happened, most fortunately for this design, that, about the period alluded to, the Archbishop of Canterbury should have extended his patronage to Dr Bell, whom he had called from his retirement at Swanage, to superintend a charity school; and that the Bishop of Durham still more munificently bestowed upon that gentleman a valuable preferment in his diocese, with the superintendance of a similar establishment for education. The resemblance originally perceived between Dr Bell's mode of teaching, and Mr Lancaster's, would have been sufficient foundation for the attempt which we are considering; but that resemblance had been greatly increased during the time which had elapsed since the first publication of the method. It becomes necessary, then, that we should here take up the history of Dr Bell's method, from the beginning, to the period when it was so fortunate as to attract the notice of the distinguished prelates, who are now, to their great honour, its avowed protectors.

In the year 1789, Dr Bell, then a chaplain in the East India Company, undertook the management of a charity school, established at Madras, under the name of the Male Asylum. Beside himself, there were three, and afterwards four masters; but it appears that one of these was employed in superintending the

boys when out of school. In their address of thanks to him, however, presented at his departure, they all call themselves both masters and *teachers*. The number of boys first admitted was smaller; but they amounted to two hundred, when Dr Bell quitted the situation, in 1796.

Previous to the commencement of his superintendance, Dr Bell had frequently observed the great advantages attending the mode of teaching by writing in sand, practised, from time immemorial, in all the native schools of Malabar. He was therefore resolved to adopt this practice in the asylum; but he met with many difficulties from the confirmed habits of his teachers, who were grown up men. He therefore had recourse to the plan of teaching the elder boys, whose habits and prejudices were easier overcome, and whom he could thus qualify to act as instructors to the rest. In adopting this expedient, he only did, systematically, what is more or less done in almost all schools in Europe—and, in some, very regularly. Mr Fox (p. 11.) has given, as an instance—the economy of a school at Tooting, where he was himself taught;—but it is manifest, both that Dr Bell's method was more entire and systematic; and that he made use of the boys, instead of adult teachers, with a view to overcome a specific difficulty, viz. the prejudices of the latter against the sandwriting, and their unfitness to introduce it. There can be no doubt, then, that we owe a great improvement in education to Dr Bell; because, even if he had only combined together two methods quite well known before, in their separate state, for the purpose of gaining a new object, he would have been fully entitled to the praise of invention. —He did more—he improved one of those methods, and made it regular and systematic, for the sake of applying the other to his object;—nor is it of any importance, that the consequences of this improvement have been far greater and more extensive than he appears to have had any notion of; and that the mere possibility of introducing sandwriting is now the smallest part of the benefit derived from the mode of teaching by means of the boys themselves. Were such objections as this admitted to weigh against the claims of an inventor, we should soon cease to use the word; unless the human faculties were indeed incalculably augmented. Nor was the ingenious and worthy author unaware of the real uses of this method: The title of his first publication upon the subject, in 1797, is, 'An Experiment in Education, made at the Male Asylum of Madras, suggesting *a system by which a school or family may teach itself*, under the superintendance of the master or parent.'

This being the foundation of the plan, whereof the sandwriting may now be said merely to constitute one of the additional details,

or partial and accidental improvements—another, and, as far as we can pereeive, either in the writings of Dr Bell, or his friend Sir Thomas Bernard, only another improvement of a similar description, was added by Dr Bell.—He introduced a mode of reading and pronouncing by syllables, instead of the common way, —thus teaching spelling with great additional ease and accuracy. Having instructed his elder boys in this as well as the sandwriting, they were found perfectly capable of communicating it to the rest of the school. Various other branches of knowledge, as writing, arithmetic, grammar, bookkeeping, geometry, &c. were all taught in the common way. The school prospered under Dr Bell's management; and so greatly did some of the pupils advance in their learning, that one of them exhibited philosophical experiments before Tippoo Sultaun, with much success. In 1797, Dr Bell returned to England, published the pamphlet above alluded to, and then retired into the country, where he resided upon an obscure living at Swanage. This tract excited little or no attention; and he appears to have done absolutely nothing in relation to the subject, for about eight years thereafter.

In 1798, Joseph Lancaster began to exercise the honourable profession of a schoolmaster—and, if we are to give the same credit to his account, which we have given to Dr Bell's, in the preceding pages, we must add, that he never saw Dr Bell's publication until the year 1800.—His plan was, from the beginning, to teach reading, writing and arithmetic, to the children of the lower orders, at about half the usual price. Many not being able to pay, even at this reduced rate, he taught them for nothing;—and his charities and his labours coming to the knowledge of some more opulent members of society, a subscription was commenced; and, in 1801, he ventured, with considerable actual sacrifices, and some additional risks, to convert his seminary wholly into a free school. It is manifest, from this simple statement, for the accuracy of which, many beside Mr Lancaster can vouch, that the nature of his design, at the very first, turned his attention to every thing which might economize money and labour.—If a man were placed in such circumstances, what more obvious means could present themselves, than to save the first great expense of schoolmasters' salaries, by a more rigid adherence than is usual, to a practice in some degree prevalent in all schools—the employment of the elder boys to assist in teaching. Putting out of the question our regard for Mr Lancaster's veracity (which is nevertheless implicit), we cannot imagine that it required the assistance of Dr Bell's pamphlet to give this hint to a man intent on such objects, and who had himself been educated at a school where the same thing, though in a more imperfect manner, had been tried.—'That school, we are

informed, (Fox, p. 13), was organized, on the plan of division into classes, each being superintended by a monitor.'

The next great expense of a school arises from the consumption of books, and materials for writing. To save, or greatly to diminish this cost, Mr Lancaster introduced the admirable method of making a number of boys read from the same lesson, printed in large characters, and suspended on the wall—and the no less useful substitute, of slates for paper, whereby, not only the waste of that epensive article is saved, but any number of boys are enabled to spell and write the same word, at the same time, without the possibility of one being idle, while another is at work—or rather, as in the ordinary modes of education, of nineteen being idle, while one is employed. The same degree of alertness is kept up by the method of reading, as it were, altogether—which, requiring the failure of one boy to be corrected by the next for the sake of taking his place, prevents the possibility of idleness or inattention.

It is further evident, that no modification of the old division of classes, with monitors to each, not even when reduced to a system, as in Dr Bell's scheme, can supply the want of masters for any thing but the simple operations of reading and writing. If Dr Bell, for example, were called upon to make his monitors teach their boys arithmetic, he could only have done it by himself teaching each monitor to cipher in the ordinary way. Indeed, when Sir Thomas Bernard comes to this part of the subject (for, with the amiable solicitude of a friend, he would have the multiplication-table itself to form a part of the Madras system), we find that Dr Bell's scholars are taught to cipher by being examined repeatedly in the tables of the four fundamental rules of arithmetic (p. 58), which is precisely the common way of teaching that science. Here, therefore, was a great step to make—and Mr Lancaster has made it. —He has laid down a method, whereby reading alone is rendered sufficient to make any one teach—he says, arithmetic—we add, every thing;—for we see no one science which may not be taught in the same way. But we take Mr Lancaster's instance of arithmetic.—The invention is as simple as it is efficacious;—it consists in giving to one boy, who can read, a written or printed particular (if we may so speak) of the operation in ciphering which is to be performed, and making him distinctly read over to any number of boys, furnished with slates, the words and figures given to him. —Thus, the lesson is to be in addition—234

567

801

and in order to teach this lesson to thirty boys, one of whom can read, and the other twenty-nine can write the nine figures, and

understand notation, a key is given to the reader, consisting of the following words. 'First column.—7 and 4 are 11—Set down 1 'under the 7, and carry 1 to the next. Second column.—6 and '3 are nine, and 1 I carried are 10—Set down 0, and carry 1 to 'the next.—Third column.—5 and 2 are 7, and 1 I carried are '8.—Total, in figures, 801.—Total, in words, eight hundred and 'one.' After each boy has written the two lines, 234, and 567, one under the other, the reader takes the above key, and reads it audibly; while each of the twenty-nine obey it, by writing down as it directs. Each boy also reads over the sum-total, after the reader has finished; and he then inspects the slates, one after another. The whole are thus kept perpetually awake; and by repeated lessons of the same kind, the rule required is fixed in their minds. It is manifest, that any rule in algebra may be communicated by the same process,—from the simplest to the most intricate and refined,—from the addition of two quantities, to the methods of infinite series and fluents. Every part of geometrical science may be taught by similar means,—from the first proposition in Euclid, to the sublime theorems of Newton and Laplace. It only requires that a form of notation, borrowed from the algebraic calculus, should first be agreed upon. In like manner, whatever branches of natural philosophy admit of a symbolical notation, as the whole of the mixed mathematics, and, in general, the application of the sciences of number and quantity to experiment, are all capable of being communicated by a person ignorant of them, but able to read, to as many others as can hear the sound of his voice at once. By a few simple additions to this machinery, the method may be made to embrace even other branches of knowledge; and, in short, we do not hesitate to assert, that it is applicable, or may soon be applied, to the whole circle of human knowledge. Observe, too, that all this instruction costs exactly the value of the single book, or key, used by the reader,—the slates of the other boys, together with the rent of the schoolroom. This method may, therefore, most truly be pronounced a capital discovery, in every point of view; and we have little doubt that it will speedily be extended from the sciences to the arts, which seem all to admit of being taught upon similar principles.

Passing over the system of rewards and punishments, which Mr Lancaster has devised, as it appears to us with a thorough knowledge of his subject—the nature of children—derived as much from long experience, as from just and even philosophical reasoning,—we shall only further notice the system of discipline which he superadded to his other grand improvements. Where a school of 100 or 150 boys is placed under the tuition of four or five masters, there is no great danger of disorder,—even on the old

plan of instruction, where only one boy in twenty or thirty is employed at a time,—still less in the new system, where, instead of so many yawning, or whispering little animals, we see nothing but attention and animation, and hear only the buz of industry. But where a single master was to be set over the same number of boys, —and still more where the number was to be increased to 800 or 1000, a discipline behoved to be introduced which should enable his authority to reach all over the body, and supply the want of actual inspection. A systematic arrangement of labour was likewise necessary, where classes were obliged to shift about from place to place, in order to use the same printed lessons,—and change from task to task, in order to make use of the same materials. Into the details of these matters we cannot, of course, now enter; but it may be enough to state, in general, that the object is attained by applying to a school the organization of a regiment, and its evolutions, under the word of command. Nor shall we want a witness to vouch for its perfect success, in securing the order and regularity of the operations, if the reader should happen to have seen any one of the various seminaries now established on Mr Lancaster's principles, and for the most part under his superintendance; or that of the many schoolmasters whom he has already educated.

Early in the year 1803, Mr Lancaster published the first edition of his book, containing a very modest, natural and intelligible account of the improvements in education which we have been tracing—with the exception of the greatest of them all, however—the method of teaching arithmetic, which he had not then completed. An account of it was given in his second edition published about the end of the same year. The number of his scholars had increased to above 300; and in 1805, when he published his third edition, he announced, that 700 boys were actually taught for 260*l.* at his school, which, with a very small additional expense, he intended to fit for the reception of 1000. The whole expense of educating this large number, he estimated at no more than 300*l.*; and an establishment had likewise been begun, for the education of schoolmasters, who might carry his methods into every part of the country. In the account of his plan which Mr Lancaster delivered in these publications, he gratefully acknowledged his obligations to Dr Bell, both for the method of sand-writing and of syllabic-spelling, or the *study* of spelling; claiming, however, for himself, the peculiar mode of *teaching* spelling which we have already described. He also represents the Madras experiment as, in its fundamental principle, similar to his own method of teaching by monitors; which, however, he seems not to have considered as peculiar to either of the new plans, but to have been borrowed, with little variation, from the old schools.

After the publication of the third edition, and when not only all Mr Lancaster's improvements had been completed, and fully detailed to the world by his own hand, but also practically exhibited on a very large scale in his schools, Dr Bell published a second edition of *his* pamphlet, in some respects greatly enlarged, but omitting several very material documents which the first had contained. For example,—the letter of thanks addressed to him by the four masters of the Male Asylum, and in which they describe themselves as *teachers*, is left out in the second edition. Such an omission, we acknowledge, is unfortunate, because it greatly benefits the argument of Dr Bell and his friends, who have attempted to show, that these men were not exactly teachers. Indeed, the second edition makes no mention whatever of those masters; and, suppressing a table of the school which had been given in the first, it substitutes an arrangement closely resembling that of Mr Lancaster, already both described in print, and exemplified in most successful practice. In 1807, the Doctor published a third edition, with more omissions of the same kind, and so many additions, that the original 48 pages had now swelled into 114, notwithstanding all that he had suppressed. As a specimen of the additions, we may mention a chapter on the union of schools of industry with schools of instruction; a topic which had occupied no less than 34 pages of Mr Lancaster's work. He also makes mention of slates and spelling-cards, to which no allusion whatever can be found in the two first editions. Mr Fox now published his '*Comparative View*,' and took notice of those alterations; and soon after, in 1809, Dr Bell published a fourth edition, consisting of 348 pages, in which he restores the passages and documents suppressed in the two former editions; and adds a variety of views, which we can scarcely conceive that he should not have taken from Mr Lancaster. It may suffice to say, that he, for the first time, extols the economy of the Madras plan or system; and recommends it as well adapted to the education of the lower orders,—with the exception already commented upon, of writing and ciphering, which he is afraid to trust them with. The assertions, that, by his system, one master can teach 1000 boys; and that it can afford instruction at the rate of 10s., 7s. or 4s., according to the number;—assertions which, at the time he wrote them, Lancaster had fully proved, by actually teaching eleven hundred at that rate; but which the Madras plan, as originally described, was utterly inadequate to exemplify.—These assertions form a very remarkable feature in the improvements—we regret to say the unacknowledged and unnoticed improvements—which Dr Bell's pamphlet has, in its progress to the state of a book, derived from the writings and the teaching of Joseph Lancaster.

We are here upon ground which comprises the very gist of the controversy, into which we are forced, so much against our inclination. And as, from the same ground, conclusions will spring, of more general importance than the comparative merits of the two individuals, we must stop the reader upon it for a moment longer. First, as to the number of masters—it seems vain to deny that Mr Lancaster's school was *the only one*, before 1806, in which a *single* master taught even so many as 200 boys. The Madras school had Dr Bell to superintend—a schoolmaster—and three assistant masters. How, then, can we allow Dr Bell and Sir Thomas Bernard to discover, *now*, that those men had nothing to do with the school, when, in 1797, Dr Bell particularized one of them (R. Taylor) as having '*a general charge in one of the school-rooms;*' and another (F. Johnson) as '*the schoolmaster who had a general charge;*'—when they all four, in their letter of thanks, describe themselves to be '*employed as teachers;*'—and when he, in his answer, treats them all four as 'the masters of the Male Asylum;' putting on the same footing, the three assistants and the person whom he allowed to be a schoolmaster properly so called?—Is it not exactly one of Mr Lancaster's improvements, that he, even for a body of 1000 boys, requires no one to act like R. Taylor, who has 'a general charge in one of the school-rooms?'—And is not the power of dispensing with R. Taylor, that which enables Mr Lancaster to boast, that *one master* can educate 1000 children? Dr Bell is exactly in the situation in which Mr Lancaster would have been, had he made this boast—challenged an examination—and allowed us unwarily to discover R. Taylor behind the door, when we went to see whether his pretensions were well founded. He must abide by his Madras school, and be tried by his first edition.

Then, as to the grand point of economy, which is, in truth, every thing in this inquiry—but is only now brought forward by Dr Bell, and not even now considered as of primary importance by his friend Sir Thomas Bernard,—it appears that, at Madras, three of the masters had 30 pagodas a month—and there was another whose salary is not mentioned;—but, take the medium of 10 pagodas for each, and we have (at 8s. the pagoda) 16*l.* a month, or 192*l.* a year. But Dr Bell was there, likewise, much in the manner in which Mr Lancaster is in the borough school; and, although he states that he declined all pecuniary recompense in India, Mr Fox (p. 41) informs us, that in July 1797, after his return to England, the East India Company settled 200*l.* a year upon him as a compensation 'for his having given up, while at Madras, the remuneration of 480*l.* a year, to which he was entitled for attending the Male Asylum School.'—This tallies singularly

with the statement of Dr Bell in his first edition, that the highest salary of a schoolmaster, on the old plan, would be 100 pagodas a month—for this makes exactly the odd sum of 480*l.* a year. No doubt, then, this was the calculation of Dr Bell's natural salary;—and they who know the Honourable Company, and their servants at the presidencies, will have as little doubt that an office of this value has not been suffered to expire for want of occupants. Here, then, we have, in masters' salaries, to begin with, 672*l.* a year; to which must be added, the rent, and other expenses of a schoolroom. Furthermore, a sum must be set apart for books, writing materials, and rewards; all of which are, even in the last stage of improvement to which Dr Bell has brought his plan, viz. in his last edition, out of all comparison more costly than in Mr Lancaster's system. Each child must have all the books used, to the number of fourteen or fifteen, and must use paper, pen and ink from the beginning of his writing; and the rewards, consisting of so much money by the week, to monitors and boys who excel in each class, amount, as we have calculated from Sir T. Bernard's account of the Barrington school, to 38*l.* a-year for 200 boys. It is impossible to estimate the books and paper on this plan at less than 100*l.* a year, being 10s. a boy; so that 900*l.* must be required to clear all expenses:—But, call it only 800*l.*, which is allowing nothing for rent and other expenses of the room—the result is, that Dr Bell's plan educates the children of the poor at four pounds a head by the year, which is three times as much as the expense of the first *Grammar School* in Scotland; and, instead of being a very cheap, turns out to be a very costly education. Nay, were we to deduct the superintendant's salary, the expense would be, allowing only 50*l.* for the room, 380*l.*, or 38 shillings a head, which is half as much again as the High School of this City. In truth, the want of economy is inherent in Dr Bell's system—even in its latest state of improvement; for many of the expenses increase exactly with the number taught. Thus, rewards, books, and writing materials, form a large item for each boy, not less than 14 or 15 shillings, at the lowest computation; and the proportion is the same in a school of 1000, and in one of 100. The beauty of Mr Lancaster's principle is, that it diminishes this, like every other expense of education, in proportion as the numbers taught are increased; while, even to the smallest schools, it brings those charges far below the estimates of the other scheme. Of this even Sir Thomas Bernard seems to have been sensible; for he says, (p. 101)—'Upon the last article, the *economy of a school*, Mr Lancaster 'is above all praise. In this respect he will be found to surpass 'Dr Bell, even when the misconceptions which have been enter-

'tained by some persons, respecting his Madras school, shall have 'been entirely done away;' an admission which, like most of his valuable tract, does much honour to the worthy baronet's candour—though we lament, that he should have, from an oversight, added a few words, rather underrating the point of economy, in which, truly, the whole, or nearly the whole question between the two plans lies, and the whole, or nearly the whole merit of either, as compared with the old system, is comprised. *

We have now only to resume the history of the two plans, in order to complete this comparative view, both of their several merits, and of the grounds upon which the two inventors assert their claims to originality. And, to say the truth, our preference of Mr Lancaster to Dr Bell (since we are compelled to contrast men who ought always to have been regarded as fellow-labourers, and not as rivals) rests, if possible, yet more confidently upon the branch of the statement which remains, than even upon the material points already established.

It has already been observed, that Dr Bell retired to a distant part of the country as soon as his pamphlet was published. There he remained occupied with the sacred duties of his profession, and, for above eight years, appears to have done nothing towards carrying the Madras method into practice. He drops a hint once about a Sunday school in his parish; but, had it contained any exemplification of his principles, he would, no doubt, have *described* that institution. In the end of December 1806, we are informed, that, one month before, a school on his plan had been begun at Swanage; and this is the first and the last time that we hear of it. Afterwards, he refers us to two other schools on his principles, as instances of their application to practice. But one of these, the Mary-le-bone seminary, was visited by Mr Fox; and he found, to his no small surprise, that this school had been *organized by Mr Lancaster on his own principles*, and that a vote of thanks to him, on that account, had been passed by the subscribers, the worthy Dean of Westminster being in the chair:—the other, at

* In another passage of his work, Sir Thomas repeats the same inaccuracy rather more in detail. He objects to Mr Lancaster's method of making one book serve for the whole school; and gives as his reason, that a book is a gratification to a child. 'It is,' says he, 'property to them—it is a crown and a sceptre to them.' (p. 94); forgetting that the question is, whether the child can afford to have the crown and sceptre. And as for the assertion which follows, that 20s. a year will supply books to a whole school of 100 boys; it proceeds on the assumption, that only one little book shall be used, and that, at the price at which a religious society distributes it from a peculiar fund.

Whitechapel, was just then set on foot. The Barrington school, very recently established under Dr Bell's immediate superintendance, (for he enjoys a large salary as master of Sherborne hospital, and has, we are informed, no other occupation than the care of the school *) educates, or is intended to educate, 120 boys.

Such have been the actual *practical* exertions of Dr Bell to propagate the system of popular education. He did *nothing* till Mr Lancaster's schools were bestowing education on thousands—were known by reputation everywhere—and admitted, by all who saw them, to be a completely successful experiment on a very large scale. He then began to establish some seminaries on the Madras plan; and, in five years, he has set a-going three, one of which we know nothing about, except that, when it was a month old, we were told it had been begun;—another of which is still in its first infancy, and is supported by every sort of costly patronage and gratuitous endowment; † and the whole of which put together, do not profess to educate more boys than one of Lancaster's schools used to do, before he had extended his subscription and enlarged his plan in 1805.

During the same five years, Mr Lancaster's system has been advancing with the steadiness derived from the firm construction of all its parts, and their artist-like combination. He devised the principles, and executed the mechanism with his own hand; and the invention derives a vast portion of its merits from the master having shown all mankind how he himself uses it. By his indefatigable activity, he has trained numberless persons fit to carry the practical benefits of his discovery over the whole world; and he has made the tour of nearly the whole island, every where exciting the friends of humanity to cooperate with his honest zeal, and establishing, by their means, in all parts of the country, seminaries, which may at once educate the poor in their immediate neighbourhood, and serve as patterns for the imitation of other districts, but which all the pamphlets that could be printed would never have founded, nor even encouraged men to attempt, without the marvellous stimulus communicated by an able and accomplished enthusiast, and the well-grounded confidence inspired by having the actual inventor for

* It is a painful, but necessary part of all controversies, that the disputants must be ever putting the bystanders on their guard against listening to undue insinuations. We therefore desire, once more, to have it understood, that we view the preference bestowed on Dr Bell as equally honourable to his patron and himself.

† There are houses and gardens at the Barrington school, for a number of boys, on a foundation; and a perpetual provision made for this, by the munificence of the right reverend founder.

a fellow-labourer. Had Dr Bell's plan been published twenty years ago, in its last and most perfect form—nay, had it even coincided entirely with the other, and had no man, but he alone, ever pretended to any invention of methods, or discovery of principles—if, in such circumstances, we were now called upon to say who founded the new system of education, and to record, for the veneration of posterity, the man who had made the blessings of knowledge as common as the light of the sun, we could not cast our eye for one moment over the last fact that has been unfolded, without pronouncing the name of Joseph Lancaster.

We deeply regret to find that Dr Bell has not had the prudence and good sense—we say nothing of generosity or courage—to allow this simple-minded and most deserving man, a merit which he cannot, by any stretch of self-complacency, pretend to dispute with him. And herein lies the charge which, we are unwillingly compelled to admit, has sunk most in our minds against that reverend person. We could have pardoned the senseless distinction between teaching writing and reading, and passed over the alarm, lest the minds of the lower orders, '*who are doomed to the drudgery of daily labour*,' should be too much elevated by instruction. In favour of so considerable a benefactor of society, we could have done a little violence to our suspicious habits; and imputed such doctrines to sincere, though groundless fears, and to the remains of narrow-minded notions. We could have exercised a similar charity towards his most ludicrous rant about '*throwing aside the horn book of our ancestors;*' and refrained, or endeavoured to refrain from tracing, in the various insinuations against liberal opinions which his writings contain, a fellowship of feeling, if not of motives, with the Daubenies, the Trimmers, and the Sprys. But when we find Dr Bell printing book after book, to explain his system,—years and years *after* Mr Lancaster had, by the most unwearied exertions, we will only say of bodily labour, succeeded completely in carrying every one principle of that scheme into *complete practical effect*, and in spreading the beneficial use of it over the whole island; and when, in those books, Dr Bell does not even make mention of Mr Lancaster, *—offers him no acknowledgment for his corporeal fatigues—(we go no further)—tenders him no thanks for having, we will call it, taken the trouble of adopting and disseminating his doctrines—presents to him no gratulations upon the unhoped for success which had attended his preaching and his practice of those doctrines—nay, deigns not even to record the fact, so important to his *own fame*,

* Unless, indeed, at the foot of one page, where he alludes to his pamphlet, in order to speak slightingly of it.

that the Madras system had wonderfully prospered in England under the management of one Joseph Lancaster—(need we clear our position by any *further* admissions?—*can* we strip the one man any closer, in order to try the other's conduct, and scrutinize his motives?)—truly this silence is too unnatural even to be mysterious, and, in our ears—do all we can to shut them—to stop them up with the remembrance of the man's former merits, it loudly rings a distinct charge against the reverend gentleman, of pitiful jealousy towards one whom he may be desirous of thinking his imitator, but towards whom he thus betrays the feelings of a disappointed rival. But if the jealousy be denied, then is it time to infer a still graver accusation; for, in that case, Dr Bell must be considered as leagued in most unnatural union with the combination of bigots and time-servers, against one of the greatest benefactors of his species.

The efforts of that combination were, as we before observed, most unfortunately aided by the accident of Dr Bell's right reverend patron's calling him from his retirement to bring forward his claims to originality, and to assist in the establishment of schools. The clamour which had gone forth partially, and with little success, against Mr Lancaster, was now renewed, under the form of ascribing all the merit to Dr Bell—lavishly applauding his method, and decrying his competitor's. The attempt, however, to obstruct Mr Lancaster's course, failed so signally, that we shall spare ourselves the trouble of again alluding to the facts. The royal and noble patronage * still stood in the way of any very gross violations of decency towards his principles and character; and, whatsoever was to be thrown out against the tendency of his system, or against his motives, behoved to be guardedly conveyed by insi-

* To enumerate the distinguished persons who have publicly given their support to Mr Lancaster and his system, would take up far more room than we can now spare for this subject. Yet we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of recording, upon such an occasion, the name of the Right Reverend Dr H. Bathurst Bishop of Norwich, who, to the many proofs of liberality—of mild and intrepid philanthropy which his pastoral life affords—has lately added that of a public sermon in favour of Joseph Lancaster and his plan of education. In Scotland, we are proud to say that it has hitherto met with no opposition from any party in our Church; and that the established clergy in general have indicated a laudable zeal for its universal adoption. One clergyman, indeed, not of the Establishment, and not the most esteemed of the very respectable communion to which he belongs—has emulated, as we understand, the Archdeacon Daubeny, and made the pulpit the vehicle of his calumnies against Lancaster. As we do not apprehend any great mischief from his exertions, we have no wish that he should be made to expiate this, as he *has expiated* other calumnies.

nuation, rather than launched in the common shape of a *cry*. Mr Lancaster was stigmatized as a Quaker;—the tenets of that innocent and amiable sect were abused;—and then, in order to heighten the charge against Mr Lancaster, at the expense of consistency as well as truth, he was said to be a person whom his sect renounced. But the expected success of Dr Bell's plan, from the patronage he had recently met with, soon gave a new turn and a bolder form to the argument; and the watchmen of the Church (as these unquiet persons are fond of calling themselves) now openly sounded the alarm of danger to the Establishment, from the system of the man whom the Royal Head of the Church had graciously deemed worthy of his peculiar favour and protection.

The Archdeacon Daubeny once more ascended the pulpit, and raised again, within the walls of St Paul's, that voice of persecution, with which he had made Sarum echo. He warned his brethren to be on their guard against 'the projected improvements 'in the education of the poor.' He accused Mr Lancaster of excluding from his plan the peculiar doctrines of the gospel. The plan itself, he stigmatized, as 'calculated to answer no one pur-'pose, so much, as that of amalgamating the great body of the 'people into one great *deistical compound*;' and he designated Mr Lancaster as one who, in these 'days of rebuke and blas-'phemy,' had become the author of 'a deceitful institution,—'the whole secret of which, for the *purpose* of neutralizing the 'effect of all established opinions,' consisted in teaching 'the 'rejection of all peculiar tenets,' and the adoption of 'a kind 'of *philosophical deism*;'—an institution 'which called to mind 'the crafty design of *the apostate Julian* to confound Christiani-'ty, by encouraging dissension, as the best means of gradually 'extirpating the name of Christ from the earth.' Finally, this reverend person plainly stated, that the '*Archdeceiver*' himself (meaning, as we conjecture, not Bonaparte, but only Satan) had an interest in the new system of education, in as much as this 'industrious promoter of heresy would not fail to turn it to 'the promotion of infidelity.'*

* In other tracts, the abuse of Mr Lancaster and the Quakers is still more unmeasured, particularly in a '*Dialogue between a Master and Apprentice*,' supposed to speak pretty correctly the sentiments of the persons of whom we are treating. The Quakers are there denominated '*an antichristian sect*.' It is said, that 'the brood of them was of the most unpromising kind, from their first hatching.' The term *bigot* is stated to be 'engraved on their door;' and, of the sect which destroyed the African slave trade, it is observed, that little good can be expected from their efforts, either in Church or State.

Let us hope that such topics failed altogether of success. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied, that one charge is mixed up with them, which has attracted the notice of a few among the more worthy and rational portion of churchmen—a charge which, we grieve to say, for a short season, had some influence in creating alarm against the new system. This accusation resolves itself into a single point. Mr Lancaster teaches no particular religious articles:—To which the plain answer always has been, that he teaches *reading*,—*writing*,—and *arithmetic*. He gives his pupils a key, by which they may unlock all the stores of sacred knowledge. But, moreover, he teaches *the Scriptures*:—daily and hourly does he set before his scholars the history and the doctrines of Christ, as delivered by his Apostles. There is not a word taught in his schools, that is not taken from the writings of the inspired penmen. All this is granted: No one can venture to deny it: His bitterest adversaries explicitly admit it. But, will it be believed, that this does not satisfy them? Will it be credited, that, in the nineteenth century—in a Protestant country—in times signalized by nothing more than the zeal displayed against the Romish religion, and the daily sacrifices of every kind which that zeal demands;—will it be credited, that the very faction, whose outcries against Popery are the loudest, and whose demeanour towards its professors is the most intolerant, have not blushed to use the very worst arguments of the Romish bigots, and to proclaim the dangers of entrusting an unprepared multitude with the free use of *the Scriptures?* To teach merely the Bible, it seems, is to encourage dissent, heresy, latitudinarian principles, indifference, deism, infidelity, irreligion. And we grieve to say, that Sir Thomas Bernard himself, whom we have found in general so candid towards the new system—so fair, and even liberal, towards Mr Lancaster, in other topics—so favourable even to his method of teaching the Scriptures—lends a kind of sanction to this worst of Popish abominations, in one passage of his tract, where he lays it down, that the Bible should not be put into the hands of children, until after they have gone through a preparatory course of religious instruction. * How much more enlightened and rational an authority have we in the conduct of the King of England,—the Patron of the Lancasterian system!—and how noble is the commentary upon it, which his own me-

* The worthy Baronet (we cannot too often commend him for it) boldly defends the religious part of Mr Lancaster's course of tuition: but the reprehensible passage alluded to in the text, comes into his account of Dr Bell's course of reading. It may possibly be an oversight.

morable speech to the author of the system, affords! We allude to that exalted saying of his (which, we own, strikes us as infinitely finer than the celebrated wish of Henry IV. of France), that '*he hoped to see the day, when every poor child in his dominions should be able to read his Bible!*'

When this truly Christian and truly patriotic wish is accomplished, we, for our parts, shall think, that an inestimable benefit has been conferred on that generation, and an incalculable advantage obtained for the whole community. But even those who may think differently, have no reason, on this account, to undervalue the discovery of Mr Lancaster. The system which he has invented, may be applied to teach the Catechism as well as the Scriptures; and should be extolled and adopted, therefore, by all those who really wish to see the Catechism familiar to all the children in the kingdom. Mr Lancaster does not bind over the schoolmasters whom he instructs, to take all their lessons, as he himself does, from the inspired writings alone. He has no objection that they should employ his method to imprint the Catechism of the Church of England,—or the Confession of Faith of the Scotish church,—or the Liturgy of the Romanists, upon the minds of their respective disciples. All that he wants is, that *his method* should be made known and adopted;—and all that his advocates want is, that the merit of discovering, and of bringing that method to practical perfection, should be ascribed to him who deserves it. What should we think of the liberality of those who should pretend to undervalue the invention of *printing*, because the inventor happened to be a sectary?—or of *their* common sense, who should cry out against its general adoption, upon the same orthodox ground? Yet printing is not more capable of being applied to diffuse *all* truth and *all* knowledge, than the beautiful discovery of Mr Lancaster. Considering him, indeed, as the sole practical teacher of that inestimable discovery,—the only person from whom, as yet, this art of universal instruction can be safely derived,—we cannot help regarding it as a most fortunate and providential circumstance, that he should happen to belong to a sect which does not think it necessary to bring forward its peculiar doctrines in a system of elementary education. If the inventor of this valuable method had been a bigotted Catholic—a sour Presbyterian—or a narrow-minded member of the Church of England, and had, consequently, insisted upon exemplifying it only in teaching the peculiar dogmas of his own particular church,—it is evident that none but the members of that church could have derived any benefit from his exertions; and that it would have been difficult for persons of another persuasion to have acquired that thorough and practical knowledge of it, which

might qualify them to act as schoolmasters within the limits of their own congregations. The unexceptionable demeanour of Mr Lancaster, however, can revolt none; and holds out an acceptable invitation to all. He appears, in his school, as a Christian only,—teaching nothing but what *all* Christians agree in revering,—and desiring them all to come and learn, from his manner of teaching the Bible, how every thing else that they may wish to add to it, may be most effectually taught.

The real motive of the opposition which has been attempted to Mr Lancaster, is, we will venture to say, by no means the fear of infidelity, but of dissent; and it is truly pitiable to see Dr Bell himself among the first in furnishing us with proofs of this assertion. He has not scrupled, indeed, to insinuate, in his last publication (p. 317), that the instruction of youth should be committed to the parochial clergy; and that shoolmasters should be licensed by the bishop. After stating that such is the law *(which it is not)*, he suggests, that 'little more remains to be done, than 'to give it consistency, uniformity and stability;' (that is to say, to *repeal* the existing statutes); and he adds, that 'it may suffice for the present, to begin with putting Sunday schools for 'the poor under *existing and appropriate authorities.*'

We certainly do not quote this for the purpose of entering into a legal argument with the reverend author. We do not mean to take the trouble of reminding him, that all manner of toleration has now, for above thirty years, been the right of dissenting teachers by statute, as it always was, in sound policy and natural justice. Nor do we intend to upbraid him with referring, for the rights of the Church, to obsolete canons, which denounce a series of excommunications against persons guilty of omissions, habitual to almost every British subject, of whatever religious denomination. But we state the substance of Dr Bell's suggestion, for the sake of recording the fact, that there exist certain persons, whose almost avowed designs are hostile to toleration—who are preparing the minds of the people for attempts to extend the powers of the hierarchy—who, not content with seeing the Established Church in possession (we thank God, in undisturbed, undisputed, unenvied possession) of the privileges so conducive to the temporal, as well as spiritual welfare of the realm—would madly seek to extend her power, and lessen her security;—to exalt her name, and debase her character;—to clothe her with new attributes, and bring into jeopardy her very existence. Now, therefore, we, in our turn, must be permitted to speak of dangers, and to occupy ourselves with alarms;—we must presume to warn and admonish;—we must denounce, as enemies to the peace and liberties of the community most certainly, but as worse

enemies, if it be possible, to the welfare of the Church, and the whole religious interests of England, those who first, by half-concealed stratagem, and now by more than half-declared aggressions—undermining where they durst not assault, and attacking what they hoped to find defenceless—would wage war against the dearest rights of the people, for the purpose of involving the clergy in trouble and shame—and lay society itself waste, in order that the Church might pass through the highest perils, to the most certain corruption. Against the machinations of such men, we warn, above all, the wise and pious part of the sacred order to which they belong, and the temporal rulers whose ears they may perhaps seek to gain, by promises of assistance and support. Distrusting both our authority and our powers of persuasion, we would warn both those classes, in the language of the most powerful supporter of the Establishment who was ever suffered to die unmitred—'The single end,' says Dr Paley, 'which we ought 'to propose by religious establishments, is the preservation and 'communication of religious knowledge. Every other idea, and 'every other end, that have been mixed with this—as the making of the Church an engine, or even an *ally* of the State—converting it into the means of strengthening or of *diffusing* influence—or regarding it as a support of regal, *in opposition to* '*popular* forms of government—have served only to debase the 'institution, and to introduce into it numerous corruptions and 'abuses.' †.

Whoever has done us the honour to follow us through the detail which we have now brought to a close, will probably be prepared to admit, among others, the following positions.

That the new system of education is calculated to promote the cheap, rapid, and easy diffusion of knowledge, in an unprecedented degree.

That the merit of devising it belongs to Joseph Lancaster,‡ although one of its principles had been previously known to Dr Bell, and exemplified in the school at Madras, but without those

† Moral and Political Philosophy, vol. II. p. 305.

‡ It is admitted by Sir T. Bernard, that no charge of borrowing from Dr Bell can possibly be brought against Mr Lancaster. Indeed, he accuses both Mr Lancaster and his defenders, of never having 'examined Dr Bell's principles or their application;' (p. 103.) And, if they never did understand them, Dr Bell himself furnishes their best apology; for, after the lapse of twelve years, and the publication of three editions of his plan, he announces the purpose of additional matter in the fourth to be, to '*give minute and particular instructions for reducing his scheme to practice.*' p. 39.

other principles which, when taken together, constitute the new system.

That to Joseph Lancaster, *alone*, belongs the praise of introducing the new system into practice, and enabling mankind to benefit by it, and preparing the way for its universal reception.

That the plan pursued by Dr Bell, and recently attempted to be set up in opposition to Mr Lancaster's, has no one peculiarity which can entitle it to a preference; while, on the contrary, it is deficient in many of the most important points, and especially fails in the article of economy.

Lastly, That, while great praise is due to Dr Bell for his exertions in Madras, and for his attempts in England, there is no good whatever to be expected from any endeavours to keep alive the opposition to Mr Lancaster, commenced by his friends; but that every real friend to the education of the poor, will consider the system of the latter as the only one well adapted to the attainment of that desirable object.

The length to which this article has already extended, precludes the possibility of adding (as was our intention) a sketch of the proceedings of Mr Lancaster's friends, and of the success which has attended their liberal and persevering exertions in behalf of the best interests of mankind.

ART. IV. *Code d'Instruction Criminelle; Edition conforme à l'Edition originale du Bulletin des Lois; suivi des Motifs exposés par les Conseillers d'Etat, et des Rapports faits par la Commission de Legislation du Corps Legislatif, sur chacun des Lois qui composent le Code.* A Paris, 1809.

IT sounds a little like the beginning of a Tritical Essay to say, that there is nothing which it is of so much consequence for a people to know, as the excellences and defects of their laws. But it is not quite tritical, we believe, to say, that it is of infinitely more consequence that they should know the *defects* than the excellences of their laws; and that there is nothing with which they are so unwilling to be made acquainted. The little sentiment of personal consequence, attaches itself to all the institutions under which we have been accustomed to live. *Our* family, *our* country, *our* laws, *our* government—must be better than all other families, countries, laws and governments! —and in this temper, which is habitual to the greatest part of mankind, and to the least enlightened the most remarkably, we would rather bear all the evils resulting from the defects of

our laws, than allow that there can be any defects in the laws of so wonderful a people. Γνωθι σεαυτον (Know thyself), which the highest authority has converted into a rule of Christian perfection, useful and difficult as it may be to individuals, is perhaps still more highly useful to communities, and still more difficult to practise. Of their overweening partialities to themselves personally, men, if they are not the weakest of men, are generally ashamed; but national partialities, how weak and ridiculous soever, are boasted of as patriotism; and he who would reason against them, runs some risk of being treated as an enemy to his country. Yet there is no way in which false notions of himself are likely to be prejudicial to an individual, in which a similar error is not likely to produce still worse consequences to a nation.

Horace represents it as a masterpiece of art, in his father, when warning him against the vices into which he thought him most likely to fall, that, instead of wounding his self-love, by pointing to the defects of his own character, he called his attention to the defects, along with their evil consequences, which were prominent in the characters of neighbours.

'*Cum me hortareter, parcè, frugaliter, atque*
Viverem utì contentus eo, quod mi ipse parasset—
Nonne vides Albi ut male vivat filius? Utque
Barrus inops?———
——— A turpi meretricis amore
Cum deterreret,—Sectani dissimilis sis.'
&c.

Well acquainted with the character of our countrymen, it has been a study with us to imitate the conduct of the judicious Roman. Knowing that those with whom we have to deal, would not bear to have the defects of their own institutions presented to them naked, we have, as often as possible, afforded them occasions to contemplate the defects of institutions not their own; in hopes that, by learning and understanding what is hurtful and beneficial to others, they may make some progress, however slowly and indirectly, in discerning what is hurtful and beneficial to themselves.

In the field of law, the objects of contemplation with which Bonaparte has presented us, are next in interest to those which he has exhibited in the field of war. The manner in which our interests are liable to be affected by the country of whose powers he disposes, renders that country, and all which concerns it, especially what so deeply concerns it as the laws which regulate the lives and properties of the people, a subject of deep interest and curiosity. He has now nearly, if not entirely, completed for his

subjects a new body of law. The Civil Code, that is, the body of laws destined to include all cases not penal, has been in execution for several years. Some time ago, a Code of Procedure, that is, a body of rules ascertaining and establishing the steps to be pursued by the officers of justice, in all the cases embraced by the Civil Code, was likewise promulgated. The Penal Code, that is, the branch of law which defines the actions that call for punishment, and fixes the punishment for each forbidden act, has been delayed. Whether it is yet published or not, the state of the intercourse between this country and France hardly enables us to ascertain. The Code of Procedure, however, adapted to penal cases, has recently reached this island; and though it would have been somewhat more satisfactory to have spoken of it, after perusing the Penal code itself, yet, the reasons are strong which induce us, without any longer delay, to present a short account of it to our readers. Of the four compartments into which it has pleased Bonaparte's legal advisers to divide the body of law, viz. 1. The Civil code, and 2. Code of procedure in civil cases; 3. The Penal code, and 4. Code of procedure in penal cases; the last may be thought to embrace the simplest part of the subject; though it contains some features—for example, jury-trial, reestablished on a new foundation—which are peculiarly calculated to engage the attention of English readers. As crimes are nearly the same all over the world, the Penal codes of all nations are, except in the varieties of punishment, to a remarkable degree, the same. But, in the forms and the spirit of their Procedure—in the mode of dealing with the question of delinquency, and the supposed delinquent, from the first suspicion till the final decision, the diversity in the practice of nations is not only universal, but, in almost every instance, exceedingly great. The picture which the law of Procedure presents, is, therefore, in a peculiar degree, new, and striking.

The course of judicial procedure consists of several stages. In Penal cases, with which alone we have at present to do, these stages are three. 1. The procedure employed *to secure* the suspected individual, and the evidence which may be supposed to exist of his guilt: 2. The procedure employed for exhibiting and determining on the evidence which has been so collected, and for pronouncing the proper sentence: 3. The procedure employed for inflicting the punishment thus ascertained to be due—in other words, The trial; what goes before the trial; and what follows after the trial. Such, on all ordinary occasions, are the parts of judicial procedure; and such are the points in the new legislation of France, to which we are now to direct the attention of our readers.

To those who are not in some degree acquainted with the language of French law, it is necessary to explain, that the system of operations by which the courts of law carry the directions of the legislator into effect, is, in civil cases, denominated *Procédure*—*Procédure civile.* In penal cases, it is denominated *Instruction*—*Instruction criminelle.* To institute a prosecution is, *Instruire un procès.* And the code before us, containing the rules of procedure in penal cases, is hence denominated *Code d'Instruction criminelle.* We begin with that part of the procedure which is first in order; namely, that which precedes the business of the trial, and is necessary to render it effectual to its end.

The objects to which this preliminary business is directed, are three. One is, that nothing which looks like an offence, shall pass without judicial investigation; another is, that every individual on whom the suspicion of an offence attaches, shall be duly secured; and the third is, that whatever is capable of yielding evidence on the case, shall, as far as possible, be searched out and secured for that purpose.

Now, then, let us see what are the provisions made by the French legislators for the attainment of these several ends. They have provided a vast apparatus; and the parts of the machinery are sometimes so intertwined and complicated together, that any thing like a distinct idea of it is not very easy to be acquired. We have taken pains to present it in the simplest point of view.

This first of the stages of judicial procedure in penal cases, they call *police judiciaire.* What is usually known elsewhere by the name of *police*, they call *police administrative*, and distinguish it thus. Those offences which are only apprehended, are the objects of *administrative police*; and its business is to do all that is possible towards *preventing* such offences from being committed; or, where prevention is not possible, to take such previous measures as may prevent the criminal from making his escape, or the evidence of his guilt from being lost. It is, therefore, offences *about to be committed* which are the objects of administrative police. It is offences *already committed* which are the objects of *police judiciaire.*

The French legislators have distinguished offences into three kinds, and have adopted a mode of procedure, in some respects different, according as the offence in question is considered as belonging to one or another of these divisions. Offences penal in the lowest degree, are called *contraventions*, and are punishable with a fine not exceeding 15 francs, or imprisonment not exceeding five days. Offences penal in the second degree, are called *delits*; and are punishable with imprisonment exceeding five days, or fine above 15 francs. Offences penal in the highest degree, are named

crimes; and are subject to what is called *peine afflictive ou infamante.*

Each of these classes of offences has a separate order of tribunals, before which, all acts of that particular class are tried. For the trial of offences of the first order, the tribunal is called *Tribunal de Police*; for the second, *Tribunal en Matiere Correctionelle*; for the third, *Cour d'Assises.* The composition of the two first, it will be useful to state here: the nature of the last, it will be better to explain afterwards.

Functionaries, styled *Juges de Paix*, are the judges in the *Tribunaux de Police*, which are placed at small distances from each other over the whole surface of the empire; and the *Maires* of the municipalities have concurrent jurisdiction in most cases with these persons.

The first order of the tribunals, in civil cases, (*Tribunaux Civils de premiere instance*), are rendered also the *Tribunaux en Matiere Correctionelle*; and try all offences of the second order.

In the *Tribunaux de Police*, the inferior officers receive all informations and complaints relative to the first class of offences, of which they are bound to draw up an account in writing (*procès-verbal*), and to send it, with all the documents relative to the affair, to the public officer or prosecutor, at the *Tribunal de Police*, within three days at the latest. In the *Tribunaux en Matiere Correctionelle*, the preliminary steps being in substance the same with the mode pursued in regard to the last and principal class of offences, we shall pass it over; and proceed immediately to point out the steps by which, in these highest cases, the supposed offender, with the evidence of his guilt, is secured for the operations of the judge.

There are two officers to whom the principal share in this preliminary business is entrusted: these are, the *Procureur Imperial*, and the *Juge d'Instruction.* The *Procureur Imperial* is the public prosecutor at each tribunal; the *Juge d'Instruction* is the particular judge by whom the preliminary investigation is appointed to be taken; of which class of judges, one is established in each *Arrondissement Communal*; two, where two are necessary; and at Paris six. They are nominated by the Emperor from among the judges of the *Tribunal Civil*; and continue in office for three years.

The proper duty of the *Procureur* is, to prosecute all manner of crimes committed within his district, and to take care that they receive judicial investigation. His business is, upon obtaining knowledge of any offence, to give notice of it to the *Juge d'Instruction*, and require him to examine into the affair—to repair himself to the spot—and to do whatever is necessary for throwing light upon the offence, and for preventing the escape of the offender. The

Procureur Imperial is held, in such a manner, responsible for the prosecution of crimes, that the orator by whom the *projet de loi* was presented to the legislative body, expressly says, 'he may lay it down as a rule, that the *Procureur Imperial* must deserve reproach, wheresoever there is reason to complain of frequent infractions of the social order in the place where his functions are exercised.'

In order to facilitate, as much as possible, the communication of intelligence respecting crimes, the *Juges de Paix*, the *Officiers de Gendarmerie*, the *Commissaires de Police*, the *Maires*, and the *Adjoints de Maires*, are all appointed to receive the informations and complaints of individuals, and to transmit them, without delay, to the *Procureur Imperial*.

The business of the *Juge d'Instruction* is to take the most accurate account, possible, of the circumstances of the offence of which notice has reached him: and this he performs by bringing before him all persons, as well as things, whom, from the proceedings of the *Procureur*, or the statements of the informer, he may suppose likely to throw light upon the affair. The *inculpé*, the alleged offender, if his offence is not of the third or highest order, is only cited to appear; if it is of the third order, he is commanded to be brought before the *Juge d'Instruction*.

The witnesses are to be examined upon oath, by the *Juge d'Instruction*, but separately, and not in presence of the presumed offender; their depositions taken down in writing, and with the usual precautions against alteration or forgery. Persons under fifteen years of age, to be examined, but not upon oath. The inanimate subjects of evidence are to be inspected by the *Juge d'Instruction*; and he is to go to the place where they are, if they are of such a nature as cannot, without great inconvenience, be brought to him.

The process of investigation having been gone through, and the *inculpé* himself, and the persons most nearly related to him, examined, the *Juge d'Instruction*, after hearing the prosecutor, and the prosecuted, may, if the alleged offence is of the most penal class, and the presumption afforded by the evidence is strong, order the now probable offender to be held in custody. This order is denominated *mandat d'arrêt*, or *mandat de depôt*. And, besides the ordinary precautions against the mischief which is liable to be done under colour of legal imprisonment, the order must contain a statement of the fact on account of which the party is prosecuted, and a reference to the law by which the fact is rendered penal.

These orders are in force through the whole territory of France. When the offender is found without the limits of the jurisdiction

of the judge by whom the *mandat* was issued, the officer charged with the execution must first carry the person before the *Juge de Paix* of the place, though only for the purpose of proving the authenticity of the *mandat* with which he is charged.

The person against whom the *mandat* is issued, is conveyed to the house of custody (*maison d'arrêt*), either of the place where the judge who has issued it exercises his functions; or, if he has not so ordered, to the *maison d'arrêt* of the place where the *inculpé* was found.

In those cases, however, which are called cases of *flagrant delit*, additional officers, for the sake of rapid interference, are vested with authority to make preliminary investigations. Cases of *flagrant delit* are defined to be, when the offence is still in the act of being committed; or where it is very recently committed; or where the offender is pursued by *clameur publique* (hue and cry); or where he is caught with the instruments, or objects, or effects, &c. of his crime about him.—In such cases, the *Procureur Imperial* has also the power of preliminary investigation; and may, without waiting for the *Juge d'Instruction*, draw up an account, in writing, of the circumstances of the case, and take down the declarations of all persons who may know any thing relative to the affair, not excepting the nearest relations of the parties. The persons examined are requested to sign their declarations; and, if they refuse to do so, their refusal is mentioned in his report. He interrogates the presumed offender, who signs his own declaration, if he chooses; if not, mention of his refusal is inserted in the report. When it is presumed that indications of his guilt may be found in the house of the alleged offender, the *Procureur* must repair thither, make search for, and secure, for the purpose of evidence, whatever he deems capable of serving in that capacity. The articles, where it is practicable, are to be sealed up; where it is not, they are to be put into a box, or a bag, on which the *Procureur* is to fasten a band of paper, and attach his seal. All this is to be done in the presence of the supposed offender, or of some one empowered by him; and the objects are to be presented to him to own, and affix his name to them, if he chooses; if not, mention must, in the report, be made of his refusal. When the presumption afforded by the evidence is strong, the *Procureur* is to order the *inculpé*, if present, to be detained; if absent, to be taken into custody.

When the *Juge d'Instruction* comes, his presence supersedes all other functions of the *Procureur*, saving those which belong to him as prosecutor merely. But when the investigation has been, as above, completed by himself, he is to transmit his report without delay, and all the documents connected with it, to this judge.

The *Juge d'Instruction* himself is, in cases of *flagrant delit*, to proceed, if necessary, without the presence of the *Procureur Imperial*, to whom, however, he must send notice; and as the knowledge of meditated crimes peculiarly qualifies the officers of administrative police to be serviceable, in cases of sudden emergency, the *Prefets des Departements*, and the *Prefet de Police*, at Paris, are vested with the power of performing in person, or of requiring the officers of *police judiciaire*, to perform the preliminary investigations, and all the acts therewith connected.

The first stage of the proceedings is now completed; the case is explored; all that can throw light upon it has been collected; and the presumed offender is secured for trial. But, who is to determine whether there is occasion for a trial or not? Is it the judge who has collected the evidence?—No: For this purpose, there is, first, the *Chambre du Conseil*, which must contain three judges at the least, including the *Juge d'Instruction*. To them the *Juge d'Instruction* is bound to deliver a report, once a week at the least, of every case which has called upon him for investigation. If the judges of the *Chambre du Conseil* are *unanimous* in opinion that no crime has been committed, or that none but frivolous evidence is brought against the accused, they may decide, that there is no need for a trial, and order him to be set at liberty; subject, at the same time, to the remonstrance of the *Procureur Imperial*. If they find the offence to belong to the first or second order, they may send the offender to the *Tribunal de Police*, or to the *Tribunal en Matiere Correctionelle*, according as the case may be. If, however, so much as one of them deems the case meet for trial, as a case in the third order of offences, they are to transmit the reports, and all other documents belonging to the case, through the *Procureur Imperial* to the *Cour Imperial*.

The functions of the *Cour Imperial* are as follows. *Procureur-general* is the name of the public prosecutor in this court. It is to him immediately that the documents are transmitted from the *Chambre du Conseil*. He is bound to place the affair *en etat* (as they express it), within five days after receiving the documents; and in five days more to make his report.

A section of the court called the *Cour Imperial*, specially formed for that duty, must assemble, once a week at the least, in the *Chambre du Conseil*, to hear the report of the *Procureur general*, and must decide, within three days, whether the fact charged is a crime by law, and whether the proofs against the prisoner are sufficiently strong to make it proper to send him to trial.

They deliberate *in secret*. When it appears to them necessary, they even order further inquiries, and call for the production of additional documents.

If they find either that no crime has been committed, or that no sufficient evidence is brought against the accused, they order him to be set at liberty. If they find that an offence of the first or second order only has been committed, they send him to the tribunals appointed to take cognizance of these offences. If the offence appear to be one of the third order, and the evidence such as to afford reasonable suspicions of his guilt, they pronounce the sentence which is called *mise en accusation*, (equivalent to the English finding of a true bill), and detain the prisoner for trial.

In all cases, the *Cours Imperiales* may, antecedently to their pronouncing the sentence of *mise en accusation*, appoint one of their judges to go again through the whole process of the preliminary investigation, for their satisfaction.

In all cases where the *mise en accusation* is pronounced, the *Procureur-general* must draw up an *acte d'accusation*, which must set forth, 1. the proper generic description of the offence which has been committed; 2. the special fact, and all the circumstances which tend to aggravate or extenuate its atrocity. It must name, and clearly designate, the accused; and it must be summed up with the following conclusion. "In consequence, A [the prisoner] is accused of having committed such or such a murder, such or such robbery, or other crime, with such or such circumstances." A copy of the sentence [of *mise en accusation*] with a copy of the *acte d'accusation*, must be given to the prisoner; and, within twenty-four hours, he must be removed from the *Maison d'arrêt* to the *Maison de justice*, attached to the court at which he is to be tried.

Such, then, is the mode of procedure in the two great sets of cases. In the lowest order of offences, the offender is left at large, till called upon to undergo the punishment which the judge may ordain. In the highest, the person of the supposed offender, as soon as the presumption of his guilt is supported by reasonable proofs, is retained in custody, as the only adequate security for his submitting himself to justice. But, besides these two orders of offences, there is evidently an intermediate order—too serious to admit of that unrestrained liberty which is left to the offender in the case of the slightest offences, but not of that weight and danger which is supposed to justify the imposition of so great a burthen as imprisonment in the higher. In the jurisprudence, accordingly, of all nations who can be said, from their state of civilization, to have a jurisprudence, cases of delinquency, more or less accurately defined, have been selected, in which some sort of pledge, less onerous than imprisonment, has been taken as security for a man's submitting himself to justice. The following, in

regard to this material point, are the regulations established by the authors of the present Code.

With regard to all offences which we have denominated offences of the second order, pecuniary security, in a sum not less than 500 francs, is taken in the *Chambre du Conseil.* The offender himself may be his own security, or any one else may be security for him; upon proving that he is worth as much as the security demanded, and half as much more; or upon making deposite of a sum equal to the security. This sort of bail, however, is not to be taken in the case of vagabonds, or of those who have fled or concealed themselves from justice. If part of the punishment annexed to the offence consists in the obligation of rendering pecuniary satisfaction to the party injured, the security must be equal to thrice the amount of that satisfaction; the amount of which is, for this purpose, to be provisionally estimated by the *Juge d'Instruction.*

We have now seen the mode of procedure which is adopted in France, in the prosecution of crimes, from the first disclosure of the fact of the offence, till the supposed offender is delivered up to trial. We proceed now to the trial.

The court, before which it takes place, is called *Cour d'Assises.* One such court is established in every department. Its sessions are held every three months, or, if need be, oftener; and close only when there is no more business to be performed. The court is composed in the following manner.

In the department which is the seat of the *Cour Imperial*, five judges of that court sit as judges of assize. In the other departments, one of the judges of the *Cour Imperial* is delegated to officiate as judge and president; and to him are added four of the oldest judges of the *Tribunal de Premiere Instance* of the place. None of the judges by whom the preliminary proceedings were conducted, or by whom the sentence of *mise en accusation* was pronounced, are admitted to officiate as judges at the trial.

Of the *Cour d'Assises*, however, the Jury is the most remarkable feature.—The lowest order of persons in France, were not, it is said, found competent to the duties of jurymen. By the new law, therefore, jurymen can only be chosen from the seven following classes of persons; 1. from among the members of the electoral colleges; 2. from among the three hundred individuals domiciliated in the place, who pay the greatest amount of taxes; 3. from among the functionaries of the administrative order, nominated by the emperor; 4. from among the doctors and licentiates of one or more of the four Faculties, the members and correspondents of the Institute, and of other learned societies recognized by the

government; 5. from among the notaries; 6. from among the bankers, agents of exchange, and merchants, taking out a license (*payant patente*) of one of the two highest classes; 7. from among the agents of the administrative authorities, who enjoy appointments of not less than 4000 francs. Upon special application, however, or recommendation to the Minister of Justice, persons eminently qualified may be put upon the list of jurymen, though not belonging to any of those seven classes.

No one can be a juryman, who has acted as an officer of *police judiciaire*,—as a witness, interpreter, or party, in the preliminary steps of the same affair. No minister of state—no prefect or sub-prefect—no judge—no public prosecutor, can be a juryman—no clergyman of any denomination, and no person under 30 years of age. Certain public functionaries—and persons not less than seventy years of age, may be exempted from the duty, if they desire it.

For each particular cause a jury is formed in the following manner. Fifteen days at least before the opening of the sessions of the *Cour d'Assises*, the president of the court must direct his requisition to the prefect, to form and transmit to him a list of jurymen. The list formed by the prefect consists of sixty. Within twenty-four hours from the time of receiving it, the president is bound to reduce it to thirty-six, by striking off the surplus; and to send it back, thus reduced, to the prefect, who must then give notice to the individuals thus elected, eight days, at least, before the day on which they are called upon to be in readiness to serve. To the party accused, this list is to be communicated on the evening before the trial, but not sooner.

If, when the time of trial is come, less than thirty of the thirty-six jurymen left on the list are present, that number must be made up by the president from the persons qualified to be jurymen, belonging to the *Arrondissement Communal* where the court sits—these supplementary persons being chosen publicly, and by lot.

To select from the number thus formed, the twelve who are to serve as jurymen in the cause in question, the following course is pursued. The whole names are thrown into an urn: from which they are then taken out, and announced publicly one by one; and as each is taken out, the parties, both accuser and accused, are desired to challenge. The challenge is peremptory,—no reason asked, or allowed to be given. As soon as twelve names, not challenged, have been taken out, the jury is formed; and, as soon as the names remaining in the urn, added to the unchallenged names already drawn out, just suffice to compose the number twelve, an end is put to the power of challenging.

The accuser and the accused are allowed an equal number of challenges. Only, when the number of jurymen present is an odd number, the odd challenge is allowed to the prisoner.

Such is the composition of the *Cour d'Assises*. Its mode of procedure is as follows.

Within twenty-four hours after the prisoner, and the documents of his guilt, have been sent to the *Maison de Justice*, the President, or some other judge of the *Cour d'Assises*, must ask him, of whom he has made choice as counsel, to aid him in his defence? If he has made choice of no one, the President shall, on pain of privation, immediately assign him one; which appointment by the President, however, may be superseded, by a posterior choice of the prisoner for himself. This assistant must be chosen among the *avocats* or *avoués* of the *Cour Imperial*. But the prisoner may ask, and receive permission to employ, in the capacity of his assistant, one of his relations or friends.

The judge is next directed to inform the accused, that if he thinks he has a plea of nullification (*demande en nullité*), he must make his declaration in five days. If he has not received this information, however, he may claim the exercise of the right at any time before the final sentence, but not after it.

The *demande en nullité*, or plea of nullification, will be readily understood by English lawyers; but may require a word of explanation to others. It is an allegation, that the proceedings, or some part of them, have been irregular and contrary to law, and consequently null. To pronounce upon the *demande en nullité*, is not the business of the *Cour d'Assises*, but of a special tribunal, called *Cour de Cassation*, to whom the plea must be immediately transmitted by the public prosecutor attached to the *Cour d'Assises*. But, notwithstanding this *demande en nullité*, the proceedings at the *Cour d'Assises*, in the mean time, go on till the hearing exclusively. The trial may be put off, on the motion of either party, on cause shown; the absence, for example, of a material witness,—the sickness of the party, or of his counsel, —or the discovery of new witnesses, whose depositions must then be taken by the *Juge d'Instruction* of the place where they reside, and transmitted under his seal. The accused is entitled to one copy, gratis, of the whole *procès-verbaux* (the reports) of the preliminary proceedings, and depositions of the witnesses; and may have other copies, on paying for them. The counsel for the accused may take, or cause to be taken, at the expense of their clients, copies of any such papers as they may deem useful to the defence.

The time for the trial being come, the first operation is, that of calling over the names of the jurymen, challenging them, and

forming the jury, in the manner already described. The jury are placed so as directly to face the party on trial, who stands unfettered. He is asked by the president his age, profession, the place of his birth, and the place of his abode. The counsel are then duly admonished by the president, who proceeds to tender to the jury their oath, in the following words.—'You swear and promise, 'before God and men, that you will examine, with the most scru-'pulous attention, the charges which will be brought against *N.*; 'that you will not betray, either the interests of the accused, or 'the interests of the society who accuse him; that you will hold 'communication with no one till after you have delivered your 'decision; that you will be swayed neither by hatred nor by ma-'lice—neither by fear nor by affection; that you will decide, ac-'cording to the proofs which are exhibited in support and in re-'futation of the charge, conformably to your conscience and real 'conviction, with the impartiality, and with the firmness, which 'belong to a virtuous and free man.' Each of the jurymen, call-ed by name, holds up his hand and answers,—'I do swear.'

This finished, the president then desires the accused to listen to the charge against him; and the clerk of the court reads, with an audible voice, the sentence of the *Cour Imperial*, and the whole *acte d'accusation*. The president is then to explain the charge still more clearly, and to add—'This is what you are accused of: '—you are about to hear what will be produced against you in 'proof of it.'

The *procureur-general*, the public prosecutor, then states the matter of accusation. After this, he presents the list of all the witnesses that are to be examined at the instance of each of the parties. The names of the witnesses must have been notified to the party against whom they are to be produced, twenty-four hours before the time of hearing. The list thus presented is read aloud by the clerk; after which the witnesses are placed in a chamber apart, and, if necessary, under precaution that they shall not converse together on the subject of the evidence they may have to give.

They are brought into court one by one, and an oath to the ordinary purport is administered to them. Their evidence is taken in the following manner. Each witness is interrogated as to his age, profession, &c. and as to his relationship to the accused, &c. He is then desired to state what he knows of the supposed offence, and, during his statement, must not be interrupted. After his statement is finished, questions may be put to him by the parties, through the mouth of the president; and both parties are allowed to make *immediately* what observations, upon his evidence, they may think proper. The witnesses of the accuser are first heard, and then

those of the defendant, who speak either to the fact or to the character of the accused.

The following is the list of the persons who, in each respective case, are held incompetent to be witnesses;—all relations in the direct line of ascent or descent; brothers, sisters; husband, wife, even after divorce; and informers, whose information is paid for by law. All these, however, may be examined, when the party, whose interest is concerned, does not object. Informers, whose information is not paid for, may be examined as witnesses; but the jury must be apprised of their quality of informers.

After examination, each witness may remain in court; but it is in the power of either party, or of the judge, to order any one or more of the witnesses to be placed apart, after being heard, and to be again examined separately, or confronted with one another. The effects, or articles which may be produced in supply of evidence, are presented to the court; and the parties are asked to offer their observations upon them.

If a witness appears to have given false testimony, the judge may order him to be committed: and if the evidence which the suspected witness has delivered is looked upon as material, the judge is empowered *ex officio*, or on the motion of either party, to remit the cause to the next session.

When the evidence has been gone through, the accuser is heard in support of the accusation. After this, the accused, or his counsel, make the defence. The accuser is allowed to answer. But the privilege of speaking last is, in all cases, reserved to the accused.

The accusation and defence of the parties being finished, it is the business of the president to sum up. He has to state concisely to the jury, the evidence which has been exhibited in support and in refutation of the charge; and to point out to them the duty which they have to perform. He then specifies the exact questions on which the jury are called upon to decide. The questions are are follow. 1st, Whether the accused has committed the crime specified in the *acte d'accusation*, with all the circumstances detailed in that instrument. 2d, If it appear from the evidence, that the crime, if committed at all, has been attended with different circumstances, the president shall add the following question:—'Has the accused committed the crime with such or such a circumstance?' 3d, When the accused has stated, in excuse, a fact which the law has recognized as a ground of excuse, the president shall ask, 'Is this fact true?' 4th, If the accused is under sixteen years of age, the judge shall put the question, 'Has the accused acted with discernment?'

The jury are then enclosed; furnished with the *acte d'accusation*,

the *procès-verbaux*, and all the other documents relative to the cause, excepting the written depositions of the witnesses. They are not allowed to quit their chamber till they have formed their decision; nor must any one enter it, on any account, except by the permission, in writing, of the president.

When the jury have entered their chamber, the foreman, who is the juryman whose name was first drawn out of the urn, or some one chosen with his consent by the jury, first of all reads to them the following instruction; which is fixed up, besides, in large characters, in the most conspicuous part of the jury-room.

'The law requires not of jurymen an account of the means by which their conviction has been formed; it prescribes to them no rules on which they are to make the fulness or sufficiency of a proof rigorously to depend; it commands them to question maturely their own minds; and, in the sincerity of their conscience, to inquire what impression the evidence exhibited against the accused, and the evidence which he has been able to produce in his defence, have made upon their reason. The law does not say to them—*You shall regard as true every fact attested by such or such a number of witnesses:* it does not say to them—*You shall not regard as sufficiently established, any proof, but such as shall be grounded on such or such* procès-verbal, *such or such documents, such or such a number of witnesses, such or such a number of indicative circumstances:* it proposes to them only this single question, which comprehends the whole measure of their duties—*Have you a clear conviction?*'

'What is highly essential to be kept steadily in view is, that the whole of the deliberation of the jury bears upon the *acte d'accusation*. The facts which it exhibits, or which depend upon it, are the matters of which solely it is their business to inquire; and they fulfil not their primary duty, when, looking to the infliction of the law, they are swayed by the consequences in regard to the accused, which may follow from the declaration they have to make. The trust with which they are vested, has for its object neither the prosecution nor the punishment of crimes; they are called upon solely to determine whether the accused is guilty, or not guilty, of the crime laid to his charge.'

The jury are to deliberate, first, on the principal fact; and then on each of the circumstances. The decision of the majority is the decision of the jury; and, in case of equality, it is in favour of the accused. The votes are collected by the foreman. He puts to the jurymen, individually, the questions stated by the president for their decision; and their answers are directed to be made in exact conformity to those questions.

When the decision is formed, the jury re-enter the court, and resume their places. The president asks what is the result of their deliberations; when the foreman rises, and, placing his

hand upon his heart, says--*Upon my honour and conscience, before God and men, the declaration of the jury is,* YES, THE ACCUSED IS GUILTY OF, &c.; *or,* NO, THE ACCUSED IS NOT GUILTY OF, &c.

We have now gone through the two most interesting branches of the French system of criminal procedure; and should proceed to the last, which relates to the manner of enforcing and executing the sentences of the law: But we are wearied of the labour of abstracting; and must be indulged in a few observations upon what has been already delivered.

The first peculiarity that strikes us in this French system, is, that every part of the procedure is regulated by *precise written authority:* and this we cannot help regarding as a very considerable advantage. Nothing is of so much importance to a people, in regard to their laws, as that they should be indisputable, unvarying, and notorious. But the great use and advantage of writing is, that it imparts those qualities to whatever has been committed to it; and fixes a rule, admitting of no doubt, or variation, or concealment. When a man wishes to fix steadily even one of his own thoughts, and for the use of his own mind, he writes it down;—much more a thought which he wants to present steadily to the mind of any other person. How strange is it, then, that nations, far advanced in civilization, should allow any important part of their *laws* to remain unwritten! Yet such, with exceptions almost incredibly small, is the account which is truly to be rendered of the practical state of law, not only as it has been, but as it now is, all over the world.

Not but that there are certain rules that, in the course of time, have acquired a technical notoriety, and a sort of traditionary authority. Without something of this sort, society could not have existed: But still the rules are not absolutely certain;—they are known only to practitioners in the law; and they may be violated or transgressed by rash or corrupt judges.

The utmost improvement which such a jurisprudence has been found capable of receiving, seems to be attained by making it a rule, that 'whatsoever had been done by preceding judges, should be done by succeeding ones;'—a rule that must always be liable to dispute, and must frequently admit of no application, where cases occurred under new or extraordinary circumstances.

If the judge does, what a man of a pure and vigorous mind, in such a situation, would naturally do; that is, endeavours, from a view of the particular cases all together, to draw up by analogy a rule *for his particular case,* he does exactly what it is the duty of the legislator, once for all, to do *for all cases.* It is the duty of the legisla-

tor, from a view of a sufficient number of well defined cases which have gone by, to draw up a general rule, which shall include all particular cases of the same description, that are to come. When the judge makes such a rule, the uncertainty remains exactly where it was before. When the legislator makes it, the uncertainty is to put an end to for ever. What the judge does with his rule, is to decide by it a particular case: and all that remains, or can remain, of his doing, is the particular decision of a particular case, which as little resembles other particular cases, as those which have gone before it. What the legislator does, is to write down the general rule; and command that, according to it, shall be determined all future cases which fall within that general rule.

Another evil, because it is of enormous magnitude, must yet be mentioned, as springing from this unseemly state of the law. At whatever time the rule began to prevail, that the practice of preceding judges was to form the only standard for guiding the practice of succeeding ones;—however early the age—however weak, at that age, the human mind—however imperfect the law—the tendency of this rule was to prevent, for ever, the law from becoming better: And, in fact, it was in an early age—an ignorant and barbarous age—when the human mind was yet rude and imbecil, and law was in the highest degree inadequate to the purposes of law—that this rule began to prevail. Whatever, therefore, was the extent and force of its influence, from that time to this; to the whole of that extent it has operated, in making the wretched laws of a wretched age the rule of action for all succeeding ages. When laws are not particular cases, but general rules,—and when the legislator is the maker of them,—every age naturally enjoys the benefits of its own experience, and of the experience of all the ages which have gone before it. It is the business of the legislator to secure existing rights; but whatever improvements he can, from age to age, adopt, in the mode of securing those rights—whatever excellence he can bestow upon the distribution of those rights which are liable to accrue—is so much gained to the happiness of mankind.

The code before us is not only a written code, but it is written in the plain and ordinary words of the language; and is totally uninfected with that jargon of technical terms, the use of which constitutes, among us, to so great a degree, the art and science of the lawyer.

Of the two stages of judicial procedure, of which we have endeavoured to give an account, the first, viz. the preliminary procedure, taken in the most general point of view, suggests the following reflections, viz. That it seems well contrived to attain

the ends of preliminary procedure; but that it attains them by a long, circuitous, and intricate path, when a short and direct one would have still better answered the purpose. A prosecutor to attend to every indication or suspicion of delinquency; and a judge to conduct the inquiry, and secure the suspected offender:—These important functionaries are absolutely necessary to attain the ends of the preliminary part of procedure; but these functionaries are perfectly competent to the attainment of them—and there seems no need for any other. This, however, is one of the peculiarities and defects (a very unhappy one) of the French character. The French hate simplicity: If an end can be attained by an easy but humble process, and by an operose but showy one, they are sure to prefer the latter. Besides the *Juge d'Instruction*, by whom every thing is done,—the offence inquired into, the evidence traced out, and the offender secured,—we have two other sets of judges—one rising above the other—between us and the judgment-seat. The proceedings of the *Juge d'Instruction* are reported to the *Chambre du Conseil;* the judges of which, if unanimous, may discharge the *inculpé:* If not unanimous, they must send him, with the reports of proceedings and documents, to the *Cour Imperial*, a section of which pronounces whether the case is, or is not, fit for trial. It is only by these stages, that the cause can be sent to the tribunal by which it is to be tried.

Both stages—both that of the *Chambre du Conseil* and that of the *Cour Imperial*—seem to us to be useless. Why should not the *Juge d'Instruction*, who has taken the evidence, and is the best acquainted with it, be allowed to determine whether the case is fit for trial or not? But, at any rate, why have two other judicatories, one after another, for no other purpose but to make this determination? If the *Chambre du Conseil* is fit for it, why go any farther? If it is not fit, why have recourse to it at all? Why not go immediately to the *Cour Imperial?*

The truth, however, is, that this *Cour Imperial* is the fruit of blind imitation. It is substituted to the *Jury d'Accusation*, established by the *Assemblée Legislative*, in imitation of the grand jury of England. The personages who reported upon the reasons and motives of the law, tell us, in the speeches printed in the same volume with the Code, that the *Jury d'Accusation* in France was attended with serious inconvenience. It was often impossible, it seems, to make the jurymen understand the difference between the sentence which merely put a man upon his trial, and the sentence which condemned him in its issue. They often, therefore, refused to find a sentence against the *inculpé*, when, though not clear that he ought to be punished, it was very clear that he ought to be

tried. The *Cour Imperial*, with the *Chambre du Conseil* as a stepping-stone to it, is now appointed to discharge the functions of the *Jury d'Accusation.* Whether the English grand jury was an institution of any use, or only one of the many relics of antiquity which Englishmen worship out of mere superstition, the French legislators seem never to have thought it worth their while to inquire. The use of the English grand jury—the use of its finding an indictment before a man suspected of a capital offence can be submitted to trial, was—that no one suspected merely of guilt should be subjected to the hardship of imprisonment at the discretion of an individual.† At a period when trials came round only once in seven years, and when the powers of law were wielded by fierce, impatient, and arbitrary barons, or the ministers of an arbitrary king, a security like this, against the dreadful hardship of imprisonment, of any length up to seven years, was of no light importance. Since the act of the 2d and 3d of Philip and Mary, which conferred upon Justices of the Peace the power of imprisoning before trial, the grand jury, which now sits only at the time when the court sits, at which the alleged offence may be tried, has evidently lost all power to save any man from the hardship of undue imprisonment; and seems really to serve no purpose whatsoever, but that of furnishing to actual delinquents an additional chance of escape. The court appointed to try the man in the best mode, is ready to try him. Then, why try him twice; first in a bad and insufficient way; and only, after that, in the good and final way?

A grand jury must do one of two things: it must send a man to trial, or discharge him: it must find the bill *a true bill*, as the lawyers term it, or the contrary. In all cases in which it sends the man to his trial, it does neither good nor evil; for the man is tried, and sustains the consequences of his trial, exactly as if no such thing as a grand jury had been in existence. In the cases in which the grand jury discharge, the man must be either innocent or guilty: If innocent, the grand jury is useless again; for, immediately, or in a short space, the man would have received the same discharge from the court that would have tried him. The only case, therefore, in which a grand jury can do any thing

† To save an innocent man from the hardship of a public trial, has been stated as an advantage of the grand jury;—but to an innocent man, who has been publicly accused, a public trial, if conducted in a mode as little onerous as it ought to be, is a blessing—not a hardship. In those rare cases, in which, for special reasons, secresy is desirable, secresy ought to be provided for by the law, when the trial is the principal one.

which would not be done without it, is the case in which it discharges a man really guilty, whose guilt would have been ascertained by the court. There is only one case, then, in which it can be any thing but useless,—and that is a case in which it is purely mischievous.

The same reasoning applies, and with equal force, bating a very trifling exception, to the *Chambre du Conseil* and the *Cour Imperial* of the French. As these judicatories act as often as there are cases for them to act upon, and not solely at the time when the *Cour d'Assises*, which sits necessarily only once in three months, is acting, it may happen to them to free a man, whose innocence is clear, from the hardship of nearly three months' imprisonment. To this extent they have a use which our grand jury no longer has. But, at the same time, is it not pretty evident, that this service, such as it is, might be rendered by the *Juge d'Instruction*, who, having collected the evidence, and being of all men the best acquainted with it, might surely determine whether it is such as to render a trial necessary? But still further: why leave it possible for a man, who is committed for an offence, to remain three months, or even three weeks, without trial? If you can afford to have two distinct judicatories always ready to try him in the bad mode, why not have one always ready to try him in the best mode?

We are disposed to go yet a step further.—We have already expressed our sense of the high importance of the functions discharged by the judge who takes the preliminary investigation, and receives the evidence in its first and freshest shape. This is a duty of so high a nature, that we are sure it cannot be safely trusted to any hands which are not worthy to be trusted with the duties of the trial itself. We are equally sure that the information which is acquired by the man who has taken the evidence in its first and freshest shape, and which is peculiar to him who has taken it in that shape, is, in many instances, of so much importance, that every other man's knowledge of the subject must, in comparison of his, be extremely imperfect. There seems, therefore, a manifest propriety, and inestimable advantages, in rendering the judge who makes the preliminary, and the judge who makes the final investigation, the same person.

We should thus clear away a vast proportion of the grand apparatus and machinery of the French system. But our simple machinery would do the work a great deal more perfectly. We should get rid, not only of our *Chambre du Conseil* and *Cour Imperial*, but even of our *Juge d'Instruction*, and of all our *Juges d'Assises*, except one, in whose person we should combine the functions, both of *Juge d'Instruction* and *Juge d'Assises*. Formerly,

the French counted their judges in each tribunal by scores; and imagined, that the more they multiplied them, the more they multiplied the chances of good judgement. This fancy seems now pretty much on the wane,—since no more than five is the number of judges here assigned to constitute each *Cour d'Assises*: But still, the security to be derived from numbers seems to be reckoned as something; and the vast importance of that powerful principle, *individual responsibility*, and its application, both to the administration of law, and to the science and art of government, to be very imperfectly comprehended.

In the comparison, however, which the present case affords between the French and ourselves, this much we are bound to confess, that the complicated apparatus of the French is so contrived, as to perform, in the long-run, the preliminary business of penal judicature to a high degree of perfection; while, with us, with a machinery by no means void of complication, this preliminary business is very badly performed. The three parts of the preliminary business of penal judicature, as we have already seen, are, 1. To secure early and certain notice of offences; 2. To secure the person, or property, or both, as the case may require, of the offender; and, 3. To search out and secure, for the tribunal, the evidence of his guilt. 1. In regard to the first of these objects, which is of so much importance that it is the foundation of all the rest, *no provision* whatsoever is made in English procedure. There is no public prosecutor, nor functionary of any description, who is called upon to take immediate notice of ordinary crimes; with the single exception of the coroner, in the single case of violent death. In all other cases, we trust entirely to the information of the individual whom the crime has injured. For want of a prosecutor, we bind this voluntary informer to prosecute; which is imposing upon him so great a burthen, in loss of money, loss of time, and in trouble of various kinds, that, in a great proportion of instances—in, probably, by far the majority of instances—where the injury is not of an atrocious sort, the injured person conceals it, and withholds complaint. Instead of taking measures to secure the notice of crimes, we thus take measures to secure their concealment. The reward of 40*l.* upon conviction, in the case of a few felonies, but palliates the evil; and a most feeble palliation it is. 2. As to securing the person and property of the offender, in those cases of offence which happen to find a pursuer—which happen to find some one either angry enough, or public spirited enough, to charge with them a justice of the peace, his powers to secure the person of the offender are upon a par with those of the functionaries appointed by the French; excepting, and it is a pretty important exception, that the French en-

actments on the subjects of bail are very clear and precise, while our unwritten law on this subject is very much the contrary. In regard to the securing for *justiciabilité*, as the French call it, the property of the offender, the regulations of the French and English seem to be equally, and both to a miserable degree, defective. 3. The third object of the preliminary part of penal procedure—the searching out and securing the sources of evidence, a point of such cardinal importance for the execution of the laws, is very fully provided for by the French law, while hardly any provision for it whatsoever is made by the English. In France, infinite pains are taken that every thing should be explored. In England, no pains whatever are taken that any thing should be explored. The justice of the peace, if the offender is brought before him, and not otherwise, is bound to examine him; if the witness is brought before him, and not otherwise, he is bound to examine him. The evidence which voluntarily presents itself, is all that any judicial functionary in England is under any obligation to attend to. The police-offices recently established in London and Middlesex, to the great benefit of the community, are in the habit of volunteering their services, in the preliminary investigation of crimes; though in reality beyond their sphere, and often without legal powers. This, too, is only for London and Middlesex;—what becomes of the rest of the country?

In regard to the constitution of the *Cour d'Assises*, the people of France are entitled to boast, that they have, in every limited district, one such court *stationary* among them, bound to sit once in every three months, and, if need be, oftener, and to sit as long as there is any business for it to perform: while the people of England have to lament that they have no such court. They have an itinerant court that comes into some counties once in six months; into others only once in twelve months; and sits in each place only a very limited number of days, how great soever the quantity of business which it may happen to have to perform. The French, however, would have done still better, and to an extraordinary degree, if, instead of sitting once in three months, they had ordained their courts to sit always, and to be every day in readiness to dispense the justice for which the people may have occasion.

It is a curious circumstance, that the people of England should look upon the institution of jury-trial as an indispensable, and nearly an all-sufficient safeguard against absolute power; and that Bonaparte should manifest great solicitude to bestow jury-trial, in penal cases, upon the people of France. The discourses of the orators who introduced the code, and who take pains to remove objections to this mode of trial, show that it is not po-

pular in that country: and it really appears to be a hobbyhorse of the Emperor.

This is a subject worthy of more reflections than we have now time to bestow on it. Is a jury, in its best state, the best possible instrument of judicature? We have already, on various occasions, frankly acknowledged, that our estimate of its utility is very far indeed from rising so high as that of a very great proportion of our countrymen. But this is a controversy, into which, at present, it is altogether out of our power to enter.

From the experience which is said to have been obtained, that the lowest order of the people in France are incompetent to the duties of jurymen, measures have been taken to prevent the election of jurymen from descending so low. Every jury, in France, is thus what we should call a special jury. In adopting those measures, no care, as was to be expected, has been taken to prevent the choice of such persons for jurymen as are specially dependent upon the government; but neither does it seem to have been in any degree a study to secure the choice of such persons.

The prefect, indeed, makes up the list of sixty, out of which the jury is to be chosen, and may thus be supposed to possess the power of packing. The same power, however, is possessed by our sheriffs; and it is only in so far as his situation is a more dependent one than theirs, that the power in his hands can be more dangerous. In regard to all causes between the king and the people, the set of causes in which, if in any, it must be of importance that he who forms the list of jurymen, should not be a dependent, either mediately or immediately, of the government; in all special jury-trials; and, in particular, in the most important by far of all special jury-trials—trials for political libels—trials on which the liberty of the press, the publicity of the acts of government, and, along with it, every security for good government essentially depends—the situation of the personage who, in England, forms the jury-list, the master of the crown-office, is, to the full, as dependent a situation as it is possible for that of Bonaparte's prefect to be. Whatever the danger, then, to the people of France, from *packed* juries; it is, to say the worst of it, no greater than that to which we, our privileged selves, are exposed.

In the mode of commencing the trial, the French procedure appears to us, in point of dignity and propriety, to be considerably superior to our own. In the French forms, there seems nothing but what is useful. In ours, there are many things that are unmeaning and offensive. In France, the prisoner is brought into court, and solemnly desired to attend to the accusation against him, while it is read; and to the evidence in support of it, while

it is produced. No questions are asked of him, much less absurd ones, where no questions can be of any use. The prisoner, in England, is asked, if he is guilty or not guilty? To what purpose?—To one very visible purpose at least—to add the guilt of a judicial falsehood, *i. e.* of perjury, to that of whatever other crime the party, if guilty, may be charged with. Is it to extort a confession from him, in such a moment of embarrassment and terror?—No: for the judges, aware of the cruelty of that, use their strenuous endeavours, on almost all occasions, to prevent the prisoner from pleading *guilty*; that is, to induce him, as often as he is really guilty, to pronounce a solemn and judicial falsehood. What possible good is there in this? There is liable to be great cruelty in it; as often as a really conscientious man, but guilty of the offence laid to his charge, is brought to trial. Not only is the absurd, or cruel answer of *guilty*, or *not guilty*, extorted from the prisoner; another, in point of naked absurdity, rising, if possible, still higher in the scale, is forced upon him. He is asked in what way he will be tried; though there is but *one* way in which he *can* be tried; though there is but *one* answer which the court will permit him to make; though there is but *one* answer, to the exclusion of all others, which it will compel him, and may, by torture—the most dreadful kind of torture (*peine forte et dure*)—to make. Such is the procedure at common law. It may be proper to add, that, in modern practice, it is not by the *peine forte et dure*, which modern feelings would not tolerate, but by the pain of condemnation without trial, that a man is, in fact, compelled to answer those far worse than useless questions. At the time when we may conceive the question to have been first proposed, and for long after, a use for it, such as it was, really existed. There really were more modes of trial than one, among which the man was asked, and had a right to make his choice. He was asked how he would be tried; and he might have answered—By battle—by ordeal—and so on—or, by his country. After the trials by battle, by ordeal, and so on, have ceased to exist, and no trial but that by the country remains, the culprit is *still* asked, as if he had a choice, in what manner he will be tried. Why?—For this truly English, and truly curious reason—that once, a long time ago, when there was some use for the question, it was the custom to ask it. We should laugh heartily at reading the account of such rational ceremonies in the juridical procedure of the Hindus or Chinese. The ceremonies in question, however, are our own ceremonies; and that makes all the difference in the world.

In taking cognizance of the evidence, there is one particular in which the English mode of procedure has greatly the superiority

over the French. In France, all questions put to the witness by parties are first delivered to the president, and by him asked of the witness. Much, by this plan, is lost, of the extractive force and efficacy which belongs to the English mode of cross examining. By first stating the question to the president, the witness is put upon his guard, and has the whole time, during which it is repeated, to meditate a false or evasive answer. This is so well understood at the English bar, that, as often as a *mala fide* witness, for the purpose of gaining time, demands a question to be repeated, a skilful interrogator immediately puts—not the same question, but another; and leaves the former till he can put it again, when his respondent is once more off his guard.

In regard to the instances in which the French have thought proper to shut out the light of evidence, by declaring, that such and such classes of persons are not admissible as witnesses, it would require a more minute comparison than can at present be made, to say whether the French or the English have made the largest election of evil. To say of either the French or the English rule of exclusion, that it is inconsistent with itself, is to say nothing; for all exclusion is inconsistent with itself. The same reasons which exclude one class of persons, would be good for excluding so many more, that, if they were consistently acted upon, there would seldom be evidence left behind, sufficient, on which to establish any judicial point.

In a very rude period of society, men think of estimating evidence by none but mechanical rules. Number alone decides the question. A certain number is fixed upon. If the fact is sworn to by that number of witnesses, * it is to be held proved; if not sworn to by that number, it is to be held not proved. While this rule continues to be rigidly obeyed, one can see a reason why a man, who may be strongly suspected of an intention to give false evidence, should not be heard; since his evidence must, if admitted, be of equal force with that of the man who is ever so likely to speak the truth. But, after the time when the judge is free, and accustomed to weigh the evidence which any man delivers—and to yield it credence in any proportion, or no credence at all, just as he may esteem it to deserve; it is not easy to see any good reason why any man should be refused to be heard. The truth is, that the rule of exclusion is a rule adopted, as we have seen, in the rude state of society to which we have just alluded, and with blind simplicity followed, in a state of the human mind to which it is altogether alien.

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* See the Old Laws as to *Compurgatores*, and Wager of Law, &c.

The persons excluded by the usual rules of incompetence, are the persons by whom, naturally, most is known of the subject of inquiry;—the parties, or those most strongly connected with them by sympathy or interest. The question is, whether, to receive the most valuable knowledge, blended with error, is best for a court of justice; or to give up the knowledge, that it may at the same time be free from the error? To determine this question, we have only to look how far it goes. Courts, upon these terms, have only to exclude all knowledge, to make sure of excluding all error; and to deliver infallible decisions by the strength of taking no evidence. In the business of ordinary life, the rule which guides men to prudent conduct is different. When deeply concerned to obtain accurate knowledge, they overlook no quarter, pure or impure, in which it is likely to to be found. Never do they turn away from the man whom they know to be the most capable to instruct them, because he may have an interest in not telling them the truth. They only question him so much the closer. They never doubt, that if they can get but knowledge enough, however blended with error, the knowledge will afford them light of its own by which to separate it from the error. It is not when information is abundant, but when it is scanty, that it is difficult or impossible to distinguish truth from falsehood. It has been the happiness, however, of the human race, that the business of judicature has to so great an extent been hitherto conducted upon principles directly repugnant to those which experience has established as the rules of wisdom in every other department of human action.

We had many more observations to offer; but it is absolutely necessary that we should come to a conclusion. One word, however, must be added upon a point which would require a multitude,—the formation, by the president, of the questions to be decided by the jury, when the evidence has been fully heard. Nothing in the least degree similar to this is known in our practice. By the English rules of *pleading*, as it is called—that is, by compelling the allegation on the part of the accuser to be met with a counter allegation on the part of the defendant—the question for the jury is made up, *before* the hearing of the evidence begins. When a crime has been committed, there are three distinguishable cases to which it is material to attend. 1. The crime may have been committed simply. 2. It may have been committed with circumstances of aggravation. 3. It may have been committed with circumstances of extenuation. These circumstances, it belongs to the law to define and make provision for. The questions framed for the jury by the French legislators, are re-

spectively adapted to these three cases; and point them out, with precision, to their attention. The English have only one vague, general question, by which they are all blended and confounded together. *Guilty*, or *Not guilty*, admits no consideration of circumstances: Circumstances are not submitted to the cognizance of an English jury; and, in truth, are but little the object of English judicature at all. The judge, indeed, may sometimes take them into consideration in his sentence; but, in most cases, he can do nothing; and, at all events, it is infinitely desirable that every thing which ought to be done in a criminal prosecution, should be positively enjoined by the law.

The advantages of decision by the majority of a jury, as compared with unanimity, would require, and would repay a very full elucidation. But this we must at all events postpone till another opportunity: and, in the mean time, we cannot do better than refer such of our readers as really take an interest in such discussions, to the writings of Mr Bentham, who, with all his dogmatism and irreverence for existing institutions, has treated the whole subject of legislation with a spirit, a precision, and a profundity, which entitle all his suggestions to the most deliberate and respectful consideration.

Art. V. *The American Mineralogical Journal, for January, February, and March* 1810, *conducted by Archibald Bruce, M. D., Professor of Mineralogy in the University of the State of New York.* Vol. I. No. I. 8vo. pp. 62. New York, 1810.

At a time when the science of Mineralogy is rapidly advancing in favour and consideration among the Academicians of Europe, we open, with uncommon interest, a volume which announces its dawn in America. Dr Bruce, the editor of the Journal now under consideration, thus makes known the plan and purpose of the undertaking.

'The object of this work is to collect and record such information as may serve to elucidate the Mineralogy of the United States; than which, there is no part of the habitable globe which presents to the mineralogist a richer, or more extensive field for investigation.

'Of the utility of a publication of this kind, much might be said. It may, however, be sufficient to observe, that nothing has contributed more to increase and diffuse Mineralogical information, than the periodical works on the Continent of Europe, particularly those in Germany and France. At the present period, when such laudable exertions are making to improve and extend the manufactures

of our own country, a knowledge of the mineral productions, on which so many of the useful arts depend, and with which nature has so liberally supplied us, becomes particularly desirable.

'In order, therefore, that the design may be carried into effect, communications from those gentlemen who may have directed their attention to this interesting branch of science, are respectfully solicited, particularly such as may relate to the Geology and Mineralogy of particular districts; the history of Mines, their products, methods of reduction, and improvements in Metallurgy generally; descriptions of individual specimens, their constituent principles, localities, and uses to which they may be applied; mineral waters, their situation, analysis, and use in the arts, and in the cure of diseases, &c. A part of the work will be appropriated to such information as may be derived from foreign and domestic journals.

'A number will be published quarterly.'

Though we have infinite veneration for the privilege which exempts all periodical, and especially all quarterly publications, from the jurisdiction of Reviewers, yet we hope to be excused for this one encroachment on it, in the case of a Transatlantic journal, wholly dedicated to science, and of which we have nothing but what is favourable to communicate.

The first article contains the description of some minerals collected during a tour to Niagara in 1809. It is written by Dr Mitchell, professor of natural history and botany. Among all the methods adopted for the purpose of conveying mineralogical knowledge, perhaps there is no form of composition more pleasing than that of a *catalogue raisonné*. It was this which gave such popularity to the work of Baron de Born, published at Vienna in the year 1790, one of the most useful and entertaining treatises by which mineralogy, in its infancy as a science, was illustrated. Baron de Born's enumeration, however, possessed the advantage of embracing a system for the classical arrangement of the specimens he described. Dr Mitchell's communication to the American Journal, offers merely a descriptive catalogue of certain minerals found in the region of Niagara, and along the banks of the Mohawk river. The two first words of it bespeak a foreign idiom, characterizing, as might be expected, the Anglo-American language, in which this Journal is written. The author begins by saying, '*These pieces* were collected during a tour in the summer of 1809;' and soon afterwards, describing a specimen of black flint, he adds, 'such as abounds in the Seneka *prairies*.' Other examples, proving the alteration to which our language has been exposed, chiefly by the introduction of *Gallicisms*, may be noticed in the rest of the Journal; resembling expressions found in American newspapers, where, for '*a ship taken*,' we read of '*a ship captivated*.' So much for the style.

It now remains to say a few words concerning the system patronized by the mineralogists of New York, previous to our further examination of the contents of their Journal.

It is a fact, too well known to require illustration, that the mineralogists—of Europe at least—are divided into two contending sects, the followers of the French, and of the German professors. The latter, with Werner at their head, are at all events the most active and stirring; and, like the *Methodists* of the day, make every thing subservient to the propagation of their opinions. They preoccupy the public journals by their notions and nomenclature; tamper with the dealers; compose *gratis* catalogues for public auctions; confederate with chemists; intrigue for the appointment of their own pupils to public stations; * form societies; distribute prizes; and carry on a correspondence with every country in which mineralogy is cultivated. We must not be surprised, therefore, if we find the earliest appearance of the science in America, partially, although slightly, obscured by their influence. The general aspect is however good; and we may venture to hope, that, as the light increases, the fogs will dissipate. In our opinion, the advancement of mineralogical knowledge will be found commensurate exactly with the distance to which it leaves the unintelligible jargon of the '*Oryctognosie*' of Freyberg. Much has been lately effected by the exertions of our own professors; and, more than all, by the wholesome exposition and pointed ridicule of the celebrated Chenevix, who, having acquired an indisputable title to pass judgment on the plan of instruction adopted by Werner, by having himself attended during his whole course of lectures, published his renunciation of the German system, and its utter inadequacy to purposes of science.

To return, therefore, to the immediate object of discussion.—Dr Mitchell's list of minerals extends only to twenty-four substances. The two first are specimens of slate and fetid limestone, from the Falls of Niagara. In describing the third, a crystallization of the carbonate of lime, he says the angles of the rhomboidal crystals 'are all oblique.' We are at a loss to conceive any other than 'oblique angles' of a rhomb. The nature of the fourth substance is not ascertained. The fifth is pronounced to be 'calcareous rock, *carrying* crystals resembling dog-tooth spar.' The sixth, a piece of the same rock, '*charged* with iron pyrites.'

* If we are not misinformed, the valuable collection of Mr Greville, now in the British Museum, narrowly escaped a classification into 'floetz traps, transition grünstones,' and a thousand other fine things, equally unknown to the collector, through the zeal of the *geognosists* who had found their way into that mangnificent repository.

This is said to be very valuable, because ' it contains that link in the chain of evidence which demonstrates the conversion of common limestone into gypsum ' We know not ' the chain of evidence ' to which allusion is here made; but almost all gypsous deposites, where crystalization has not taken place, exhibit this appearance; being a result of the disintegration of preexistent strata, and therefore often containing the broken remains of those animal impressions which characterize secondary limestone. The fifteenth substance described, must be peculiarly interesting to *Caledonian* students. It is ' native *sulphur*, from the Clifton Springs; '—' waggon-loads of which precious mineral,' Dr Mitchell assures us, ' lie on the surface of the ground!' And, a little farther on, he bears new and grateful testimony to the salubrious effects of that invaluable substance, both upon vegetable and animal bodies. ' The moss in the neighbourhood of ' the fountains is completely encrusted with it. The water of ' these copious springs lets fall the *brimstone* freely on every ' thing it touches; but plants *are not at all injured by it*. They ' appear to vegetate *perfectly well*, and without sustaining the ' smallest inconvenience. Various *animals live in it* Horses ' and cattle drink it freely, like common water. '——The other substances do not require any notice; excepting the last; which is described as ' an uncommon association of amianthus, graphite, and quartz. '

The second article is by Colonel Gibbs. It contains observations on ' the Iron-Works of Franconia, in New Hampshire, ' a mountainous tract of country, eight miles east of Connecticut river. The ore is the *fer oxidulé* of Haüy. It is similar to that which is found in Sweden; and also occurs, similarly associated, in ' gneiss, alternately with granite and primitive greenstone. '

The third article is from the pen of Dr W. Meade—' A Description and Analysis of an Ore of Lead, from Louisiana. '—This mineral resembles metallic lead in colour and lustre. Its brilliancy is said to be greater than the generality of those ores which bear the name of galena; yet, as its chemical analysis proved it to be nearly a pure sulphuret, and both its crystalization and fracture exhibited the cubic form, the difference can hardly be sufficient to separate it from those varieties. Le Sage formerly described an appearance of galena which was almost malleable. The ore analyzed by Dr Meade, notwithstanding its resemblance to metallic lead, is very brittle; and its specific gravity 7.50.

The fourth article contains ' A Geological Account of Dutchess County in New York, ' by Dr Samuel Akerly, who notices the improvement which has taken place in agriculture, of late

years, owing to the introduction of *gypsum* as a manure. He describes the mountains on the east side of the Hudson river, as consisting of masses of *granite*, occupying a region of three hundred square miles. Very few of these mountains exceed a thousand feet in elevation above the surface of the river. They abound in ores, which are said to present themselves on the very surface of the earth. Iron is the principal metal which has been extracted and worked; but tin is also noticed. To the north of this mountainous district, occur slate and limestone; neither of which substances exhibit vegetable or animal impressions; and are therefore described as of primary formation. Dr Akerly's communication concludes with some ingenious observations upon the mineral waters in that part of America, in which he detected the presence of carbonic acid gas—of sulphuretted hydrogen—of lime—and of sulphuric acid.

'A Chemical Examination of Heavy Spar, from New Jersey,' by Mr George Chilton, succeeds the observations of Dr Akerly. The mineral was found on a branch of the Delaware, by some farmers, who mistook it for gypsum, and used it as manure. It was not found, however, to possess any remarkable fertilizing quality.

The sixth article of the Journal again introduces Colonel Gibbs, with 'a Mineralogical Notice respecting the *West River Mountain*'—Connecticut river. This mountain having been announced in the American Geography, and in the Annals of the American Academy, as volcanic, he had the curiosity to visit it. Instead of the crater of a volcano, however, he was sorely disappointed to find only the shaft of an old iron mine; whence hæmatite iron ore had been extracted, and exhibited as lava! The mountain itself is of granite, and gneiss. To this succeed the observations of Mr John Griscom upon 'a Mineral Water, from Lichfield, in the State of New York,' written with great diffidence, but evincing, in a very eminent degree, the chemical knowledge requisite in the investigation. The Lichfield springs have long been resorted to by the neighbouring people, as extremely salutary in many cases of cutaneous disorder. According to Mr Griscom, their principal saline ingredient is sulphate of lime. This substance, with a considerable quantity of hydro-sulphuret, and a small portion of carbonate, may be considered as constituting the chief soluble matters in those waters, independently of their gaseous contents, a portion of which is sulphuretted hydrogen.

The next article will perhaps be considered as more interesting than any other. It relates to the discovery of native magnesia in New Jersey; and is written by the editor of the journal, Profes-

sor Bruce; who has also transmitted specimens of the mineral to this country. It is found in a very advanced state of crystallization; and, externally viewed, somewhat resembles the talc of Mount St Gothard; but with more of the sparry lustre which characterizes apophyllite. It consists wholly of magnesia, combined only with its water of crystallization, in the proportion of seven to three. As it is perhaps the only mineral substance known, which can be considered exhibiting magnesia in a state of perfect purity, the observations concerning it, and its description, shall be given in the Professor's own words.

'Although magnesia enters into the composition of many mineral substances, yet its existence in the mineral kingdom, in an uncombined state, has, till within these few years past, been unknown.

'Brogniart, in his Mineralogy, has described several minerals under the name of Magnesite (a term he has introduced as expressive of the large quantity of magnesia they contain), in some of which, magnesia appears to exist in a pure state. Of those which approach nearest to native magnesia, are the magnesites of Piedmont, as described by Giobert in the Journal des Mines, particularly the variety from Castella Monte. Although this mineral, as analyzed by Guyton de Morveau, afforded a large proportion of carbonic acid, yet it appears, from the assertion of Giobert, that, when first taken from the quarry, it contains no carbonic acid, but that it absorbs it after being two or three weeks exposed to the atmosphere.

'The magnesite from Baudissero, which is near Castella Monte, contains, in the hundred parts, according to Giobert, 68 magnesia, 12 carbonic acid, 15 silex, 2 sulphate of lime, and 3 of water. This, like the magnesite from Castella Monte, he thinks, obtains its carbonic acid from the atmosphere.

'The magnesites from Vallecas in Spain, and Salinelle in France, contain no carbonic acid: they, however, all have a large proportion of silex. That of Salinelle, according to Vauquelin, contains 55 parts in the hundred.

'Brochant mentions, as native magnesia, a substance found at Robschütz, in Moravia, by the late Dr Mitchell of Dublin, which, according to Dr Mitchell's analysis, and that of Professor Lampadius, contains nearly equal parts of magnesia and carbonic acid. Why this mineral is described as Native Magnesia, I am at a loss to determine; unless, like those of Giobert when first discovered, it contained no carbonic acid, but absorbed it after exposure to the atmosphere.

'At Hoboken, in New Jersey, on the estate of Mr John Stevens, is found a mineral, which presents the following characters.

'Colour, white, passing into greenish white.—Lustre, pearly.—Structure, foliated; the folia or leaves frequently having a radiated position.—The folia, when separate, transparent; in the mass, semitransparent; the surface, after exposure to the weather, becom-

ing opake.—Somewhat elastic.—Adheres slightly to the tongue.—Soft.—Powder, pure white.—Specific gravity, 2, 13.—Before the blowpipe, becomes opake and friable, and loses weight.—Soluble in the sulphuric, nitric, and muriatic acids.—This mineral occurs in veins, from a few lines to two inches thick, traversing serpentine in every direction.' p. 26—28.

Then follow the Analytical Experiments by which the Professor ascertained the nature of the substance under his examination; for which, want of room compels us to refer to the Journal.

The ninth and tenth articles contain mineralogical notices respecting 'Phosphates of Lime and Lead,' from Pensylvania—'Melanite,' from the same country—and 'Amber' from New Jersey; the first by Mr Godon; and the second by Mr Charles Wister. The apatit accompanies beril-emerald; the phosphate of lead is found in veins of pyritous copper. Melanite, according to Mr Wister, occurs in the district of Germantown, six miles north-west of Philadelphia, in a matrix of 'gneiss reposing on granite.' Its crystals are of a velvet black colour, varying from the size of a pin-head, to one inch in diameter.—'Through the granite of Germantown, crystals of tourmaline, 'mica, phosphate of lime, and beril, are universally disseminat-'ed; but melanite has been found only in one place.' Amber is found *in grains* upon *wood coal;* and, from the description given by Mr Wister, its appearances resemble specimens we have seen in Copenhagen, said to have been brought from Greenland.

The last article relates to American fluates of lime, which are said to be rare in the country. This also is from the pen of the editor. Professor Bruce describes three different appearances presented by the mineral from New Jersey, from Connecticut, and from New Hampshire. The rest of the Journal (about half the first Number of Vol. I.), is appropriated to the Review of Mineralogical Publications; to intelligence received from other parts of America, and from England; and concludes with an Appendix, extracted from the Transactions of the Royal Society of London, concerning the Identity of Columbium and Tantalium, as announced by Dr Wollaston, secretary to the Society. The Review notices a very interesting paper, published in the sixth volume of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, respecting the discovery of Palladium in a state of combination with gold; by Joseph Cloud, an officer in the Mint of the United States. According to Mr Cloud's experiments, palladium possesses a degree of hardness, nearly equal to wrought iron. It is malleable and very ductile; forming ductile alloys with gold, silver, and platinum; and is characterized by properties which en-

title it to a place among the noble metals. Mr Cloud has, moreover, been extensively engaged in experiments upon rhodium, which he has obtained in great purity from the ore of platinum.

We shall here close our analysis of this curious publication; no part of which can be deemed unworthy the attention of the public. To the mere mineralogist, it is peculiarly gratifying; because it opens a new source of instruction, and a field of research, whose limits are incalculable. But science is still so new in America, that all who take any concern in its general progress, must greet the approach of such a stranger, even though they feel no peculiar interest in the errand on which he has come. His speech and manners,—even the very dress that he wears, naturally excite our curiosity, and enable us to draw inferences as to the condition of his country. A number of little circumstances, of which the editor was most probably himself unconscious, became, in our eyes, characteristic and important. We are struck, for instance, by the neatness and accuracy of the American typography; and the taste displayed in the plan and form of the work;—nay, even the advertisements printed upon its cover, afford us some insight as to the peculiar direction in which literature is destined to make its progress among our Transatlantic brethren. In this point of view, we cannot avoid noticing *the air of business* which seems to play about every thing American.—Chemistry, in which they seem to have made greater advances than in Mineralogy, always appears among them in connexion with some useful and gainful occupation. They have not yet found leisure to pursue it as a science of amusement. It is therefore studied only with a view to improvements in the arts of preparing cements and manures, dyeing, bleaching, distilling, purifying infected air, tanning and currying leather. These are the topics to which the chemical books, published or imported, principally refer. Other works advertised, are chiefly medical and chirurgical journals. Then the wholesale commerce carried on in these articles,—and their booksellers' shops passing under the name of '*Book Stores*,'—all conspire to present us with new and peculiar views of the infancy of Western science. In many of its departments this businesslike accuracy and method may be found very serviceable—and in none more than in that which is the subject of the work now before us. Its execution, we think, upon the whole, very respectable; and look forward, with an eye of expectation, as well as curiosity, to its promised continuation.

ART. VI. *A Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry.* By ROBERT WOODHOUSE, A.M. F.R.S. Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. London, 1809.

TRIGONOMETRY is one of the branches of the mathematics, which has received the greatest number of successive improvements, and has advanced the farthest beyond the boundaries within which it was originally confined. It dates its origin from the time of Hipparchus; and may boast, that its foundations were laid by the same person who first undertook to number the stars, and, in the language of Pliny, to leave the heavens for an inheritance to posterity. We do not know, from the writings of this astronomer, or those of his cotemporaries, by what circumstances he was led to apply number to measure the sides and the angles of triangles; but, in the history of a science, of which the objects are all necessarily connected with one another, the want of direct testimony may often be safely supplied by theoretical conjecture. This, we believe, is true, in the present instance. Geometers were, no doubt, at first, satisfied, in the solution of problems, to determine the things sought from the things given by geometrical construction; that is, by mere graphical operations, or by drawing their figures, as we do, with compasses and a scale of equal parts. This would be sufficiently exact for common use, and for all the ordinary purposes of mensuration, whether of lines or surfaces. Cases, however, would sometimes occur, where the errors of such a method were too great to be overlooked, and where the results were palpably inconsistent with one another. When, for example, there were given in a triangle, the base and the adjacent angles, to determine the sides; and when, at the same time, it happened that the sum of the given angles was nearly equal to two right angles, a very small error in laying down the angles, would necessarily be accompanied with a very great error in the determination of the sides. It is reasonable to suppose, that such inaccuracies would first be perceived in the solution of astronomical and geographical problems, where it would often happen that the base was small in respect of the distance to be determined; and there, of consequence, some method of solution, more accurate than the construction of a diagram, would become extremely desirable. Hipparchus, to whom both the geography and astronomy of ancient Greece are greatly indebted, if he was not the first who was sensible of the defects in the constructions of practical geometry, appears to have been the first who had ingenuity and extent of view sufficient to find out a remedy for them. This remedy was the introduction of calculation founded on the famous property

of the right-angled triangle, said to be discovered by Pythagoras, and now forming the 47th of Euclid's Elements. It is this theorem which is the connecting principle of arithmetic and geometry, or which renders the relation between the position of lines and their magnitude expressible by number. The merit of perceiving this at so early a period as that of which we now speak, even if not done in all its generality, was certainly great; and it enabled Hipparchus to lay the foundation of trigonometrical calculation. The combination of the theorem just mentioned, with certain properties of the circle, particularly with the methods of inscribing regular polygons in that curve, led to general methods of computation, and to the construction of tables of the chords of circular arches, by which the computations were much facilitated. The work which Hipparchus composed on *Chords* is lost; and we know nothing of the steps by which trigonometric calculation advanced, till we find it, some centuries later, in the *Spherics* of Menelaus, and in the Almagest of Ptolemy. The spherical trigonometry of the latter was all contained in two theorems concerning the intersections of four great circles of a sphere; which have been well given, by the late Dr Horsley, in his volume of *Elementary Treatises.* The idea of a spherical triangle had hardly as yet occurred; and the name of trigonometry was unknown.

When the repeated irruptions of the Barbarians of the North forced the sciences and the arts of Europe to take refuge in the East, the mathematics found a most favourable reception; and, after a while, returned to their native country, with increased strength and multiplied resources. Trigonometrical calculation came improved by the addition of several new theorems, and, what was still more material, by the substitution of the sines for the chords of arches.

In the midst of that increased activity, which the perception of truth and reality could not but give to the mind, when it awoke from the slumbers and visions of so many ages, a branch of knowledge essential to the study of astronomy, was not likely to be forgotten. Purbach introduced a more commodious division of the radius, and added several other improvements. *Regiomontanus*, the inventor of decimal fractions, and one of the most original, as well as the most laborious mathematicians of his time, introduced the use of decimal fractions into the tables and calculations of trigonometry: he added, besides, a great number of new geometric theorems, and deduced from them nearly the same rules which are still in use.

In proportion as the sciences advanced, greater accuracy of calculation was required; and the difficulty of those calculations, as

well as the time consumed in them, increased in the same proportion. What all mathematicians were now wishing for, the genius of NEPER enabled him to discover; and the invention of logarithms introduced into the calculations of trigonometry a degree of simplicity and ease, which no man had been so sanguine as to expect. NEPER made likewise other great improvements on trigonometry. The theorems which were the foundation of the rules in that science, were not all such as to derive from logarithms an equal degree of advantage. To many of the cases of trigonometry, therefore, though logarithms could be applied, they did not so much facilitate and abridge the labour of calculation, as if the rules had been of a different form. NEPER, as if his creative genius had always had the power of discovering just what he wanted, or such truths as were exactly accommodated to the occasion, found out two theorems which answered precisely to his views, and afforded rules perfectly accommodated to logarithmic calculation. Trigonometry, in the state to which it was now brought, continued, with hardly any change, except perhaps a better arrangement of its rules, and a more concise demonstration of its principles, till about the middle of the last century.

A few years before that period, EULER introduced the *Arithmetic of the Sines*, or, as it may properly be termed, the application of algebra to trigonometry,—a new branch of analysis which has a peculiar algorithm, and is wonderfully adapted to investigation. Before this, trigonometric calculation was only employed to find out an unknown quantity, of such a sort, that there was no occasion to reason about it till it was found; as is the case in mere arithmetical questions resolved by the rule of three or the extraction of roots. But, in the solution of many mathematical questions, it is necessary to reason about a quantity while it is yet unknown; and the method of finding it, often is the result of such reasonings. This is properly the business of analysis, as distinguished from mere numerical computation; and it is what algebra performs, but what arithmetic cannot do, nor trigonometry, till improved, in the way just mentioned, by the application of algebra. Thus improved, it has a peculiar notation, and peculiar rules, both for the addition and the multiplication of the sines and cosines of circular arches, and of all functions of those quantities. By this means, the art of geometric investigation is enriched with a new branch, to which we may properly give the name of the *Trigonometrical Analysis*. In this new form, the science has been cultivated in France and Germany ever since the change made in it by the improvements of Euler. In England it has been confined, till within these few years, to its first and original occupation. The methods of the foreign geometers, how-

ever, have come gradually into notice; our trigonometrical treatises within the last ten years have generally contained some of the fundamental theorems and operations in the arithmetic of the sines, and have followed the notation of Euler. None of them, however, appear to have done this in so complete a manner as the treatise which is now before us.

Mr Woodhouse, who is already known to the mathematical world by writings in which there was more room for originality and invention than there can be in the present, has long cultivated the profoundest parts of the mathematical sciences, and has done much to turn the attention of his countrymen to subjects that have been far more studied on the continent than in this island. His treatise on Trigonometry is destined, we conceive, for the same purpose. He says, that although he once believed that much of the matter contained in it was new, yet now he thinks that it contains nothing of which he could not point out the substance in other works. We, for our part, do not think that the author here does justice to himself; but of this we are certain, that we have now before us a very concise, luminous and analytical view of an important science, which has never been so fully treated of by any writer of our own country.

Mr Woodhouse embraces, in this treatise, not merely the elements of trigonometry, but many of the higher parts, and their most difficult applications. But when we speak of *elements*, we are reminded that we have lately been accused of defining that term, as it respects geometry, in a very unskilful and inconsistent manner: it may therefore be right, before we proceed any farther, to inquire into the grounds of this charge.

In order to prevent all error about what is elementary in geometry, and what is not; in a former Number we proposed this criterion, 'that every property of lines, of the first and second order, which, when translated into the language of algebra, involves *nothing higher than a quadratic equation*, providing, at the same time, that it be a proposition of very general application, is to be accounted elementary.' This definition certainly comprehends in it more than some authors of great authority are disposed to include in the elements of geometry; and, if we would accommodate our definition to the sense of D'Alembert, instead of 'lines of the first and second order,' we must say, 'straight lines and circles,' the two simplest lines of those orders. It is needless to give, in this place, our reasons for extending our definition farther than the geometer above named has chosen to do: but a remark has been made on that definition, to which it is more material that we should advert. It is alleged, that our criterion

has not only the fault just mentioned, but another directly opposite, that of excluding from the number of elementary truths, certain propositions which have always been ranked among them, and which therefore ought to have been included within the boundary which we professed to trace. 'Such,' says the critic, 'are the pro-'positions relating to the contents of similar solids, which, when 'resolved, according to the most natural and obvious method, in-'to algebraic expression, *involve cubic equations.* Some of them 'are capable perhaps of more circuitous solutions, by which cu-'bic equations may be avoided: but I believe I may safely chal-'lenge the Reviewer to *reduce the proposition to a quadratic e-'quation*, in which it is stated that "similar solid parallelopipeds "are to one another in the triplicate ratio of their homologous "sides." Now, to cut short all dispute, and to decide at once concerning the merits of this *defiance*, let us take the proposition here given, and translate it directly into the language of algebra. Because the object of the theorem is to express the ratio of two solids by means of the sides of the solids, we must consider the solids as the unknown, and their sides as the known quantities. Call the solids, therefore, x and y, and their homologous or corresponding sides, a and b; then the proposition affirms, that x is to y as a^3 to b^3; therefore $\frac{x}{y} = \frac{a^3}{b^3}$.

But, this is strictly and literally A SIMPLE EQUATION: because the quantities, of which the ratio is to be found, are each of them of one dimension, and are not multiplied into one another; and the order of an equation, as every body knows, is not denominated from the powers of the known, but from those of the unknown quantities, as it is on these last that the difficulty of the question depends. Euclid's construction comes to the same thing, for he directs to take c; so that $a : b :: b : c$; and afterwards d, so that $a : b :: c : d$; and then he shows that $\frac{x}{y} = \frac{a}{d}$; and thus, conformably to the notions of the most strict geometry, he expresses the ratio of the solids by the ratio of two lines, found by the rule of proportion. The error of the critic is therefore quite manifest; and so gross, as to appear unaccountable on any supposition, except that of extreme ignorance of the principles both of geometry and algebra. If this is not a true theory, it is at least a very plausible hypothesis.

After all, we confess, that we have not answered literally to the defiance; we have not reduced the proposition in question to a quadratic equation; this indeed we hold, as well as the critic (though, we hope, on very different grounds) to be impossible:

We have reduced the proposition to a simple equation, which is much more to our purpose: We have done more than we were challenged to do; but it may not, for all that, be out of the power of quibble and conceit to dispute the victory.

To return to the subject of Trigonometry, we must observe, that every treatise on that science, whether elementary or not, naturally divides itself into three branches; the first of which explains in general the arithmetic of the sines, and the construction of the tables; the second treats of the solution of plane triangles; and the third, of spherical triangles. It is, as we conceive, a great excellence, in treating of these, to proceed as analytically as possible, or with no more synthetical demonstration than is absolutely necessary. One fundamental proposition, at least, in each of the above three branches, must be taken from the elements of geometry, and it should then be the object to deduce from these, by the trigonometric analysis alone, all the remaining propositions, whether theorems, or solutions of problems. In the first and second parts, this is very successfully accomplished in the Treatise that is now before us. From two problems in which it is required to express the cosines and sines of the angles of a plane triangle in terms of its sides, and which our author resolves analytically, he deduces, in the same way, the expression for the sine of the sum of two arches, in terms of the sines and cosines of the simple arches themselves; an expression which is known to be the foundation of the whole arithmetic of sines.

From these problems are also deduced the rules for the solution of the various cases of plane triangles. But, though this deduction, as well as the former, is made with great brevity and clearness, we think that the solution of the cases of plane triangles, as it is the main business of the practical student, should have been more separated from the other parts, and with a distinction more suited to its importance. In another respect, we think that there is in this part an error in the arrangement; as the author returns, after giving the solutions just mentioned, to treat again of the sines and cosines of multiple arches, and of the various uses to which this calculus may be applied. This, which is more general and more difficult, should not have been connected with the solution of triangles. More resting-places, and a fuller explanation of the transitions made from one subject to another, would have been improvements that could have cost the author very little trouble, and might have saved considerable perplexity to the young student. In other respects, the investigations are conducted very skilfully, with much brevity, clearness

and accuracy, and are considerably different from those which are usually given.

The values of the sine of the sum or difference of two arches are deduced from the solution of the two problems concerning the plane triangle, as mentioned above. They are most commonly derived from a geometrical theorem relating to the sines of three arches in arithmetic progression: In this way they are deduced by Thomas Simson, Le Gendre, La Croix, and several others. The method of Mr Woodhouse is more completely analytical, though perhaps it may not be so easy to a learner. We cannot help thinking that the most elementary way of deducing them would be from Ptolemy's property of the quadrilateral inscribed in a circle, which he himself, for a similar purpose, introduced into the Almagest, and which has been added by Dr Simson to the 6th of Euclid. The transition from it, and especially from that case of it where two of the adjacent sides of the quadrilateral are equal, to the theorems in question, is extremely easy, and would be very satisfactory to one who was just passing from the elements of geometry to those of trigonometry.

In this division of the work our author has given many of the most difficult applications of the trigonometric calculus to the solution of equations, the doctrine of series, and the investigation of theorems; all in a very concise form, very clear for researches of so much difficulty, and without the introduction of fluxions or of quantities infinitely small. From a curious property of the cosines of multiple arcs, which is first found, as he remarks, in the Miscellanea Analytica of De Moivre, he deduces several curious propositions of Waring, Vieta, and De Moivre himself. To these we must add the property of the circle generally known by the name of Cotes's Theorem, which was found among the papers of that celebrated geometer, though without any thing that could lead to the analysis or the demonstration. So imperfect indeed were the indications of it, that it was not without considerable difficulty that Dr Robert Smith discovered their meaning; so that he could say, with laudable exultation, '*Revocavi tandem ab interitu Theorema Pulcherrimum.*' The title of *Theorema Pulcherrimum* is indeed well applied to a proposition which, for extent and simplicity, has perhaps no parallel among the properties of geometrical figures. We may, however, be permitted to remark, that though nothing can exceed the beauty of this property of the circle, its utility as a means of advancing farther in the higher geometry, is not so great as Dr Smith would have us to believe, and as he himself no doubt imagined. It gives no facility to the integration of fluxionary expressions beyond what is obtained by the analytical process of resolving certain quantities into their

trinomial divisors. Indeed it would in most cases embarrass the proceeding, to introduce, in the room of the algebraic formulæ the constructions by the circle which might be derived from the Cotesian theorem. It is the natural consequence of the improvement of the mathematical sciences, to give the greatest weight to that which is most truly analytical, and to render the conclusions of algebra as much as possible independent of the assistance, or, as it would sometimes prove, the embarrassment, of geometric diagrams.

The investigations above enumerated, afford excellent examples of the use of what we have called the Trigonometric Analysis, the principles and the application of which may be both very well learnt from the work under review. And here we must observe, that whoever would make a very extensive addition to the field in which this analysis may be exercised, and one in which much novelty may be expected, will do well to look into those properties of the circle which are given without the demonstrations, in the *General Theorems* of the late Dr MATHEW STEWART. They form an assemblage of truths, hardly less general, or less simple, than the theorem of COTES, just mentioned; and are certainly among the most beautiful propositions known in the whole compass of the abstract sciences. They will be found peculiarly calculated to call forth the resources of the Trigonometrical Analysis; and the difficulties they will present even to those who come armed with that powerful instrument, will be felt as a high eulogium on a Genius, which, without such assistance, and employing only the antient geometry, was equal to such arduous investigations.

The preceding discussions are followed by the construction of the trigonometric canon, or the tables of sines and tangents, &c.; to which are subjoined, some farther application of trigonometric formulæ to various kinds of approximation, and to some problems that belong to physical astronomy. The only improvement we have to propose on all this, is one already referred to, a change of arrangement, by which the things that are easy would be made more completely to go before those that are more difficult. From the fundamental propositions for resolving the sines of the sums and difference of arches, into products of the sines or cosines of the simple arches, we would deduce immediately the construction of the canon. This, we think, should be followed first by plane, then by spherical trigonometry; and, in the last place, should come the applications of trigonometrical analysis to the solution of problems, the invention of series, demonstration of theorems, &c. The whole of trigonometry would thus be comprehended in four sections, or books, and the learner would proceed gradually from the easier to the more difficult parts.

The subject to which Mr Woodhouse next proceeds, is spherical trigonometry; and he has treated it with the same brevity, clearness and extent, that we have remarked in the preceding parts. In explaining the elements of spherical trigonometry, there are two objects to be attained. The first is to demonstrate certain properties of the circles of the sphere, and certain affections of the triangles formed by their intersections; the second is to investigate formulas, or rules, by which, when any three parts of a spherical triangle are given, the remaining three may be found. The first of these does not require any analytical reasoning; the propositions are usually simple corollaries from the geometrical propositions concerning the intersection of planes; and the synthetical demonstration occurs more readily than any other. Here, therefore, we can hardly expect one author to have any great superiority over another; and yet we think Mr Woodhouse has been singularly fortunate in the demonstration of some of these propositions. In one of them, the thing to be proved is, that in an isosceles spherical triangle, the angles at the base are equal. Now, this cannot be demonstrated by treading in the steps of Euclid, and deriving it, as he does in the case of plane triangles, from this general proposition, that triangles which have two sides of the one, and the angle between them equal to two sides of the other, and the angle between them, each to each, are every way equal. For Euclid's demonstration proceeds on the supposition that the triangles in question can be so laid on one another, as perfectly to coincide; which is not true of spherical triangles; for such triangles may have the three conditions just enumerated, and, in fact, be equal; but, in consequence of not being similarly situated, it may be impossible to make them coincide. Though this consideration is obvious enough, it has not always been attended to, even by good writers; and inconclusive reasonings have in that way been introduced. Thus, in Vince's Elements of Trigonometry, a work otherwise of very considerable merit, the proposition, that if two spherical triangles have two sides of one equal to two sides of another, and the included angles also equal, the two triangles will be equal, is said to be proved just as the fourth proposition of the first of Euclid is proved of plane triangles; though a very little consideration must convince any one, that the principle of superposition, on which Euclid's demonstration depends, is not applicable, generally, to spherical triangles.

Mr Woodhouse's reasoning is subject to no such objections; he has proved, that the angles at the base of an isosceles spherical triangle are equal, by drawing tangents to the arches that contain the angles to be compared. By producing the two tangents to the equal sides, till they meet the radius drawn through the intersec-

tion of those sides, which they do in the same point, and then joining that point and the point in which the tangents at the opposite extremities of the base intersect one another, it is easy to prove that the two plane triangles, thus formed, are equal, and that the angles opposite to their common base are equal, and consequently also the spherical angles, which are the same with them. This is a demonstration very remarkable for its simplicity; and the more, that so many authors have passed over the same ground without discovering it. We cannot take it upon us to affirm that it is new; but we can say that we have not met with it in any book which we have had occasion to consult.

In the investigation of the rules for resolving the cases of spherical triangles, the object at which later writers have generally aimed, is to deduce the whole analytically from one theorem. The geometer, we believe, who set the first example of this, was M. Bertrand of Geneva, in his Elements published in 1778, where he deduced all the rules of spherical trigonometry from one proposition expressing the relation between the three sides of a spherical triangle and one of the angles. Euler, with that superiority in simplification and comprehensiveness which characterized all his productions, did the same thing, in the acts of the St Petersburgh Academy for 1779. This latter memoir has been followed by La Croix, in the elementary treatise on Trigonometry, which is now taught in the National Institute of Paris. This last treatise is remarkable for its elegant and systematic form, and, we are sure, will be perused with pleasure by every one whose love of the accurate sciences has taught him to discover beauty in the structure of an algebraic formula. The same kind of excellence, that of deducing a great variety of propositions from one principle, has been very successfully aimed at by our author. The problems, from the solution of which he derives all the rules, are these—To express the *cosine* and the *sine* of an angle of a spherical triangle in terms of the sines and cosines of the sides. There is a double advantage in this manner of proceeding; the whole process is rendered analytical; so that synthetical demonstration is entirely avoided; and there is a close analogy preserved between the investigations of the rules for the resolution of spherical, and of plane triangles.

It is curious to remark how much has been gained, in all the parts of algebra, by improvements in the mere notation, such, too, as often must have appeared slight, and of no value, but as abridgements of the labour of writing. The introduction of x and y, or some other symbol, to denote a thing unknown, converted arithmetical reckoning into analytical investigation. The use of similar symbols to express known quantities, brought al-

gebra, from treating only of particular questions, to be the most general and most perfect language that has yet been employed in science. The use of letters instead of numbers, to express the powers of quantities, prepared the way for the discovery of the binomial theorem, and, of course, for the fluxionary calculus. Euler's arithmetic of the sines depended much on the use of a contraction that kept the relation between the sine, or the tangent and the arch to which it belonged, continually in view. The improvement we are going to mention in the notation of the trigonometric formulæ, is certainly not so great as any of the preceding, but is nevertheless much greater than could be expected from so small a matter. It consists in denoting the angles of a spherical triangle, by the capitals A, B, C, as usual, and the sides opposite to them, by the same letters in the small form, *a*, *b*, *c*. This notation keeps in view the relation between the sides and angles that enter into a trigonometric formula, and conveys the meaning more distinctly and immediately to the mind, than is done in the ordinary way. The advantage derived to the rules by this very simple contrivance, is therefore much greater than, without the experience of it, could easily be imagined. Mr Woodhouse has used it in his rules, which are laid down with great distinctness, and are rather the better for not being reduced into a table, but stated at full length as in other problems, and always expressed in the language of algebra.

The rules for the solutions are indeed stated with remarkable clearness, and with such a degree of detail as, without being prolix, is sufficient to prevent error. There is hardly any one of all the different methods that have been invented for the resolution of spherical triangles, that is not brought under some one of the six cases into which the whole is divided. We would very much recommend the study of this part (the six cases of oblique spherical triangles) to all who would acquire a thorough knowledge, both of the principles and the practice of spherical trigonometry. The illustrations from the calculations of the Trigonometrical Survey of England, are well selected. Here we are glad to observe a just tribute to the memory of the late General Roy for his application of the theorem concerning the area of a spherical triangle to an important purpose in practical geometry. From that area being proportional to the excess of the three angles of the triangle above two right angles, and from the circumstance that the said area can, in triangles constructed on the earth's surface, be easily estimated, General Roy perceived that he had the means of verifying his observations of the angles of spherical triangles as much as of plane triangles, where all the angles ought to amount precisely to 180 degrees. The

theodolite which he employed in his measurement of the distance between Greenwich and Dunkirk, and afterwards in the Survey of England, was of such exquisite construction, that it could measure an angle to a fraction of a second, and so could exhibit the spherical excess, that is, the excess of the three angles of the triangles in his Survey, (which were of course on the surface of a sphere) above two right angles. In the Philosophical Transactions for 1790, he gave the following rule for computing the spherical excess—'*From the logarithm of the area of the triangle, taken as a plane one, in feet, subtract the constant logarithm* 9.3267737, *and the remainder is the logarithm of the excess above* 180°, *in seconds nearly.*'

Mr Woodhouse has given the demonstration of this rule; and he adds, after explaining the numerical calculation—'In this manner the spherical excess computed, will enable the observer to examine the accuracy of his observations, and, in some degree, to correct them. He may then proceed to calculate the sides of the triangles, by the rules of spherical trigonometry: But these rules, though they must give exact results, will not give results very expeditiously, when several hundred triangles are to be solved; and this M. Legendre has enabled us to do, who has very happily combined sufficient exactness with conciseness, by means of this theorem'—'*A spherical triangle being proposed, of which the sides are very small relatively to the radius of the sphere, if from each of its angles one third of the excess of the sum of its three angles above two right angles be subtracted, the angles so diminished may be taken for the sides of a rectilinear triangle, the sides of which are equal in length to those of the proposed spherical triangle.*' The demonstration of this very valuable rule is afterwards given in the Appendix. The theorem, as has been said above, was discovered by Legendre, and is demonstrated in the Notes on the Spherical Trigonometry annexed to his Elements. A demonstration of the same theorem, remarkable for its simplicity, has also been given by Professor Leslie in the Notes to his Elements of Geometry.

The other method of calculation accommodated to trigonometrical surveys, and actually employed by Colonel Mudge in that of England, is that of reducing the angles of the spherical triangles to the angles contained by the chords. A theorem, by which the latter angles are inferred from the former, is investigated here.

The formula which Mr Woodhouse has given for this purpose, expresses the value of the whole angle contained by the chords; but as, in such triangles as can occur in the practice of measurement, this angle can never differ much from that which is contained by the arches themselves, it is the simplest way to seek for their differ-

ence, or the small correction which is necessary for reducing the one of them to the other. He accordingly remarks, that Delambre, who has been so much engaged in surveys of this nature, has investigated a formula for this reduction, and constructed tables, in which its numerical value, in any given case, may readily be found. Professor Leslie, we must also observe, in the work already quoted, has deduced a very simple formula for the same purpose.

As logarithms are the great instruments by which all trigonometrical calculation is now performed, our author, in an Appendix, has investigated the rules for their construction and use. Besides a very clear and distinct exposition of one of the most important branches of arithmetical science, we meet, here, with several views of the subject which have not before been sufficiently remarked. One of these consists in the explanation of the advantages which arose from the change which BRIGGS introduced in the construction of logarithms, when he took the number 10 for the base of the system. If any number were to be assumed for the base, different from that which is the root of the arithmetical scale, much inconvenience would result, or rather a great loss would necessarily take place of those advantages which we now possess. Thus, if we were to adopt the duodecimal scale of arithmetic, and to return in our notation from 12, as we now do from 10, the base of the logarithmic scale must be changed to 12 also, and $12^x = N$, would be the equation from which the tables of logarithms must be constructed.

After a full elucidation of the subject of logarithms, the Appendix and the volume conclude with the demonstration of some trigonometric theorems; an investigation of the reduction of angles from an oblique to a horizontal plane, and of the property of the spherical excess already mentioned.

On these we are not now to enter; but we cannot conclude, without again remarking the perspicuity, conciseness and extent, which distinguish this treatise. The analytical method is well preserved, as much perhaps as is possible in a work where many references to the synthetical demonstrations of elementary geometry must necessarily be made. One consequence of this is, that the perusal of this short analytical treatise will do more to make a person completely master of the principles and methods of trigonometrical calculation, than the study of many voluminous works drawn up in the ordinary form. We must also commend our author, not only for what he has included, but for what he hast left out. The omission, which may seem faulty to some, of the solutions of spherical triangles by letting fall perpendiculars, seems to us quite judicious. The computations made by such means are perplexed by the continual inspection of figures which it is im-

possible to construct with accuracy; and savour much of that state of science, when men resorted to particular and numerical calculations, in order to avoid the investigation of general and algebraic theorems.

We have already suggested that some improvement might be made in the arrangement of the parts of this treatise; and we have particularly stated in what we conceive these improvements should consist. These considerations we are still more inclined to recommend to the author's attention, after having finished what we think is a very careful, and, what we are sure, is a very impartial, examination of his book. We shall be happy to see these alterations introduced into a new edition; and we would be highly gratified if we could suppose that we have had any share in bringing this about, or that our remarks have in the least contributed to the perfection of a work which is already so deserving of praise.

ART. VII. *A View of the antient and present State of the Zetland Islands, including their Civil, Political, and Natural History, Antiquities, and an Account of their Agriculture, Fisheries, Commerce, and the State of Society and Manners.* By ARTHUR EDMONDSTON, M. D. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 709. Edinburgh, 1809.

WE shall know something of old Thulé at last. Since Dr Barry favoured the world with a quarto volume on Orkney, we have been illuminated by tours and travels * to both clusters of our northern islands. We have now before us two goodly octavos on Zetland; and are credibly informed, that we may soon expect the publication of agricultural and mineralogical reports on both sets of islands. All this notwithstanding, our worthy author begins by complaining, that while the 'most trivial observation' concerning the South Sea islands is read with interest, and remembered with satisfaction, 'many valuable and useful communications which relate to our native country are soon overlooked and forgotten.' We sincerely hope that this is not said in anticipation of his own fate; and shall contribute all that lies in our power to avert it, by entering pretty fully into the subject of his erudite volumes. We cannot, however, agree with the Doctor in the propriety of proportioning the 'freedom and impartiality of our discussion to the importance of the sub-

* Neill's Tour; Hall's Travels, &c.

ject;' § though it would have been a real benefit, if he had thought of measuring the number of his pages by that rule. In defiance, however, of all such maxims, the 'situation, general appearance, and climate of Zetland,' are all despatched in a dozen pages; while one hundred are rather unprofitably occupied with what is called a 'general history' of the country. The history of Zetland, however, is just the history of Orkney; and, having formerly * given our readers a short view of these edifying annals, we need not detain them long, either with the descriptive or the historical part of this book.

The Zetland islands exceed one hundred in number; but thirty-four only are inhabited. The coast is rocky, and much indented. The hills are bleak and mossy: the highest is Rona's hill. Dr Traill informs us, that the 'barometer' indicated its height to be about 1400 feet. The Statistical Account says, that it was found, 'by geometrical mensuration,' to rise 3944 feet above the level of the sea. Dr Edmondston animadverts on these discordant statements, and proposes to settle the point, by a criterion which no philosopher, we presume, ever thought of,—his own bodily feelings. 'Were *I*,' he observes, 'to judge from *my* experience of the effects produced in similar situations, *I* should be disposed to believe that it does not exceed 2000 feet, if indeed it be so much.' I. 5.

The Zetland spring does not commence till April; there is little warmth till the middle of June; and the summer generally terminates with August. '*Nothing can equal* the uncertainty of the weather' during the winter months. The medium temperature of winter may be taken at 38°; of summer at 65°. The islands have been represented as dismally dark in the winter season. But the Doctor repels this imputation with becoming spirit; and assures us, that even at the worst period of the year, they have a sort of daylight from 17 minutes past nine o'clock in the morning to 40 minutes past two in the afternoon!

As to the earliest inhabitants of Zetland, the author concurs with Mr Pinkerton in thinking, that they must have been Picts from Scandinavia. Dr Barry conjectures, that these early navigators went first to Scotland, and returned afterwards to these northern islands; but Dr Edmondston is positive that the said Picts touched at Zetland and Orkney, and peopled these islands in their way to Scotland. These *Piks*, or *Peti*, were, according to Mr Pinkerton's exposition of a monkish legend, supplied from Ireland with priests, or, as our author styles them, 'a species of clergy,' called *Papæ*.

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§ Preface, p. ix. * Vol. VIII. p. 98. *et seqq.*

Harold, king of Norway, having invaded and subdued both clusters of islands, in the end of the 9th century, created an earldom of Orkney, in the person of one Ronald, a worthy baron,—' from whom,' we are told with no small triumph, ' the monarch who now sways the British sceptre is descended!' This distinguished person, however, did not find it convenient to accept of the dignity; but he prevailed with the king to transfer it to his brother Sigurd. ' Zetland was included in the earldom, but, being considered a subordinate part of it, was seldom dignified with much notice by the earls:'—' Except, in one or two instances,' the Doctor solemnly affirms, ' none of them honoured it with even a *temporary* residence, *for any considerable time.*' (I. 31.)

Dr Edmondston relates from Torfæus, and with very laudable gravity, the awkward accident which deprived the Zetlanders of their first worthy Earl. ' After having gained on one occasion a complete victory, the Earl directed each of his horsemen to suspend, from his saddle, by way of trophy, the head of a fallen enemy, and Sigurd himself carried one among the rest; suddenly clapping spurs to his horse, a large front tooth in the mouth of the knight whose head hung dangling by his side, struck him on the calf of the leg, and wounded him so severely, that the part mortified, and he died soon after.' (I. 33.)

The next remarkable Earl of Orkney was Einar, a natural son of the Count of Merca. He distinguished himself by first ' pointing out to the inhabitants a mode of obtaining fuel from turf, as all the wood had been exhausted.' This sagacious ' nobleman' was therefore surnamed the Turf Earl, or Torf-Einar. It is said to be ' a curious circumstance in the history of this discovery, that Einar should have found it necessary to send his people to Caithness for turf, while the islands themselves,' as Dr Edmondston assures us ' *at that time* abounded in this substance.' (I. 35.)

The sons of the King of Norway had good taste enough, it seems, to take it violently amiss, that such a splendid principality should be enjoyed by the bastard son of one of their father's subjects. They therefore very prudently murdered the aged Count of Merca in Norway; after which, one of them, named Halfdan, invaded Orkney. The Turf Earl, however, got the better of the invader, and murdered him in his turn. ' He then ordered Halfdan's lungs to be cut out, and offered up to Odin; and he himself delivered an extempore address to the manes of his father, during the celebration of the sacrifice.' (I. 37.)

About the year 985, Christianity was introduced into the islands; but did not immediately put an end to those atrocities. The king of Norway getting Sigurd the Second into his power,

allowed him no choice between baptism and death. The Earl naturally chose the lesser evil, and professed the faith; whereupon the king, with rather more of the spirit of his religion, 'left divines and learned men' to instruct the people.

It would be tedious to accompany the Doctor in his detail of the names of the different holders of the earldom, and his stories about mysterious 'fatal vestments,' and the adventures of 'accomplished young noblemen' of those times; one of whom we are told, 'established *light-houses* over all the islands of Orkney,' (*speculatoria* or alarm-towers, we presume, on which a fire could occasionally be lighted as a signal); and another possessed so much philosophical composure and poetical taste, that, after suffering shipwreck in Zetland, 'while he sat on the rocks waiting the approach of daylight, he amused himself by composing extempore poems.' (I. 56.)

The obscure voyage of Nicolo Zeno, the noble Venetian in 1380, affords ground for some conjectures; but still shows the great uncertainty which exists respecting the history of these islands, even in the fourteenth century. The *Friesland* of Zeno, Dr Edmondston agrees with Forster in considering as Orkney; and *Estland*, as Zetland. The *Mimant* of Zeno is supposed to be Mainland, the name of the largest of the Zetland islands; *Iscant*, to be Unst; and so of others. 'These names,' it is remarked, 'though somewhat different from those at present in use, *have nothing* to which they so nearly correspond, in Feroe, Orkney, or the Hebrides.' (I. 70.) Martin Forbisher, it is added, was sent by Queen Elizabeth, in 1567, '*to try and* discover a north-west passage to India.' In latitude 61° N. he fell in with a land, which he took to be the Friesland of Zeno. This is indeed nearly the latitude of Zetland; but Forbisher declares that the land was surrounded with a great quantity of ice!

In 1468, James III. of Scotland having obtained the Princess of Denmark in marriage, her portion was fixed at 60,000 florins: 2000 only were paid down, and the islands of Orkney were impledged for 50,000, and those of Zetland for the remaining 8000. When the Princess produced a son, heir to the throne of Scotland, his Danish Majesty renounced all thoughts of redeeming those pledges. Soon afterwards, the earldom was also resigned into the hands of the Scotish king, and the islands were annexed to the Crown by act of Parliament. In 1566, the unfortunate Queen Mary raised her favourite Bothwell to the dignity of Duke of Orkney,—just in time to secure him a temporary lurking place among the islands.

'Zetland, about this time,' our author remarks, 'appears to have been but imperfectly known, even to the Scots themselves.'

In proof of this, he tells us, that 'the learned and elegant Buchanan describes it as a distant and almost uninhabited land, of singular sterility.' From this description, we should be inclined to draw precisely an opposite conclusion, and to infer that the islands were pretty well known to the learned historian.

In the year 1600, Earl Patrick Stewart received a grant of the islands; and in the same year he built the castle of Scalloway, the ruins of which still remain. In rearing this edifice, 'he compelled as many of the people to work as he chose; and in order to supply him and his numerons followers with provisions, the peasants were obliged to bring in regularly sheep and cattle to the castle, and, on their failing to procure the articles in kind, they were under the necessity of making up the deficiency in money. This imposition, once established, was afterwards recognized as a regular tax, under the denomination of *sheep and ox-money.*' (I. 93.) The rapacity of this Earl led him into crimes, which at last brought him to the scaffold; but the unjust exaction of 'sheep and ox-money' was somehow continued; 'and forms an item of the crown-rents to the present day.'

At the very close of the 17th century, 'the General Assembly of [the Church of] Scotland sent a commission, consisting of seven ministers and one ruling elder, to settle the church affairs of Orkney and Zetland. Mr Brand was one of the number; and he published, on his return to Edinburgh, a curious account of both these countries.' * I. 98.

In the course of the 18th century, the Morton family received different grants of the islands, which were successively recalled; the Parliament of Scotland, it seems, being always indignant at the Sovereign's parting with 'so great a jewel of the crown.' Soon after the union of the kingdoms, however, a new grant was made to this family, in which were included, for the first time, the droits of admiralty, and a lease of the church-lands and tithes. In 1747, the Earl received indemnification for the loss of such of his prerogatives as were struck at by the act for abolishing heritable jurisdictions in Scotland. In 1766, he sold all his remaining rights in Orkney and Zetland to Sir Lawrence Dundas, whose son and successor, Lord Dundas, now holds the estate.

One of the most remarkable features in the present state of the Zetland islands, is, that though they contain 22,379 inhabitants, they are in no shape represented in the British Parliament. 'Orkney and Zetland form one county: Orkney pays two parts of the cess, and Zetland pays one; yet, the latter

* 'A Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland,' &c. Edin. 1701.

has no vote in the election of a member of Parliament.' That they have a right to a share in the national representation, seems to us beyond doubt; and, upon general views of political justice and expediency, it is certainly to be desired that they should obtain it. But they who have had an opportunity of comparing the cordial hospitality, the internal harmony and individual independence of the better classes among the Zetlanders, with the political jealousies and rancours and intrigues that disturb the peace, and divide the society of their neighbours in Orkney, will be inclined to doubt whether the boon would be attended with any immediate increase of their own happiness and respectability.

From the history of the islands we pass to the consideration of their 'remains of antiquity, language and literature.'

The *Picts-burghs*, as Dr Edmondston calls them, or *Pechs brochs* as we would rather incline to denominate them, have often been described; and we here find nothing new concerning them. In Unst, some concentric circles of stones occur, which the author thinks it probable 'refer to some primeval religion, rather than to the sepulchres of the dead.' (I. 120.) Possibly they 'refer' to neither; but are the remains of *tings*, or places where justice was publicly dispensed.

'Triangular polished stones [pieces] of green porphyry' are often found, and are called *thunderbolts*. It has been suggested, that these may probably have been axes. The Doctor seems to think that he disproves this notion by remarking, that, being polished and tapering to a point, they could not readily be grasped with sufficient firmness to be wielded as a hatchet; forgetting altogether that the polished stone now found in Zetland may have been only the head of the hatchet, which was bound to a shaft, probably in a manner similar to what we see in the stone axes brought from the South Sea islands, which are common in our museums. The Doctor is, however, resolved to find some use for these thunderbolts; and he at last comes out with the extravagant conjecture, that 'it is possible that they might have been intended to supply the place of a *breast-plate!*' (I. 121.) 'Flint-heads of arrows, too, have been found at different times:' but we are not told where, nor by whom; nor does the Doctor make a single remark on their occurrence,—not being aware, apparently, of the importance of the statement in the controversy which at present divides our most diligent and intelligent antiquaries. *

* Mr Chalmers says, that 'celts and flint arrow-heads have been found in the Orkney islands; while none of these have ever been

Dr Edmonston does not think that the Romans ever visited Zetland;—the 'mare pigrum et grave' mentioned by Tacitus having probably repressed their curiosity. Some remains, however, of square camps, he says, may be traced; and some few Roman coins have been found in the islands. It would have been agreeable, if the traces of encampments alluded to had been described and figured—and if the age to which the coins belonged had been specified.

Under this head of Antiquities, we have pretty ample descriptions of two ruinous houses or castles—one at Scalloway, the building of which has been already alluded to—and another at Muness, with an account of the law-tings, or ancient courts of justice, with their *fowds* and *rancelmen.* It would seem, both Beltane (May-day), and Yule (Christmas), are festivals with the Zetlanders; although the former is of Celtic, and the latter of Pictish origin.

The common language of the islands was formerly Scandinavian and Norwegian. 'The island of Unst, the most northerly of the group, was its last abode; and, not more than thirty years ago, several individuals there could speak it fluently. At present, there is scarcely a single person who can repeat even a few words of it.'—'The present language of the islands,' the Doctor adds, 'is *certainly* English;' though he is afterwards obliged to confess, that '*good* English is rarely spoken. The common dialect is a mixture of Norwegian, Scandinavian, Dutch, and English.' I. 142.

The Doctor now proceeds to the chapter of Agriculture.

The enclosed and improved land in Zetland, including both arable and meadow, does not amount to a twelfth part of the whole surface of the country. This improved land is divided into merks and ures. 'A merk, it is said, should contain 1000 square fathoms; and an ure is the eighth part of a merk.' The average quantity of infield land in a Zetland farm, is five merks; or from three to five English acres; for a merk varies in extent in different places. The rent is from 10s. to 15s. an acre; but 'the amount varies according as the tenant has the exclusive disposal of his labour, or agrees to fish to his landholder [land-

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discovered in the Shetland islands.' And he adds—'This evinces, that the Celtic people who colonized South and North Britain, also penetrated into the Orkney, but not into the Shetland islands; and this fact also shows that those several antiquities owe their origin to the Celts, who early colonized the Orkney islands alone; and not to the Scandinavians, who equally colonized both the Orkney and Shetland islands.' *Caledonia*, I. 261.

lord.]' In the former case, the lands are let at rackrent; in the latter, at a rate somewhat reduced. The latter system is by far the most general; and the practice is immemorial in Zetland. Besides the infield, there is attached to each farm a portion of outfield, for which no rent is paid. In general, we are told, the tenant's '*lease* lasts but for a *year*,' which is just equivalent to no lease at all: and the Doctor rightly observes, that 'a tenant at will is, at best, but in a state of vassalage.' In fact, a few *tacksmen*, or lessees of whole estates, belonging to nonresident proprietors, are the only persons in Zetland who deserve the name of *tenants*. The *fishing-farmers* (as they have sometimes not unaptly been denominated), though called tenants, appear to be little elevated above the *cotters* of the southern counties of Scotland, or the *scallags* of the Hebrides; and indeed the author himself afterwards treats of them under the denomination of '*peasantry*.' They have no idea of the 'paupertatis pudor et fuga;' but delight, we are told, in 'clamouring about their poverty.'

Besides paying rent to the landlord in cash, fish, butter, oil and poultry, and performing various services, the tenant pays to the donatory of the crown, *scatt*, or the ancient Danish land-tax; *wattle*, of more dubious birth; and *sheep and ox money*, the iniquitous origin of which we have already explained. Tithes of corn, and small tithes, are paid to the minister, who 'has also three days labour in the year from each family, at such periods as *he* chuses to demand it.' In short, no Zetland tenant knows, with any degree of accuracy, what he pays for a merk of land; and nothing can be more evident than that tenants, possessed even of a trifling capital, would not submit to such vexatious uncertainty as to the amount of their rent.

The neglect of husbandry, in early times, is very learnedly ascribed to the 'feudal system:' and then we are presented with some meagre details of their present management. Oats and big, or bear, are cultivated with tolerable success; and the Doctor makes a bold encomium on the fertility of the gardens, which, he assures us, 'produce, in abundance, *almost every variety of* culinary vegetable, of delicate taste and flavour: Indeed, *I* think the esculent roots in that country superior to those which I have met with anywhere else.' (I. 182.) We are sorry to contradict the worthy Doctor, but we are persuaded, that a single dish of asparagus, sea-cale, or celery, could not be produced from all the gardens in the country put together; and that salsafy, savory, cardoons, tarragon, purslane, and many others, are plants utterly unknown to those northern horticulturists. Indeed, the author is afterwards obliged to acknowledge, that 'the fruits pro-

duced are neither very various nor very abundant. In a few gardens, there are *apples*, and other kinds of *wall-fruit.*' The present low state of agriculture, Dr Edmondston thinks, is to be ascribed, *first*, to its being a divided pursuit—to 'the almost universal prosecution of the ling fishery by the very farmers themselves; *2dly*, to the want of leases; and, *3dly*, to the undivided state of the *scat-hold* or commonty, which must doubtless prove a great bar to improvement.' I. 188.

He then proceeds to suggest some improvements; and we did expect that these would consist, in the first place, in obviating or removing the impediments just mentioned. We learn, however, that the 'first step' towards improvement must consist in 'building *dikes;*' that is, enclosure-walls; and the next in the destruction of weeds. The only other step mentioned, is the increase of the quantity of manure. To the expedients recommended on this head, might, with propriety, have been added, the one proposed by Lord Meadowbank, the formation of compost dunghills by means of alternate layers of any animal and vegetable matter, with peat-moss, so as to induce fermentation. * This plan might, we think, be followed with peculiar advantage, in a country where so great a quantity of animal exuviæ must arise from the cleaning of fish; and where, as the author informs us, small whales are yearly killed on the coast in considerable numbers.

It is very evident, that the separating the professions of farmer and fisher, and the granting of leases, must precede these steps of improvement. If the Zetland farmers are still to continue tenants at will, and if, instead of minding their fields, they are still to spend the summer in Greenland, or at the ling-fishery, it is needless to think of remedying the vices in their modes of husbandry. When these primary evils are removed, the first and most indispensable among the secondary means of improvement will be, the construction of tolerable roads. With the exception of one very ill made, and very much neglected, from Lerwick, there is not the vestige of a road in all Zetland. A part of the money allowed by Parliament towards forming roads in the Highlands, ought to have been given to this country.

The most fertile parish in the country is Dunrossness; but it is subject to the sand flood. To restrain this destructive power,

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* Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 157.—'The carcase of one dead horse, with sawings of timber and peat, prepared ten tons of manure in somewhat less than ten months.'

the ' sloping of the ground towards the sea, the filling up vacuities, and *sowing some hardy plants*,' are recommended. The particular species might have been specified. It cannot be meant that any hardy plants will do; for very few will grow in dry sands, and still fewer will act as binders. Professor Jameson has mentioned four, very suitable for the purpose: *—Arundo arenaria, sea mat-grass; Elymus arenarius, resembling it; Triticum junceum; and Galium luteum, or yellow lady's bed-straw, —all hardy natives, very probably to be found on the sandy shores of Dunrossness itself.

Dr Edmondston considers it practicable to raise timber trees in the Zetland islands: and supposes, indeed, that their surface has formerly been covered with wood. He states, what he calls two ' strong *analogies* in favour of the opinion.' 1. Trunks of trees are at this day found imbedded in the peat-mosses; and 2. In one or two sheltered places, there still ' grow considerable numbers of slender rowans and mountain-ash.' (The *rowan*, we may remark, is merely a Scottish name for the mountain-ash.) To these ' analogies' may be added a third, viz. that some of the names of villages, in the interior of the islands, consist of Norwegian words, signifying trees or forests: thus *lund*, a grove, occurs as the name of a township in the island of Unst. The planting of larch, birch, and rowan, is suggested; while no notice is taken of the Scotch fir and sycamore, which have often been recommended for insular situations, and are certainly much less liable to be blasted by the spray and sea-breezes, than the larch. Nor is any notice taken of the hazel and willow, which we believe to be the kinds chiefly found in the peat-mosses. If the experiment of planting is tried, we hope it will be attempted on a large scale: narrow belts certainly will not answer—but a mass approaching to the amplitude of a forest, is likely enough to succeed in the sheltered places of the country.

The plan of introducing sheep-farming is discouraged, chiefly on account of the want of a proper market for the fresh carcase; Lerwick affording so very limited a sale, that the *buyers* are accustomed to make ' unreasonable demands' on the sellers, to have the prices lowered.

The next subject is the Fisheries; and, in successive sections, the ling and the herring fishery are fully treated of.

The ling or white fishery commences on the 20th of May, and ends on the 12th of August. It is carried on in small boats brought from Norway. The *haaf* or fishing ground is from 20 to 40, or even 50 miles from land. Our readers are aware, that the *fisher-*

* Outline of the Mineralogy of the Shetland Islands, 1798.

men are no others than the *farmers* of Zetland. They are very asbstemious while at sea. The stock of provisions consists only of a little oatmeal bread hastily baked, some water, and a small quantity of ardent spirits. Some of their lines, when set, extend between six and seven miles; and 400 ling have been taken at one haul; but from 120 to 140 may be considered as a good average. The fishery on the west side of Zetland is more productive than that on the east; or, as the author dubiously expresses it, the 'boats on the west side generally *fish better* than they do on the east.' (I. 246.) We are next presented with an elaborate statement of the expenses and profits of this fishery; by which it is pretty satisfactorily made out, that the tenant has very little advantage by it, and the landlord not a great deal;—from all which, the only safe inference is, that the system followed is a bad one. The author proposes, that instead of Norway yawls, vessels of 20 or 25 tons burden, should be employed in this fishery; and shows the advantages that would, in his opinion, accrue from this change. Such vessels, however, could only be fitted out by merchants of some capital, or by the resident landowners.

It is well known, that several hundred sail of Dutch busses used annually to rendezvous in Bressay Sound at midsummer, and to prosecute the herring fishery, in the neighbouring seas, as long as the weather would permit. During the late, and even the present war, a few Dutch vessels, under neutral flags, have occasionally appeared on the coast of Zetland, and pursued their antient occupations; but the decrees of Bonaparte, and the measures of retaliation adopted by the British government, have put an end even to this clandestine intercourse. An act, however, has lately been passsd for encouraging the herring fishery on this coast, on which Dr Edmondston pronounces a warm eulogium; though to us it appears, that very great errors have been committed, by a servile and inconsiderate imitation of the Dutch system, under circumstances which do not admit of its adoption. The Dutch, for example, being at a great distance from the fishing-ground, and having some months' provisions to carry with them, did not employ vessels of less than 60 tons burden; and, accordingly, it is declared by the late act, that bounties shall not be allowed to any vessel under that tonnage, although such vessel may belong to Lerwick, close to the fishing-ground, and to supplies of provisions. In the same way, it is in imitation of some ordinance of the States of Holland, that the act talks of sending a commissioned officer of the British Navy, with a naval force, to keep order. The author informs us, that the Zetland vessels which should naturally be employed in this fishery, are all from 25 to 40

tons burden only; and, therefore, entirely excluded from competing, by this new act, made for the encouragement of the herring-fishery! The present bounty nearly indemnifies the outfit of he vessel. It would therefore be imprudent to increase it. People might then no doubt be enticed to start from the rendezvous; but they would fish for the bounty, rather than for the herrings.

Some other branches of fishing are practised in Zetland. Coal-fish are taken in great quantities, 'from the age of a few months,' when they are called '*sillocks*,' to that of 'eight or ten years,' when they are become 'true *sethes*.' (I. 286.) The Doctor infers, that sethes must be of so considerable an age, merely by 'judging from their size and consistence, compared with their former magnitude,' or rather diminutiveness. But, that this is a most uncertain criterion, the familiar example of the salmon may suffice to show: The smolt, which we suppose to be nearly of the same size of a sillock, becomes, in three months, a gilse; and, in three months more, it is a salmon.

Towards the close of his first volume, Dr Edmondston proceeds to 'examine the objections which have been made' to the way in which the Zetland landlords deal with their tenants; and enters into a long and not very consistent argument in justification of the present system.

The manufactures and trade of Zetland are next discussed. The demand for Zetland hose has much declined; but this defalcation has been more than compensated by the introduction of kelp-making. This manufacture was begun about the year 1760. The quantity of kelp made, on the whole coast of Zetland, is, however, comparatively small, the shores being in general high, and therefore unfavourable to the production of sea-weed. Until 1808, the quantity never exceeded 400 tons; in that year, it amounted to 600. About 8000 tons are yearly made in Orkney. We should think that the Doctor is mistaken when he mentions the *prickly tang*, fucus serratus, as one of those kinds not claimed or cut by the proprietors of the shores, and associates it with the great tangle, fucus digitatus. We know that the prickly tang is regularly cut on other kelp-shores; and indeed it often grows intermixed with the bladder-wrack, fucus vesiculosus, and is always accessible at ebb-tide; while the great tangle grows in deeper water, and is not completely uncovered at the lowest ebbs. We were not a little surprised to find, that the author should have occasion to remark, that 'in cutting the tangle, it would facilitate the operation, to employ a sharp scythe with a hook at the end of it. It is both a troublesome and a tedious operation to pull the tangle up by the roots:'—so troublesome, that we should

conceive it nearly as easy to pull up the trees of a forest. We are the more ready to believe that the Doctor may be in a mistake, since we find him elsewhere taking it for granted, that tangles may grow on the fishing-grounds,—where the sea is from thirty to sixty fathoms deep. One species, fucus filum, is occasionally found in ten or twelve fathoms water; but the tangle seldom in depths of as many feet.

The exports of Zetland are stated at 53,319*l.* 12s., and its imports at 43,920*l.*; leaving a balance in favour of Zetland of 9399*l.* 12s. Of the exports, the most considerable article is dried fish; of which 1000 tons, on an average, are annually sent to market.

We are next introduced to Lerwick, the Zetlandic capital—in which, we are told, there is no good inn; and the establishment of one is recommended. Meantime, strangers are at no great loss, either in town or country; for the 'savage virtue of hospitality' is universally prevalent. In the winter, dancing and card parties are frequent in Lerwick. Mr Brand, writing in the year 1700, regrets the want of a proper seminary for education at Lerwick, 'many promising and pregnant ingenys being thus lost.' It is painful to find our author making the very same complaint, after the lapse of more than a century.

A copious account of the manners and character of the Zetland 'peasantry' is next given. They are a robust and healthy race, —'although there are no men-midwives among them!' This curious remark is introductory to a violent philippic against *accoucheurs* in general; and when we find it stated, in a murmuring tone, that 'midwivery is practised, not only by regular surgeons, but also by those who have studied surgery as an amusement,' we cannot help suspecting that the regular Doctor is somewhat jealous of the interference of those who, as they have studied for amusement, very probably practise without fees.

'Christmas day, old style, called *Yule-day*, is held in great veneration by all the peasantry in Zetland. No individual will then engage in any kind of labour; and, if a drop of spirits can be obtained by any sacrifice, it must be had, to hail the morn of that happy day. Long before daylight, the fiddlers present themselves at the doors of the houses, playing a tune called the *Day-dawn*, the interesting association of which thrills every soul with delight. This tune has long been consecrated to Yule-day, and is never played on any other occasion.' (II. 66.) We regret that the author has not favoured us with the notes of this tune, which is probably the remains of a Norwegian visick.

The unavoidable evils attending the impress service, are felt

with peculiar severity by the Zetland peasantry, owing to the remoteness of their situation, and the consequent difficulty of obtaining redress. Every man in the country is more or less used to the sea. But 'men older than 55, and boys who *never* had attained 18 years of age, have been impressed; and, to have been even *once* at Greenland, is looked upon as a sufficient degree of experience to constitute a seaman.' (II. 340.) This is directly contrary to law: No man above 55, nor under 18, can be legally impressed; and two years must elapse, from the time of a man's first going to sea, before he is legally liable to the service. The poor men returning from 'the ice,' (*i. e.* the whale-fishery) are indiscriminately considered as 'fair game, and are hunted down with remorseless perseverance.' The consequences are often shocking; always disgusting and painful.—

'Some have perished in the rocks, in their attempts to escape from this dreaded severity; and others have had their health irrecoverably ruined, by watching and exposure during inclement weather. The panic is not confined to the young and the active: its sympathetic influence extends even to old men and boys; and the appearance of a boat resembling that in the impress service, is taken as the signal for a general flight. And not without reason: for often, while celebrating, with innocent and unsuspecting mirth, the wedding of some youthful pair, or engaged in the annual amusements of a winter night, the harmony of the scene has been rudely terminated by the sudden appearance of a press-gang, and their victims dragged, amidst tears and lamentations, to the general rendezvous.' II. 68.

The people are very superstitious; and some of their fancies are as unmeaning as any we ever heard of. 'Certain names must not be mentioned while they are setting their lines—especially *the minister*, and *the cat!*' In the year 1700, the Reverend Mr Brand was much scandalized at what he emphatically denounces as the 'hellish and tremendous devilry' of witchcraft. The peasantry still believe in its existence; and, no longer ago than 1804, 'a man entered a prosecution, in the Sheriff-court, against a woman for witchcraft.' The Sheriff-substitute allowed the cause to come into court, and endeavoured to expose the folly of such proceedings.

As might be expected from an M. D. of the author's communicative disposition, the chapter of diseases is a formidable one. He commences with a classification of *all* contagious maladies, beginning with smallpox, and ending with cowpox. We rejoice to hear of the success of vaccination in Zetland, and of the contagion of the smallpox being there absolutely 'extinguished.' (II. 90.) A-

mong the nervous diseases, epilepsy was formerly prevalent, and was often communicated, as if by sympathy, especially in churches, under the ministrations of a powerful preacher. The 'missionaries' (sent by we know not whom) have had the good sense to condemn all groaning and crying out during divine service, and have thus put a stop to the frequency of these fits. Such men, we must remark, can scarcely be deserving of the severe sarcasms thrown out against them by the Doctor. (II. 62.) Consumptions, rheumatisms, and liver complaints, with several disgusting cutaneous affections, swell the list of Zetland diseases. Croup is here much less fatal than in the south, not being accompanied with inflammatory symptoms: 'as soon as the sound in the cough resembling crowing, has been fairly established, all danger is looked upon to be at an end.' Low nervous fevers are frequent; and the prevalent inattention to cleanliness among the lower orders keeps the contagion ever alive. Although these people are all accustomed to sailing on the sea from their infancy, yet so little do they seem to value cleanliness, or to prize ablution in the limpid tides around them, that, we are assured, 'not one man in five hundred' ever learns to swim.

The population of the islands, and their division into parishes, are next considered. There are twenty-nine parishes, which form thirteen *ministries* only; sixteen of the old parishes being suppressed or annexed. In his sketch of these ministries, the author never thinks of telling us how many souls are in the cure; his only anxiety being to let us know the number of merks of rental land contained in each. Zetland, it appears, is overpeopled. 'In its present state, it can barely furnish the means of subsistence to a population equal to two thirds of the actual amount.' (II. 146.) In 1755, according to Dr Webster, the population was 15,210; about 1792,* according to Sir John Sinclair, it was 20,186; and in 1802, by the Government census, it was 22,379. This increase is ascribed to the means which the landlords have used to promote early marriages, and to fix the dependent couple on their grounds. Since 1804, the population has been rather decreasing; and the Doctor quotes Mr Malthus with great accuracy on the evils of improvident fertility. It is curious to find the views of this enlightened philosopher anticipated near two centuries ago by the good sense of the Zetland governors. In what are called their 'country acts,' there was a series of regulations for the prevention of imprudent marriages—

* Or rather 1795; for several of the Zetland statistical reports were not published till 1796.

the last of which, dated in 1725, ordains, 'That none be allowed 'to marry, who has not forty pounds Scots of free gear to set up 'house upon, or some lawful trade whereby to subsist; nor such 'as cannot read, and is someway capable of demeaning himself 'as a Christian master of a family; and that the foresaid society '(that is, a society of rustic censors called Rancelmen) require 'thereunto, and suffer none otherwise to marry.'

The division of whales and wrecks is a subject of some importance to these islanders. Many small whales resembliug grampuses are yearly embayed and killed. These would, by the laws of Scotland, become the sole property of the captors, not being 'large whales,' or 'royal fish.' But, by an agreement entered into in the year 1739, between the Earl of Morton, the donee of the Crown, and the heritors of Zetland, it was settled, that the *captors* should thenceforth receive only a third part of the whales, and that the other two parts should be appropriated by the said donee and heritors. The author declaims, and, we think, with success, against repressing the industry of the people in killing the whales, by thus robbing them of a great part of the fruits of their labour: nor can we see very clearly what right *the heritors* had to enter into an agreement with *Lord Morton*, materially affecting the interests of the *captors*—the whole merchants, fishermen, and peasants of Zetland. As to unknown wrecks, the High Admiral and the ground proprietor claim all: 'the tenants content themselves with what they can conveniently carry off and conceal,' (which we should reckon very near akin to *stealing*), together with 'their allowance for salvage; which latter not being always duly paid to them, has occasioned the practice of *theft*.'

The last subject treated of is the 'Natural History' of the islands. When we found it stated in the outset of this chapter, that 'in a geological point of view, they are *peculiarly interesting*; and that *many hundred* undescribed marine insects are every day to be seen on their shores,' we naturally flattered ourselves with the hope of some very interesting communications: but our hopes were a little damped when we found that the author intended to 'confine his observations chiefly to points less generally known, leaving to some future votary of the science the task of minute relation.'

The section entitled 'Botanical Observations,' accordingly, does not contain one botanical observation, unless the following precious morsel may be accounted such—'Among the *mosses*, there occur a few rather novel species of *cryptogamia*; and I have seen what I *took to be* one or two species of *indigenous* grasses growing along the sea-side.' (II. 187.)—The former part of this

sentence is utterly unintelligible: and as to the latter, the Doctor need not use the language of hesitation; for we are verily convinced that every sheep and *shelty* in the country has not only seen, but tasted, several 'species of *indigenous* grasses growing along the sea-side.'

The botanical is followed by a geological section; the descriptive part of which, being borrowed implicitly from Professor Jameson's Outlines of the Mineralogy of the Shetland Islands, is of a very respectable character. Some remarks are subjoined, which are evidently the author's own. 1st, He tells us, that 'coal has never yet been discovered, although, from the nature of the rocks so generally prevalent, its existence may be inferred.' The rocks 'generally prevalent' are, according to his own account, granite, gneiss, micaceous shistus, and serpentine, with some indurated and dark-red sandstone, and beds of *primary* limestone; all of which, we should think, are most inimical to the inference of finding coal. 'Veins of greenstone and basalt' are mentioned as occurring only in one island; and we do not hear at all of the occurrence of argillaceous shistus with vegetable impressions, of clay-ironstone, or limestone with petrifactions,—one or other of which generally abounds in coal-districts. 2dly, He remarks, that 'from this sketch there appears [appear] to be examples in Zetland of three of the Wernerian *formations* of rocks only; the *primitive*, *secondary*, and *alluvial*.' This piece of learning is rather unlucky; as these three great divisions are not formations, but classes; each class including several formations. The Wernerians admit no *secondary* class of rocks; they divide rocks into Primitive, Transition, Floetz, and Alluvial; and *floetz* is by no means synonymous with *secondary*. 3dly, He affirms, that the rocks 'every where furnish satisfactory illustrations of the Neptunian system.' But he does not specify one of these satisfactory illustrations, though no topic is at present more keenly discussed than the aqueous or igneous origin of the rocky crust of our globe. The Vulcanists must smile, therefore, at the Doctor's innocent hostility; and it is not unlikely that the Neptunists may disclaim the aid of his unproved assertions.

Under the head of 'Zoological Observations,' Quadrupeds, Birds, Amphibia, Fishes, and Insects, are treated of in due osder; and with all the useless and absurd precision of the Linnean nomenclature. If he was resolved to be rigorously systematical, he should have begun with Bipeds; and have displayed, in technical phraseology, the peculiar characters of the *Homo sapiens* of the Zetland islands. He commences, however, with the *Equus*

Caballus var., by which he means nothing else than the *sheltie*, or Zetland pony. These ponies, we are told, are very sagacious; so much so, that, in crossing the mossy hills, they of themselves select the best 'road,' though there be not the 'vestige of a foot-print.' (II. 207.)—Var. 2. of the *Ovis aries* of Linnæus, that is, the short-tailed sheep, is found in Zetland!—So it is throughout the north of Europe. A long discussion on the blindness of sheep is here introduced; which is natural enough from an author who has written a volume on ophthalmia.

After mentioning the varieties of the Porcus [Sus] scrofa, and of the Canis familiaris, to be found in the islands, the author adds, that 'the remaining quadrupeds are universally known, and present nothing peculiar.' The *ferret* is, according to the Doctor, one of these remaining quadrupeds; and as it has generally been regarded as a native only of Africa, we expected some remarks on the anomaly of its existence as a denizen of Zetland. Not a word, however, is said on the subject; and we are therefore inclined to adopt the least violent supposition, which certainly is, that the author has fallen into a blunder, and has mistaken either the polecat or the weasel for the ferret.

Although there are 'no birds peculiar to Zetland, nor any in it which have not been anatomically [technically] described in systems of ornithology,' yet the Doctor announces, that his opportunities 'have enabled him to acquire certain facts, respecting the economy of some of them, which are not generally known.' Some of these facts evince a good deal of credulity on the part of the author. For example, the following.

'The erne, or white-tailed eagle, sometimes attacks the halibut, a fish which grows to an *immense* size.—He strikes his claws in the fish with all his force, determined not to forego his hold, and, although but rarely, is sometimes drowned, in the attempt to carry off his prey. When he has overcome the halibut, he raises one of his wings, which serves as a sail, and, if favoured by the wind, in that attitude drifts towards the land. The moment he touches the shore, he begins to eat out and disengage his claws; but if discovered before this can be effected, he falls an easy prey to the first assailant. I know a gentleman, who, having seen an eagle entangled in this manner, attacked and killed him on his arrival on shore.'

The common crow of Zetland, is the Hooded, or Royston Crow. The author gravely informs us, that these crows seldom associate, unless for the 'purpose of holding what is called the *craw's court*;'—a name derived probably from the similarity of this "institution," as it is still more gravely styled, to the sittings of the law-tings already mentioned.

'This *institution* exhibits a curious fact in their history. Numbers are seen to assemble on a particular hill or field from many different points. On some occasions, the meeting does not appear to be complete before the expiration of a day or two. As soon as all the deputies have arrived, a very general noise and croaking ensue; and, shortly after, the whole fall upon one or two individuals, whom they persecute and beat until they kill them. When this has been accomplished, they quietly disperse.'

The season of the year at which these *craw-courts* are held, is not mentioned. We believe the term will generally be found to be intermediate between Hilary and Easter; and we think it much more probable that the object of such assemblies is the making up of matches, than the trial and punishment of delinquents. Some days may elapse before they can adjust their rivalships and jealousies, and some fighting is exceedingly natural; but we are persuaded, that if the Doctor will himself take the trouble of attending a *craw-court*, he will find that the members, which came to the assizes one by one, go off by *pairs* at the end of the session.

Of the black Guillemottes and the Auks, it is remarked, that 'they *fly* when under the water, using their wings the same as when in the air.' To overcome the resistance of a fluid so much heavier than themselves, must require very strenuous exertions in these birds. If the Doctor would himself make the experiment of submarine progress, he would be sensible of this, although doubtless possessed of much greater 'alacrity in sinking' than an auk or a black guillemotte. These subaqueous exertions, he chooses to style *flying*, while other people call them *diving*, and confine their notions of flying, to motion through the air.

The Larus nævius of Linnæus, we are told, is 'nothing but the young of the great black-backed, blue-backed and common gulls, and therefore does not deserve a distinctive appellation in the NOSOLOGY! [what is this?] of naturalists.' (II. 263.)—The oyster-catcher (Hæmatopus ostralegus) is alleged to be 'very improperly so named—the limpet being the chief and almost only food of that bird: the oyster it can neither catch nor open.'

The Zetland list of Amphibia, embraces only the otter and the great and common seal. The seal, we are told, 'more nearly approaches to the character of a *fish*, as he is *never* seen nearer the shore than below the high-water mark of the tide.' (II. 292.) It is amusing, however, to find, in the very next page, that one of these semi-fishes 'became so tame, that it lay along the fire among the dogs, bathed in the sea, and returned to the house; but, having found the way to the *byres* [cow-houses], used to

steal there unobserved, and suck the cows. On this account it was dismissed, and sent to its native element.' II. 293.

The Doctor chooses to place the whale-tribe at the head of his fishes; although other 'votaries of the science,' remarking that they have no gills, and that they suckle their young, have, notwithstanding their residence in the ocean, ranked them among the *mammalia*. A narwhal, or sea-unicorn, ran ashore in Zetland, we are told, in September 1808: Of this curious animal, it would have been desirable to have possessed a correct description and drawing.—We have not room to enter on the *fishes*, properly so called. We perceive nothing very new or interesting in the list.

'*Insecta et Vermes*' bring up the rear. Under this title, we certainly expected, and should have liked to have seen, a sketch of the entomology of the islands; but the author assures us, that the insects are few in number—'not worth knowing'—and therefore, that 'an enumeration is unnecessary!'

It is a fortunate thing, however, that the 'sea is more abundantly supplied.'—'*Myriads of unknown species*,' the Doctor affirms, 'reside on its shores, and in its rocky caverns.' We were indulging the thought, that a Pallas or an Ellis might here spend a happy lifetime in making discoveries;—when, reflecting on his palpable insufficiency in botany and mineralogy, we began to suspect, that possibly these myriads of nondescript vermes might exist only in the Doctor's own brain, who might, all the while, be as profoundly ignorant about insects and zoophytes, as we had found him to be concerning plants and minerals. The fact turns out to be so. He first condemns the whole race of marine vermes, as '*unworthy* of the labour and time' bestowed on them; and then pleads this doctrine as an excuse for passing over these myriads of nondescripts. He condescends, however, to say, that 'he will give an enumeration of the more remarkable.' The reader's surprize will not, perhaps, be less than ours, when he is informed, that the first of the 'more remarkable' of these 'unknown species,' is the '*partin*, or large crab!'—and that this is followed by the hermit-crab, the lobster! and some others equally rare! We are warned, that those articles 'marked with an asterisk, have not been previously met with on the coast of Zetland.' Among those distinguished by this sign, it is amusing to find some of the best known and most general productions of the country. Thus, the common bernacle is not only marked, but is introduced to our notice under two different titles, '**Balanus communis*,' and '*B. balanus*;' yet it covers every sea-rock in the British islands, and

is universally known in Zetland by the name of *roother.* '* *Patella pellucida*' is a shell which, we believe, every child in Zetland knows by the name of *Lady Limpet;* and '*Spongia palmata*' is familiar to every fisherman by the various appellations of *Bokie-man's glove, Trowie's glove,* and *Mermaid's glove.* Among the Zoophyta, the only species worth notice, Dr Edmondston professes to have derived from Professor Jameson. He mentions, on his own authority, the *Gorgonia nobilis,* or true red coral; but we should be nearly as much surprized to find that this tropical production existed in the Zetland seas, as we should be to discover the ferret really to be a native of the islands.

Upon the whole, the book is bad: and though it does state some facts that ought to be generally known, bears evident marks not only of haste and carelessness, but of absolute and utter ignorance of the subjects it affects to discuss. A few slight engravings would have saved us a great deal of incomprehensible description; and correct drawings of the Door-holm,—the Drongs,—of a very curious ruin in the island of Mousa, in the form of a circular castle,—and of Noss-holm and its cradle, would have been acceptable; especially as we understand that Mr Pennant blunders egregiously, both in his representations and descriptions of some of these places. A paltry map is prefixed, of the size of an octavo page. We can say little about it, as we do not happen to have a microscope at hand.

ART. VIII. *A Letter on the Differences in the Structure of Calculi, which arise from their being formed in different Parts of the Urinary Passages; and on the Effects that are produced on them by the internal Use of Solvent Medicines, from Mr William Brande to Everard Home esq. F. R. S.* (From the Philosophical Transactions for 1808, Part II.)

Some Observations on Mr Brande's Paper on Calculi. By Everard Home esq. F. R. S. (From the same Volume.)

An Account of a Calculus from the Human Bladder, of uncommon Magnitude. By Sir James Earle, F. R. S. (From Phil. Trans. for 1809, Part II.)

Observations on the Effects of Magnesia in preventing an increased Formation of Uric Acid; with some Remarks on the Composition of the Urine. Communicated by Mr William T. Brande,

F. R. S. to the Society for the Improvement of Animal Chemistry, and by them to the Royal Society. (From the Phil. Trans. for 1810, Part I.)

On Cystic Oxide, a new Species of Urinary Calculus. By William Hyde Wollaston, M. D. Sec. R. S. (From the same Work, Part II.)

These curious and valuable papers relate to one of the most excruciating torments with which the Divine Providence has, for wise purposes, decreed that the lot of man should be mingled, during his existence in this world. Indeed, were it not that custom teaches us to consider mental afflictions as, in the general, more severe than any bodily pains, (and, no doubt, to some natures, they are, beyond all comparison, more unbearable), we should be disposed to rank the dreadful complaint which we are about to treat of, as the worst of human maladies. To investigate the nature of the Stone, for the purpose of discovering solvents which might remove it, has accordingly been long considered as one of the noblest problems in practical chemistry, and among the best services which that science could render to the healing art. It may be remembered, that to this investigation we owe the brilliant discoveries of Dr Black, which, by disclosing the nature of fixed air and of the alkaline earths, paved the way for all the modern improvements in chemical knowledge. Those great acquirements in speculative science were the compensations which he obtained for his disappointment in a search far more important and interesting to humanity,—as the navigators of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries discovered the New World, and explored its strange recesses, while occupied in the pursuit of an earthly paradise, or a fountain of health and youth. Even the legislature of this country took some part in those inquiries, and gave rewards to the discoverers of solvents. The most noted instance is that of Stevenson; and here the money was granted upon the faith of a cure *said* to be performed, the body not having been examined after death. We need scarcely add, that the medicine thus patronized, and, as it were, privileged, has long since been completely exploded; and though, in its failure, the Parliament resembled the celebrated philosopher whose name we have mentioned, we do not remember that its investigations were, like his, rewarded by any other discoveries.

The hopelessness of the search for *solvents*, has lately turned the attention of the chemists and physiologists to another problem;

and they have been occupied in ascertaining the process of calculous formations, with the view of administering such *preventive* medicines as may indispose the system to produce those concretions, or check their growth, without altering the tone of the constitution. The papers now before us throw considerable light on this important subject; and contain also a good deal of information, tending to elucidate the fallacies of the older doctrines respecting solvents. Indeed, did we not know the danger of trusting to medical reports of cures, and did we not recollect how regularly a series of cases, all quite apt and most nicely fitting the doctrines, forms a part of every modern treatise on medical subjects, we should be tempted to consider a great part of the question solved with regard to the stone, and should confidently look to the extirpation of that worst of maladies. Even moderated by such unpleasant recollections, as we own our hopes to be, we cannot look to the eminent names prefixed to these tracts without great respect; and we feel at least so much inclined to listen, that we shall make no farther apology for laying before our readers an account of what the papers have added to the stock of our knowledge on this subject.

In order to convey some idea of the greatest degree in which this disease has ever yet, we believe, been known to afflict its wretched victims, we shall begin with noticing the case narrated in Sir J. Earle's paper.

Sir Walter Ogilvie, a Scotch baronet, received, at the age of twenty-three, a severe blow on the back, from the boom of a vessel; and the pelvis and lower extremities were in consequence paralyzed. He remained in bed for fourteen months, in an horizontal position; and, during the first two months, his urine was of necessity drawn off by a catheter. After this, he had somewhat recovered the use of his limbs, and could walk or ride, though with difficulty: his general state of health, too, was weak and precarious. About twenty years after the accident, he was afflicted with symptoms of stone; and, upon examination, a calculus of considerable size was found to have been formed in the bladder. An operation was now recommended, but, unfortunately, delayed from time to time, although the patient's health constantly declined, and the irritations and pains in the bladder greatly increased. In this melancholy state he continued for eight years longer, when he became unable to make water in an upright position; he was obliged to place himself in an inverted posture, that the upper part of the bladder might become the lower; and as, even by this means, very small quantities of urine only could be voided, the irritation of endeavouring to make it became almost perpetual, and he was obliged to perform the above men-

tioned operation every ten minutes, with scarcely any relief. The principal remedies which he tried were *aqua calcis* and *uva ursi*. He used opium also to alleviate the pain; and this, adding to a naturally costive habit, rendered aperient medicines frequently necessary, which, again, must have increased the irritations of the disease. At the age of fifty-three, thirty years after the accident, the spasms became so constant and so violent, that he resolved to have the operation performed; and the paralysis of the lower parts being deemed no obstacle to it, he was conveyed by sea to London, where Sir James Earle and Mr Cline consulted upon his truly lamentable case, about the end of July 1808.

Upon examining the lower part of the belly, a tumour was perceived, so large, that Sir James Earle doubted its being altogether caused by the stone; but, on sounding, the instrument would not enter the bladder; and further examination showed, that the whole cavity was nearly filled with calculus. It was clear, therefore, that this could only be extracted, if it should prove soft enough to admit of being broken, and thus brought away piecemeal; and it was deemed impossible to attempt the operation above the *os pubis*. The ordinary method was therefore resorted to; and, after some days consideration, Sir Walter Ogilvie, well aware of the difficulties of the case, and of its great uncertainty, yet justly weary of the long life of torment which he had led, was resolved to have the operation performed, for the chance which it afforded of bringing a relief, only otherwise to be attained by death. It was accordingly performed by Mr Cline, on the 11th of August.

He was placed in the usual position, and the ordinary ligatures were applied; but the paralysis of the lower limbs rendered it unnecessary to confine them, and they were left at liberty. It was found impossible to pass the staff, or any kind of forceps, into the bladder; but, on pressing hard with the finger, part of the stone felt soft, and gave way. This making room for the forceps and scoop, some parts of the concretion were brought away; and, in this manner, about a large teacupful was extracted. The great mass, however, continued hard and immoveable: it could neither be broken nor shaken from its position; and, after trying every instrument, of all powers, the operator was compelled to desist, leaving it (with the exception of the soft matter brought out) in its former state. The patient bore this long process with great fortitude: happily, the paralysis of the lower regions may be supposed to have somewhat diminished the sensibility of the parts. He was, however, completely exhausted, from weakness and fatigue.

Although no hæmorrhage, nor any fatal symptom, appeared

to result from the operation, it had afforded no sort of relief; and the spasms continued as before. They soon increased in frequency and effect, as he became exhausted, and unable to stand them. He seems to have had a gleam of hope on the morrow of the operation; for he frequently inquired when he might be well enough to have the remainder extracted. But he gradually sunk under the repeated and violent irritations of the spasms. On the eighth day, his pulse became smaller and quicker, and he could scarcely be prevailed on to take any sustenance; on the ninth, he was more impatient, feverish and restless; and, on the tenth day, 'he desired not to be teased to take any thing more; when, covering himself completely with the bed-clothes, he quietly resigned a most singularly miserable existence.'

On dissection, the bladder was found to be *quite filled* with a huge calculus, composed of the triple phosphate, which we shall afterwards have occasion to speak of; and of such an unusual proportion of animal matter, that it speedily showed a strong tendency to putridity, and even engendered maggots. It weighed forty-four ounces, or three pounds four ounces, apothecary's weight. Its form was that of an irregular ellipsoid; the larger circumference being sixteen inches, and the smaller fourteen. It had filled the bladder, and taken its shape, but apparently without distending it. The ureters had become enlarged, so as to contain the urine, and act as small bladders; while the large bladder only permitted that fluid to pass off by means of small furrows which it made in trickling along the surface of the stone, between the stone and the bladder. There appears no reason to doubt, that, in a short time, even this painful and insufficient operation would have become impracticable, by the further enlargement of the stone stopping up the mouths of the ureters; in which event, death must have ensued from suppression.

Such, in its very worst state no doubt, is the dreadful malady which forms the subject of the chemical papers now before us. To these we must now direct our attention; and we can promise the reader sufficient reward for his trouble, if he shall be pleased to follow us through the analysis of their contents.

Mr Brande's valuable paper, which stands first in the prefixed list, is founded on an examination of the collection of calculi contained in the Hunterian Museum. Beside the known richness of that collection, most of the specimens have histories of the cases annexed to them, which are obviously of the greatest use in the investigation of the subject. Mr Brande arranges calculi into four classes—first, Those which are formed in the kidneys, and voided without undergoing any change in the passage; second, Those which are retained in the kidneys; third, Those

which are found in the bladder; and, fourth, Those which are found in the urethra. On each of these species, our author has made a number of experiments; and the results exhibit a sufficiently distinct account of their chemical analysis. The first class, or calculi of the kidneys, consist almost always of uric acid (the Lithic acid of Scheele) and animal matter;—the animal matter is found in various proportions, from one-eighteenth to one-third of the whole compound. Sometimes the acid and the matter are not formed into a solid calculus, but pass off mixed with phosphates. The author, however, is disposed to think that the phosphates are not elaborated in the kidney, but mingle with the calculous matter in its passage. In some few instances, the calculus contains oxalate of lime; but this is very rare. The size of these calculi varies, and one has been described by Dr Heberden so large, as to weigh twenty-eight grains; but it may have been detained on its passage, and so augmented in bulk. The largest which Mr Brande examined only weighed seventeen grains. All the calculi of this class are certainly soluble in pure potash; but it is needless to add, that the caustic qualities of this substance render its application in the living subject impossible.

The second class is formed by the detention of a calculus in the kidney, while either the secretion of uric acid enlarges its bulk, sometimes so as to form a complete cast of the pelvis of the kidney; or the stream of urine to which it is exposed deposits the phosphates upon the original nucleus of uric acid and animal matter. In the one case, we have an enlarged calculus of the first class—in the other, a calculus of the third class, only detained in the kidney.

When the uric calculus passes into the bladder, and is there detained—or when a calculus of oxalate of lime comes down from the kidney—or when portions of sand or animal mucus are deposited in the bladder—or when any extraneous substance has found its way thither and is detained—in all these cases, that is, on all these substances as nuclei, there are formed calculi (commonly termed stones in the bladder) with greater or less rapidity, according to the tendencies of the constitution. They may be ranged into three subdivisions—those composed chiefly of the uric acid—those chiefly composed of phosphates (the ammoniaco-magnesian phosphate, or phosphate of lime, or a mixture of the two)—and those containing oxalate of lime, which are commonly termed mulberry calculi. Messieurs Fourcroy and Vauquelin, and Dr Pearson, having found the greater number of calculi to be composed of uric acid (that is to say, belonging to the first of these subdivisions), our author was surprised to find that, in

the Hunterian collection, this proportion did not hold: for, of a hundred and fifty which he examined, only 16 were composed of uric acid wholly (beside the animal matter),—45 of that acid with a small portion of phosphates,—and 5 of the acid with phosphates and nuclei of oxalate of lime; while 66 contained phosphates with a small admixture of urid acid,—12 the phosphates entirely,—and 6 chiefly oxalate of lime. Observing that a greater loss was sustained in obtaining uric acid from calculi in the bladder, than from calculi in the kidneys, Mr Brande was led to conclude that the former contained urea. With a view to ascertain this point, he made some experiments; and found that an uric calculus, weighing 60 grains, contained 5.2 of urea and muriate of ammonia, 6 of ammoniaco-magnesian phosphate, and 48.8 of uric acid—but no urate of ammonia could be detected: from whence, and from other experiments, our author infers, that this substance, when supposed to exist in calculi, owes its origin to the development of ammonia, and its recomposition with uric acid in the course of the processes of decomposition. The mulberry calculi (which are rare) contain, in general, a considerable admixture of phosphates and uric acid with the oxalate of lime. The very large calculi often contain an agglomeration of different species of calculi. Mr Brande examined one, of twenty-three ounces and twenty-six grains, which had a nucleus of uric acid, surrounded with a considerable quantity of very pure ammoniaco-magnesian phosphate: the mass of the stone consisted of mulberry calculus. Another, weighing 15½ ounces, had a nucleus of uric calculus, round which was a mass of ammoniaco-magnesian phosphate, intersected with lamina of uric acid. It is rare to find calculi composed of four distinct substances. Our author saw one which had four separate layers, or strata, of uric acid, oxalate of lime, ammoniaco-magnesian phosphate, or phosphate of lime. He examined four calculi, the nuclei of which were extraneous substances, viz. a garden pea, a needle, a hazel nut, and part of a bougie. Besides the animal matter, the first calculi contained phosphates only; the second, phosphates and oxalate; and the other two were also destitute of uric acid.

The fourth class of calculi, those found in the urethra, offered no peculiarities to the observer. Indeed, the classification of Mr Brande does not refer so much to any distinct properties of the substances arranged, as to their position and accidents—their *habitat*, as the botanists express it; for their properties seem to depend merely upon their exposure to the urine in the different stages of its elaboration; nor is there any manifest variety of circumstances affecting their formation, except in so far as they are found in streams of that fluid in its nascent or in its perfect state. The

calculi in the urethra, accordingly, are only small calculi, which, passing from the bladder, have been detained and lodged in the membranous part of that canal, and, there, have been exposed to the same process of slow accretion, from the passage of urine, which they would otherwise have undergone, from lying in the bladder exposed to the action of the same fluid. One of the calculi of this description which Mr Brande examined, was of a singular appearance. It was a perfect sphere, of about half an inch in diameter, coated with small regular crystals of the ammoniaco-magnesian phosphate in its purest state.

Our author closed his experiments with examining the calculi of different animals. In the horse, sheep, rhinoceros and rabbit, the calculi consisted of the phosphates in part, with animal matter and carbonate of lime. In the dog, no carbonate of lime was found; and, in the hog and ox, no phosphates,—the calculus being wholly composed of carbonate of lime and animal matter. No uric acid nor oxalate seems to have been detected in any of the specimens. Some of them were of a large size: a calculus from an old dog weighed sixteen ounces.

From this induction, it is very evident that one conclusion may safely be drawn—that, in most instances, the stone is connected with the formation of uric acid. Sometimes that acid forms calculi in the kidneys, which, after creating sufficient torment in that region, pass into the bladder, and become the nuclei of still larger, more painful, and more fatal accretions of other substances; while, in many instances, the same acid continues to augment the mass, either alone or combined with other substances. To prevent its formation, then, becomes a most important object; and both Mr Brande and Mr Home propose, for this purpose, the exhibition of some alkaline earth, which may neutralize and carry it off. But, before adverting to this preventive remedy, we may notice the additional proofs adduced, in the papers now under review, to evince the hopelessness of any attempts to solve the stones already formed, at least in the present state of chemical science.

In arguing this point, Mr Brande (or, as Mr Home always terms him, Mr W. Brande) proceeds more by principle;—his patron Mr Home comes forward to his protection with cases. Mr Brande clearly shows, that an alkali administered to a calculous patient stands no chance of reaching the uric concretion in a caustic state; for the urine contains both phosphoric and carbonic acid uncombined. But experiment clearly shows, that neither carbonates nor subcarbonates exert any sensible action on uric acid: in other words (as we apprehend), the affinity of the uric acid for alkalies is weaker than the affinity of carbonic acid for the same bodies: therefore, alkaline liquors cannot act as solvents of the

uric calculi. On the other hand, if acids be administered with a view of attacking the phosphates, the formation of the uric acid is greatly favoured. This, Mr Brande's experiments have also taught him. And as for the injection of solvents through the urethra into the bladder, he justly observes, that although we were not ignorant (as we are) of the kind of calculus in each case, the frequent introduction of instruments into the bladder, and the long continuance of the operation, would form insuperable obstacles to this mode of treatment, which, though recommended by great names, has always been speedily relinquished when tried.

Now come Mr Home's cases,—which plainly demonstrate, that where the use of alkaline medicines was supposed to have relieved the patient by dissolving the calculus, on examination no such effect was found to be produced. In two cases, where the violence of the complaint appeared to have subsided, the dissolution was taken for granted, and ascribed to alkaline medicines; but, on dissection, the calculi were found in great size, only imbedded in cysts, from the enlargement of the prostate gland, which often takes place late in life. In some instances, again, the increase of calculous concretions was found to proceed rapidly, while the patients were going on with courses of alkaline medicines. One person took these remedies for four or five years, and, at his death, the bladder was found nearly filled with light, spongy calculi of different sizes, no less than 350 in number. Another, who had taken soda, both mild and caustic, for some months, and then submitted to the operation on the symptoms increasing, was found to have a calculus, which was surrounded with a coat of triple phosphate, one tenth of an inch thick, the rest being a mixture of uric acid and phosphates; from whence it is fair to infer, that the alkali increased the formation of triple phosphate, though it checked the production of uric acid. In a third case, of a very virulent nature, the exhibition of alkalies did not even prevent the formation of uric concretions. Mr Brande's experiments, however, in 1808, having rendered it highly probable that, in the great majority of cases, alkaline medicines would operate powerfully in checking the growth of uric calculi, by neutralizing the uric acid before it could form a concretion, this inquiry has lately been resumed by that industrious and skilful observer, with the aid and advice of Mr Home; and the result of their joint labours is given in the fourth of the papers examined at the head of this article.

Upon consultation with Mr Hatchett, they were led to fix upon magnesia, in preference to the other alkaline substances; and the event appears to have justified this very natural and judicious choice. Some preliminary trials showed, that the mild, safe, and

easily prepared earth in question, diminished the quantity of uric acid in urine, which contained a larger proportion of it than any of the alkalies, however copiously administered. But this point is of such primary importance, that we must notice the four cases in which a further examination of the matter was prosecuted.

The first was that of a gentleman sixty years old, who, apparently from the habit of drinking acid liquor, had acquired an uncommon tendency to secrete uric acid, and had his urine constantly mixed with that substance, in the form of red sand or crystals. He took, first, the subcarbonate of soda, and then of potash, without any amendment from the former, and with but a slight relief from the latter. His urine being previously examined, he was ordered to take fifteen grains of magnesia three times a day, and in a week the uric concretions diminished sensibly—in three weeks, they were only observed occasionally. The same medicine has been continued for eight months, and no calculi have been voided; nor has there been any material deposite in the urine. He has also been cured of heartburn, and other stomach complaints. Another gentleman, of about forty years of age, who suffered greatly from a similar complaint, and tried the alkalies in vain, has been wholly cured by a six weeks' course of magnesia, in the quantity 'of twenty grains every night and morning,' (we wish Mr Brande would say more distinctly whether he means *twenty* grains a day, or *forty*), without any change of regimen whatever. The third case, is that of a gentleman forty-three years old, who has, for about a year, succeeded in driving away repeated attacks of the uric acid, by taking magnesia for a few weeks at a time, when the fit comes on. The fourth case is that of a more confirmed calculous tendency, which has nevertheless yielded, in a great degree, to the free use of magnesia; with this addition, that since the patient began it, he has been free from gout, contrary to his former habits.

The different qualities of magnesia and the alkalies thus observed, led our author to make some experiments on their respective effects upon *healthy* urine. Subcarbonate of potash and soda occasioned a copious precipitation of the phosphates in the urine, during the first two hours after these salts were taken into the stomach; and, after that, no further effect was produced. The same alkalies, saturated with carbonic acid, threw down the phosphates less copiously and rapidly. Magnesia, administered in the same circumstances, produced a much smaller and slower precipitation. Instead of this effect reaching its maximum in a quarter of an hour, as it did in the case of the alkalies, it did not reach that point in less than six hours; and on this circumstance our author concludes, that its value in calculous disorders chiefly

depends. Lime, either in the caustic or mild form, produces a very slight effect; and its nauseous taste, as well as the difficulty of administering it in sufficient quantities, manifestly preclude its use in this disease. In one case, carbonic acid exhibited in aërated water, was found to keep the phosphates (which the urine was greatly charged with) in a state of solution; and, when left off, those salts were again voided in their solid shape.

Thus far, then, we think, it may safely be hoped, at least with as little risk of disappointment as usually attends our speculations in medical science, that some light has been thrown on the method of treating a disease, of all others which prey upon the body, the most inimical to the happiness and comfort of man. Where the object is so valuable, it is natural for us to feel uncommonly anxious and distrustful, as well as more than usually eager in our wishes for its accomplishment. Instead, therefore, of being satisfied with what Mr Brande and Mr Home have already effected, we would expect them to persevere in their experimental inquiries—multiplying the number of their observations on real cases—and, as it were, leaving no stone unturned to attain the complete mastery of this great problem. Much will be done for medicine, if they should go no farther than perfecting the preventive application of magnesia to the Uric calculus. A great number of calculous cases, of the worst description, will be prevented,—those, to wit, in which the stone in the bladder is formed on a uric nucleus. Many others of the same class will be greatly relieved. Those, in which composite calculi consist partially of uric acid, and all that class of complaints with which the region of the kidneys is afflicted, by the uric concretions formed there, will be entirely removed. Should such a step in the healing art be made, we need scarcely despair of living to see the phosphates themselves attacked by it, and yielding to some equally simple and safe remedy.

While we are, however, indulging in these visions, and anticipating the final eradication of all calculous disorders, we unluckily cast our eye on the last of the papers which are now before us, and find, that Dr Woollaston has been discovering a new species of urinary calculus, at the very moment that his learned brethren were occupied in extirpating the already sufficiently numerous specimens of the old catalogue. This new species is extremely rare, our author having only met with it twice. It resembles the triple phosphate more than any other kind; but is more compact, and consists, not of laminæ, but of a confused mass of crystals, having a yellowish lustre and semitransparency; but it is formed of a peculiar substance. Dr Woollaston made as many experiments on this substance, as the limited quantity of it in his

possession would allow. When burnt, it gives a smell quite peculiar to itself. When distilled, it gives a fetid carbonate of ammonia, and an animal oil, leaving a spongy coal. It is readily dissolved by all the pure alkalies and by lime water—it is even solved by the carbonates of potash and soda. The acids dissolve it also, except the citric, tartaric and acetic. Neither water, alcohol, nor saturated carbonate of ammonia, dissolve this singular substance. From its disposition to unite with both acids and alkalies, Dr Woollaston suspects it to be an oxide; which is confirmed by its forming carbonic acid in distillation; that is to say, if we take it for granted, as he seems to do, that this acid does not exist ready formed in the mass. If it does contain oxygen, our author admits, it must be in a quantity insufficient to give it acid properties; for it produces no effect on the colour of litmus paper. On the supposition of its being an oxide, and to distinguish it from other bodies of that class, Dr Woollaston proposes to name it the *cystic oxide*, on account of its having hitherto been only found in the bladder.

This excellent chemist concludes his paper with some curious observations on the connexion between the production of uric acid in birds, and their food. The white matter contained in their urine, and voided along with their dung, was found by M. Vauquelin to consist principally of that acid; and our author examined with some care in what manner its quantity was affected by the diet of those animals. In the dung of a goose fed on grass, it only formed $\frac{1}{200}$ part;—in that of a pheasant fed on barley, it amounted to $\frac{1}{14}$;—in that of a hen which fed on insects as well as vegetable food, in a barn-yard, it was much more abundant, and mixed with lime. The solid part of the dung of a hawk fed wholly on flesh, was chiefly uric acid; and the evacuation of a gannet, feeding solely on fish, consisted altogether of urine; for the only solid parts were uric acid. 'It seems' (our author concludes) 'deserving of inquiry, what changes might be produced in the urine of any one animal by such alterations of its diet as its constitution would permit; for, as far as any inference can be drawn from these varieties which naturally occur, it would appear that persons subject to calculi consisting of uric acid, as well as gouty persons in whom there is always a redundance of the same matter, have much reason to prefer vegetable diet; but that the preference usually given to fish above other kinds of animal food, is probably erroneous.'

The mention of Dr Woollaston's paper naturally leads us to reflect on the important services which this truly philosophical inquirer has formerly rendered to the branch of science now under consideration. It was his important discovery of the nature

of gouty concretions, which first ascertained the analogy long suspected between gout and stone; and, besides giving the first analysis of those concretions which had ever been experimentally attempted, he also first (with the able assistance of Mr Tennant, a name far too well known to need the humble tribute of our admiration) investigated the composition of the calculi, consisting of neutral salts. The discovery of Scheele, perhaps his most important discovery, brought to light the nature of uric calculi; and, at the same time, made us acquainted with a new acid. The existence of this acid was suspected in gouty concretions; and it was generally imagined that they consisted of the acid alone, or combined with animal matter only. Dr Woollaston showed by experiment that they are composed of uric acid and soda. Until he carried his inquiries into the other classes of calculi, it was only by conjecture or vague analogies that their constitution was known; but to him we owe as perfect an acquaintance with their component parts, as Scheele had left us of the uric calculus. Having thus completed our analysis of the calculi formerly known, he has, in his present communication, brought to light both a new calculus, and a new body. His former paper was published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1797; and the one now before us forms an important appendix to it. It is not within our province to take any further notice of the first tract; but we could not conclude this article without recalling it to the recollection of the scientific reader, and reminding him of his great obligations to Dr Woollaston. *

Art. IX. *Philosophical Essays.* By Dugald Stewart, Esq. F. R. S. Edinburgh, Emeritus Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, &c. &c. 4to. pp. 590. Edinburgh, 1810.

The studies to which Mr Stewart has devoted himself, have lately fallen out of favour with the English public; and the nation which once placed the name of Locke immediately under those of Shakespeare and of Newton, and has since repaid the metaphysical labours of Berkeley and of Hume with such just celebrity, seems now to be almost without zeal or curiosity as to the progress of the Philosophy of Mind.

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* See also a valuable collection of historical notices, as well as analytical researches, on Urinary Concretions, in Dr George Pearson's paper, Phil. Trans. 1798, Part I.

The causes of this distaste it would be curious, and probably not uninstructive, to investigate: but the inquiry would be laborious, and perhaps not very satisfactory. It is easy, indeed, to say, that the age has become frivolous and impatient of labour; and has abandoned this, along with all other good learning, and every pursuit that requires concentration of thought, and does not lead to immediate distinction. This is satire, and not reasoning; and, were it even a fair statement of the fact, such a revolution in the intellectual habits and character of a nation, is itself a phenomenon to be accounted for,—and not to be accounted for upon light or shallow consideration. To us, the phenomenon, in so far as we are inclined to admit its existence, has always appeared to arise from the great multiplication of the branches of liberal study, and from the more extensive diffusion of knowledge among the body of the people,—and to constitute, in this way, a signal example of that *compensation*, by which the good and evil in our lot is constantly equalized, or reduced at least to no very variable standard.

The progress of knowledge has given birth, of late years, to so many arts and sciences, that a man of liberal curiosity finds both sufficient occupation for his time, and sufficient exercise to his understanding, in acquiring a superficial knowledge of such as are most inviting and most popular; and, consequently, has much less leisure, and less inducement than formerly, to dedicate himself to those abstract studies which call for more patient and persevering attention. In older times, a man had nothing for it, but either to be absolutely ignorant and idle, or to take seriously to theology and the school logic. When things grew a little better, the classics and mathematics filled up the measure of general education and private study; and, in the most splendid periods of English philosophy, received little addition, but from the investigation of our intellectual and moral nature. Some few individuals might attend to other things; but a knowledge of these was all that was required of men of good education, and was held accomplishment enough to entitle them to the rank of scholars and philosophers. Now-a-days, however, the necessary qualification is prodigiously raised,—at least in denomination; and a man can scarcely pass current in the informed circles of society, without knowing something of political economy, chemistry, mineralogy, geology and etymology,—having a small notion of painting, sculpture, and architecture,—with some sort of taste for the picturesque, and a smattering of German and Spanish literature, and even some idea of Indian, Sanscrit and Chinese learning and history,—over and above some little knowledge of trade and agriculture,—with a reasonable acquaintance with what is called the

philosophy of politics, and a far more extensive knowledge of existing parties, factions, and eminent individuals, both literary and political, at home and abroad, than ever were required in any earlier period of society. The dissipation of time and of attention that is occasioned by these multifarious occupations, is, of course, very unfavourable to the pursuit of any abstract or continued study; and even if a man could, for himself, be content to remain ignorant of many things, in order to obtain a profound knowledge of a few, it would be difficult for him, in the present state of the world, to resist the impulse and the seduction that assail him from without. Various and superficial knowledge is now not only so common, that the want of it is felt as a disgrace; but the facilities of acquiring it are so great, that it is scarcely possible to defend ourselves against its intrusion. So many easy and pleasant elementary books—such tempting summaries, abstracts and tables—such beautiful engravings, and ingenious charts and *coups-d'œil* of information—so many museums, exhibitions and collections, meet us at every corner—and so much amusing and provoking talk in every party, that a taste for miscellaneous and imperfect information is formed, almost before we are aware, —and our time and curiosity irrevocably devoted to a sort of Encyclopedical trifling.

In the mean time, the misfortune is, that there is no popular nor royal road to the profounder and more abstract truths of philosophy; and that these are apt, accordingly, to fall into discredit or neglect, at a period when it is labour enough for most men to keep themselves up to the level of that great tide of popular information, which has been rising, with such unexampled rapidity, for the last forty years.

Such, we think, are the most general and uncontrollable causes which have recently depressed all the sciences requiring deep thought and solitary application, far below the level of their actual importance; and produced the singular appearance of a partial falling off in intellectual enterprise and vigour, in an age distinguished, perhaps, above all others, for the rapid development of the human faculties. The effect we had formerly occasion to observe, when treating of the singular decay of mathematical science in England; and so powerful and extensive is the operation of the cause, that, even in the intellectual city which we inhabit, we have known instances of persons of good capacity who had never found leisure to go beyond the first elements of mathematical learning, and were even suspected of having fallen into several heresies in metaphysics, merely from want of time to get regularly at the truth.

If the philosophy of mind has really suffered more, from this

universal hurry, than all her sister sciences of the same serious complexion, we should be inclined to ascribe this misfortune, partly to the very excellence of what has been already achieved by her votaries, and partly to the very severe treatment which their predecessors have received at their hands. Almost all the great practical maxims of this mistress of human life, such as the use of the principle of Association in education, and the generation and consequences of Habits in all periods of life, have been lately illustrated in the most popular and satisfactory manner, and rendered so clear and familiar, as rules of practical utility, that few persons think it necessary to examine into the details of that fine philosophy by which they may have been first suggested, or brought into notice. There is nothing that strikes one as very important to be known upon these subjects, which may not be established in a more vulgar and empirical manner,—or which requires, in order to be understood, that the whole process of a scientific investigation should be gone over. By most persons, therefore, the labour of such an investigation will be declined; and the practical benefits applied, with ungrateful indifference to the sources from which they were derived. Of those, again, whom curiosity might tempt to look a little closer upon this great field of wonders, no small part are dismayed at the scene of ruins which it exhibits. The destruction of antient errors, has hitherto constituted so very large a part of the task of modern philosophers, that they may be said to have been employed rather in throwing down than in building up, and have as yet established very little but the fallacy of all former philosophy. Now, they who had been accustomed to admire that antient philosophy, cannot be supposed to be much delighted with its demolition; and at all events, are naturally discouraged from again attaching themselves to a system, which they may have the mortification of again seeing subverted. In their minds, therefore, the opening of such a course of study is apt only to breed a general distrust of philosophy, and to rivet a conviction of its extreme and irremediable uncertainty: while those who had previously been indifferent to the systems of error, are displeased with the labour of a needless refutation; and disappointed to find, that, after a long course of inquiry, they are brought back to that very state of ignorance from which they had expected it would relieve them.

If any thing could counteract the effect of these and some other causes, and revive in England that taste for abstract speculation for which it was once so distinguished, we should have expected this to be accomplished by the publications of the author before us.—The great celebrity of his name, and the uniform clearness, simplicity and good sense of his statements, might in-

deed have failed to attract those whom similar merits had never tempted to look into the pages of Locke or of Berkeley. But the singular eloquence with which Mr Stewart has contrived to adorn the most unpromising parts of his subject,—the rich lights which his imagination has everywhere thrown in with such inimitable judgment and effect,—the warm glow of moral enthusiasm which he has spread over the whole of his composition,—and the tone of mildness, dignity and animation which he has uniformly sustained, in controversy, as well as in instruction; are merits which we do not remember to have seen united in any other philosophical writer; and which might have recommended to general notice, topics far less engaging than those on which they were employed. His former work, on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, has accordingly been more read than any other modern book on such subjects; and the volume before us, we think, is calculated to be still more popular. By being cast into the form of detached essays, it absolves the reader from the labour of systematic study, and at the same time dispenses with all that preparatory and elementary detail, which was unavoidable in the outset of a regular system. It contains, besides a long and very eloquent Introduction, one series of Essays on subjects that are strictly Metaphysical,—Locke's Account of the Origin of our Knowledge,—the Idealism of Berkeley,—the Systems of Hartley, Darwin, Tooke, &c.; and another on subjects of a more popular, and, to most readers, of a more interesting character,—on the Beautiful,—on the Sublime,—and on Taste. A considerable mass of Notes and Illustrations are added, in the form of an Appendix.

Though the arrangement which the author has adopted, is no doubt the most natural and scientific,—we could have wished, for the sake of his Southern readers, that the order of the two series of Essays had been inverted. Discussions upon Taste, and on the Beautiful,—the Picturesque and the Sublime,—fall in, much more than pure Metaphysics, with the habits of the English *literati*; and though treated with a little more profundity than they are used to, could scarcely fail to make such an impression, with the aid of the admirable writing which Mr Stewart has here bestowed upon them, as to induce the better sort of readers to venture on, under such a guide, even into the idealism of Berkeley, and Mr Locke's genealogy of our ideas. When such topics, however, are proposed to them in the outset, we doubt whether many will not shrink back altogether from the enterprise; and fear that some may even miss those parts of the volume from which they would have derived both instruction and delight, by their being placed

behind other parts that present a front too formidable for their attack. We shall now do our endeavour, however, to give our readers a brief and intelligible account of the whole contents of the publication.

The first part of the Preliminary Dissertation, is dedicated to the correction of some prevailing errors, with regard to the nature and object of the inductive philosophy of mind; which is shown, very clearly, to be necessarily limited to the investigation of those laws of thought that may be deduced from actual observation of the objects of our consciousness; and to be totally independent of any speculation on the nature of mind itself, and equally certain and substantial, whatever theory or hypothesis may be adopted as to the essence of the thinking principle. Even the materialist must admit, that feeling, remembering, and willing, are qualities essentially different from those of being solid, rough, hot, or extended; and that we come to the knowledge of them in a perfectly different way. The latter are made known to us by our *perceptions*, and are necessarily apprehended as external, and independent of the percipient;—the former we know only by *consciousness*, and necessarily refer to a principle identified with our own existence. The phenomena that are exhibited by the one set of qualities, are to be ascertained, therefore, by attending to our perceptions; and those that belong to the other, by attending to the intimations of our consciousness: and, whatever is fairly deduced from observation, in either case, is legitimate and certain knowledge, whatever opinion we may entertain as to the difference or identity, the existence or non-existence, of matter or of mind. On any hypothesis, the phenomena which we call the phenomena of thought, form a distinct and interesting subject of investigation, and are to be investigated, like all other phenomena, by ascertaining, from actual observation, the laws of their succession, and generalizing from those laws when ascertained. This, and this alone, Mr Stewart considers to be the legitimate province of philosophy; and every thing that is beyond this, he rightly sets down as a domain, into which our limited faculties do not as yet permit us to enter, and which must ever be, in this world, an object of mere conjecture and uncertainty.

He then proceeds to take notice of the pernicious and unphilosophical precipitancy which has led impatient inquirers, in all branches of science, to attempt to explain every thing by means of one simple principle; and illustrates the mischief of such a plan of philosophizing in metaphysics, by a reference to its consequences in chemistry and general physics.

"It required," he observes, "nothing less than the united splen-

dour of the discoveries brought to light by the new chemical school, to tear the minds of men from the pursuit of *a simple and primary element;* a pursuit renewed in every age with an indefatigable perseverance, and always renewed in vain. With what feelings of contempt would the physiologists of former times have looked down on the chemists of the present age, whose timid and circumscribed system admits nearly forty different *principles* in the composition of bodies! What a subject of ridicule would the new nomenclature have afforded to an alchemist!—The philosophy of mind has its alchemists also;—men whose studies are directed to the pursuit of one single principle, into which the whole science may be resolved; and who flatter themselves with the hope of discovering the grand secret, by which the pure gold of Truth may be produced at pleasure." *Prelim. Dissert.* p. xv. xvi.

Of such metaphysical alchemists, Hartley, he observes, is clearly entitled to the first place, having attempted to explain the whole of our intellectual operations by the single principle of the 'Association of Ideas.' On this system, Mr Stewart contents himself with making this one decisive remark, that all its generalizations are *Verbal* or nominal only, and that it succeeds in reducing all our mental operations to cases of *association* of *ideas*, only by using these two words in such an unprecedented latitude, as to make them comprehend all sorts of mental operations, and all sorts of connexions. Every thing, according to Hartley, of which we are conscious, except only our sensations, may be called ideas; and every kind of relation that can be imagined among them, he terms an association; and accordingly, has no scruple in saying, in direct terms, that the connexion between twice two and four, is merely an association of ideas, and that all mathematical relations are of the same denomination. This, it is evident, is not a discovery in philosophy, but an innovation in language.

In the second part of the Preliminary Dissertation, we will confess, that we take a more lively interest—as Mr Stewart has there taken occasion to make a formal reply to some of our hasty speculations, and has done us the honour of embodying several of our transitory pages in this enduring volume. If we were at liberty to yield to the common weaknesses of authors, we should probably be tempted to defend ourselves in a long dissertation; but we know too well what is due to our readers and to the public, to think of engaging any considerable share of their attention with a controversy which may be considered in some measure as personal to ourselves; and therefore, however honourable we think it to be thus singled out for equal combat by such an antagonist, we shall put what we have to say within a very narrow compass.

The observations to which Mr Stewart has here condescended to

reply, occur in an early Number of our publication, * and were intended to show, that as mind was not the proper subject of *experiment*, but of *observation*, so, there could be no very close analogy between the rules of metaphysical investigation, and the most approved methods of inquiry as to those physical substances which are subjected to our disposal and control;—that as all the facts with regard to mind must be derived from previous and universal consciousness, it was difficult to see how any arrangement of them could add to our substantial knowledge; and that there was, therefore, no reason either to expect discoveries in this branch of science, or to look to it for any real augmentation of our *power*. The argument upon this head was summed up in the following passage, which Mr Stewart has not thought it necessary to quote in the Dissertation before us, though it was certainly intended to contain that ultimate view of the subject, by which we were most willing to abide, and most desirous to be tried.

'For these reasons, we cannot help thinking that the labours of the metaphysician, instead of being assimilated to those of the chemist or experimental philosopher, might, with less impropriety, be compared to those of the Grammarian, who arranges into technical order the words of a language which is spoken familiarly by all his readers; or of the Geographer who exhibits to them a correct map of a district, with every part of which they were previously acquainted. We acquire a perfect knowledge of our own minds without study or exertion, just as we acquire a perfect knowledge of our native language, or our native parish; yet we cannot, without much study and reflection, compose a grammar of the one, or a map of the other. To arrange in correct order all the particulars of our practical knowledge, and to set down, without omission and without distortion, every thing that we actually know upon a subject, requires a power of abstraction, recollection, and disposition, that falls to the lot of but few. In the science of mind, perhaps, more of those qualities are required than in any other; but it is not the less true of this, than of all the rest, that the materials of the description must always be derived from a previous acquaintance with the subject—that nothing can be set down technically that was not practically known—and that no substantial addition is made to our knowledge by a scientific distribution of its particulars. After such a systematic arrangement has been introduced and a correct nomenclature applied, we may indeed conceive more clearly, and will certainly describe more justly, the nature and extent of our information; but our information itself is not really increased; and the consciousness by which we are supplied with all the materials of our reflections, does not become more productive by this disposition of its contributions.'

* Vol. III. p. 273, &c.

With regard to perception and the other primary functions of mind, it was added, that this doctrine seemed to hold without any limitation; and as to the associating principle, while it was admitted that the case was somewhat different, it was observed, that all men were in reality aware of its existence, and acted upon it in all practical cases, though they might never have made its laws a subject of reflection, nor ever stated its general phenomena in the form of an abstract proposition.

To all this, Mr Stewart proceeds to answer, by observing, that the distinction between experiment and observation is really of no importance whatever, in reference to this argument; because experiments are merely phenomena that are observed; and the inferences and generalizations that are deduced from the observation of spontaneous phenomena, are just of the same sort with those that are inferred from experiment, and afford equally certain grounds of conclusion, provided they be sufficiently numerous and consistent. The justice of the last general proposition, we do not mean to dispute; and assuredly, if any thing inconsistent with it is to be found in our former speculations, it must have arisen from that haste and inadvertence which, we make no doubt, have often betrayed us into still greater errors. But it is very far from following from this, that there is not a very material difference between experiment and observation; or that the philosophy of mind is not necessarily restrained within very narrow limits, in consequence of that distinction. Substances which are in our power, are the objects of experiment; those which are not in our power, of observation only. With regard to the former, it is obvious, that, by well contrived experiments, we may discover many things that could never be disclosed by any length of observation. With regard to the latter, an attentive observer may, indeed, see more in them than strikes the eye of a careless spectator; but he can see nothing that *may* not be seen by every body; and, in cases where the appearances are very few, or very interesting, the chance is, that he *does* see nothing more—and that all that is left to philosophy is, to distinguish them into classes, and to fit them with appropriate appellations. Now, mind, we humbly conceive, considered as a subject of investigation, is the subject of observation only; and is known nearly as well by all men, as by those who have most diligently studied its phenomena. 'We cannot 'decompose our sensations,' we formerly observed, 'in a cru-'cible, nor divide our perceptions with a prism.' The metaphor was something violent; but, the meaning obviously was, that we cannot subject those faculties to any analogous process, nor discover more of their nature than consciousness has taught all

the beings who possess them. Is it a satisfactory answer, then, for Mr Stewart, to say, that we may analyze them by reflection and attention, and other instruments better suited than prisms or crucibles to the intellectual laboratory which furnishes their materials? Our reply is, that we cannot analyze them at all; and can never know more of them than has always been known to all to whom they had been imparted; and that, for this plain reason, that the truth of every thing that is said with regard to the mind, can be determined by an appeal to consciousness alone, and would not be even intelligible, if it informed men of any thing that they did not previously feel to be true.

With regard to the actual *experiments* to which Mr Stewart alludes, as having helped to explain the means by which the eye judges of distances and magnitudes, these, we must observe, are, according to our conception, very clearly experiments, not upon mind, but upon matter; and are only entitled to that name at all, in so far as they are carried on by means of the power we possess of disposing certain pieces of matter in certain masses and intervals. Strictly considered, they are optical experiments on the effects produced by distance on the appearance of bodies; and are nearly akin to experiments on the effects produced on their appearance by the interposition of *media* of different refracting powers, whether in the shape of prisms, or in any other shape. At all events, they certainly are not investigations carried on solely by attending to the subjects of our consciousness, which is Mr Stewart's own definition of the business of the philosophy of mind.

In answer to our remark, that 'no metaphysician expects, by 'analysis, to discover a new power, or to excite a new sensation 'in the mind, as the chemist discovers a new earth or a new me-'tal,' Mr Stewart is pleased to observe—

'That it is no more applicable to the anatomy of the mind, than to the anatomy of the body. After all the researches of physiologists on this last subject, both in the way of observation and of experiment, no discovery has yet been made of a new organ, either of power or of pleasure, or even of the means of adding a cubit to the human stature; but it does not therefore follow that these researches are useless. By enlarging his knowledge of his own internal structure, they increase the *power of man* in that way in which alone they profess to increase it. They furnish him with resources for remedying many of the accidents to which his health and his life are liable; for recovering, in some cases, those active powers which disease has destroyed or impaired; and, in others, by giving sight to the blind, and hearing to the deaf, for awakening powers of perception which were dormant before. Nor must we overlook what they have contributed, in conjunction with the arts of the optician

and of the mechanist, to extend the sphere of those senses, and to prolong their duration.' *Prelim. Diss.* p. xlvi, xlvii.

Now, ingenious and elegant as this parallel must be admitted to be, we cannot help regarding it as utterly fallacious, for this simple reason—that the business of anatomy is to lay open, with the knife, the secrets of that internal structure, which could never otherwise be apparent to the keenest eye; while the metaphysical inquirer can disclose nothing of which all his pupils are not previously aware. There is no opaque skin, in short, on the mind, to conceal its interior mechanism; nor does the metaphysician, when he appeals to the consciousness of all thinking beings for the truth of his classifications, perform any thing at all analogous to the dissector, when he removes those outer integuments, and reveals the wonders of the inward organization of our frame. *His* statements do not receive their proof from the previous, though perhaps undigested knowledge of his hearers, but from the actual revelation which he makes to their senses; and his services would evidently be more akin to those of the metaphysician, if, instead of actually disclosing what was not previously known, or suspected to exist, he had only drawn the attention of an incurious generation to the fact that they had each ten fingers and ten toes, or that most of them had thirty-two teeth, distinguishable into masticators and incisors.

When, from these, and some other considerations, we had ventured to infer, that the knowledge derived from mere observation could scarcely make any addition to our power, Mr Stewart refers triumphantly to the instance of astronomy; and, taking it almost for granted, that all the discoveries in that science have been made by observation alone, directs the attention of his readers to the innumerable applications which may be made of it to purposes of unquestioned utility.

'In compensation,' he observes, 'for the inability of the astronomer to control those movements of which he studies the laws, he may boast, as I already hinted, of the immense accession of a more useful power which his discoveries have added to the human race, on the surface of their own planet. It would be endless to enumerate all the practical uses to which his labours are subservient. It is sufficient for me to repeat an old, but very striking reflection, that the only accurate knowledge which Man possesses of the surface of the Earth, has been derived from the previous knowledge he had acquired of the phenomena of the Stars. Is it possible to produce a more apposite, or a more undeniable proof of the universality of Bacon's maxim, that "*knowledge is power*," than a fact which demonstrates the essential aid which man has derived, in asserting his dominion over this lower world, from a branch of science which seems, at first view, fitted only to gratify a speculative curiosity;

and which, in its infancy, served to amuse the leisure of the Chaldean shepherd?' *Prelim. Diss.* p. xxxviii, xxxix.

To this we have to answer, in the first place, that astronomical science has *not* been perfected by observation alone; but that all the elements which have imparted to it the certainty, the simplicity, and the sublimity which it possesses, have been derived from *experiments* made upon substances in the power of their contrivers;—from experiments performed with small pieces of matter on the laws of projectile motion—the velocities of falling bodies—and on centrifugal and centripetal forces. The knowledge of these laws, like all other valuable knowledge, was obtained by experiment only; and their application to the movements of the heavenly bodies was one of those splendid generalizations which derive their chief merit from those inherent imperfections of observation by which they were rendered necessary. But, in the second place, we must observe, that, even holding astronomy to be a science of mere observation, the power which Mr Stewart says we have obtained by means of it, is confessedly a power, not over the substances with which that science is conversant, but over *other* substances which stand in some relation to them; and to which, accordingly, that science is capable of being applied. It is over the earth and the ocean that we have extended our dominion by means of our knowledge of the stars. Now, applying this case to that of the philosophy of mind, and assuming, as we seem here entitled to assume, that it has invested us with no new power over mind itself,—what, we would ask, are the *other* objects over which our power is increased by means of our knowledge of mind? Is there any other substance to which that knowledge can possibly be applied? Is there any thing else that we either know better, or can dispose of more effectually in consequence of our observations on our own intellectual constitution? It is evident, we humbly conceive, that these questions must be answered in the negative. The most precise knowledge which the metaphysician can acquire by reflecting on the subjects of his consciousness, can give him no new power over the mind in which he discovers those subjects; and it is almost a self-evident proposition, that the most accurate knowledge of the subjects of consciousness can give him no power over any thing but mind.

There is one other little point connected with this argument, which we wish to settle with Mr Stewart. In speaking of the useful *applications* that may be ultimately made of the knowledge derived from observation, we had said, that for the power or the benefit so obtained, mankind were indebted—not to the observer, but to him who suggested the application. Mr Stewart admits the truth of this—but adds, that the case is exactly the same with

the knowledge derived from experiment;—and that the mere empiric is on a footing with the mere observer. Now, we do not think the cases exactly the same;—and it is in their difference that we conceive the great disadvantage of observation to consist. Whoever makes an experiment, must have the power at least to repeat that experiment—and, in almost every case, to repeat it with some variation of circumstances. Here, therefore, is one power necessarily ascertained and established, and an invitation held out to increase that power, by tracing it through all the stages and degrees of its existence; while he who observes a phenomenon, over which he has no control, neither exercises any power, nor holds out the prospect of acquiring any power, either over the subject of his observation, or over any other substance. He who first ascertained, by experiment, the expansive force of steam, and its destruction by cold—or the identity of lightning and electricity, and the consequent use of the conducting rod, plainly bestowed, in that instant, a great power upon mankind, of which it was next to impossible that some important application should not be speedily made. But he who first observed the periodic immersions and emersions of the satellites of Jupiter, certainly neither acquired nor bestowed any power in the first instance, and seems to have been but a remote and casual auxiliary to him whose genius afterwards found the means of employing these phenomena to guide him through the trackless waters of the ocean.—Experiment, therefore, necessarily implies power; and, by suggesting analogous experiments, leads naturally to the interminable expansion of inquiry and of knowledge:—but observation, for the most part, centres in itself, and tends rather to gratify and allay our curiosity, than to rouse or inflame it.

After having thus attempted to prove that experiment has no prerogative above mere observation, Mr Stewart thinks it worth while to recur again to the assertion, that the philosophy of mind does admit of experiments; and, after remarking, rather rashly, that 'the whole of a philosopher's life, if he spends it to any purpose, is one continued series of experiments on his own faculties and powers,' he goes on to state, that

—'hardly any experiment can be imagined, which has not already been tried by the hand of Nature; displaying, in the infinite varieties of human genius and pursuits, the astonishingly diversified effects, resulting from the possible combinations, of those elementary faculties and principles of which every man is conscious in himself. Savage society, and all the different modes of civilization;—the different callings and professions of individuals, whether liberal or mechanical;—the prejudiced clown;—the factitious man of fashion;—the varying phases of character from infancy to old age;—the

prodigies effected by human art in all the objects around us;—laws,—government,—commerce,—religion;—but above all, the records of thought, preserved in those volumes which fill our libraries; what are they but *experiments*, by which Nature illustrates, for our instruction, on her own grand scale, the varied range of Man's intellectual faculties, and the omnipotence of Education in fashioning his mind?' *Prel. Diss.* xlv. xlvi.

If experiment be rightly defined the intentional arrangement of substances in our power for the purpose of observing the result, then these are not experiments; and neither imply, nor tend to bestow, that power which enters into the conception of all experiment. But the argument, in our apprehension, is chargeable with a still more radical fallacy. The philosophy of mind is distinctly defined, by Mr Stewart himself, to be that which is employed 'on phonomena of which we are conscious;' its peculiar object and aim is stated to be, 'to ascertain the laws of our constitution, in so far as they can be ascertained by attention to the subjects of our consciousness;' and, in a great variety of passages, it is explained, that the powers by which all this is to be effected, are, reflection upon our mental operations, and the faculty of calm and patient attention to the sensations of which we are conscious. But, if this be the proper province and object of the philosophy of mind, what benefit is the student to receive from observing the various effects of manners and situation, in imparting a peculiar colour or bias to the character of the savage and the citizen, 'the prejudiced clown and factitious man of fashion?' The observation of such varieties is, no doubt, a very curious and a very interesting occupation;—but we humbly conceive it to form no part, or, at least, a very small and inconsiderable part, of the occupation of a student of philosophy. It is an occupation which can only be effectually pursued, in the world, by travelling, and intercourse with society; and, at all events, by vigilant observation of what is presented to our senses. The philosophy of mind, however, is to be cultivated in solitude and silence—by calm reflection on our own mental experiences, and patient attention to the subjects of our consciousness. Are we *conscious* of those varieties of temper and character that distinguish the different conditions of human life?—or, even independent of Mr Stewart's definition—is it reconcileable to common usage or general understanding, to call our attention to such particulars the study of the philosophy of mind?—Is it not, on the contrary, universally understood to be almost the limited province of that philosophy, to explain the nature and distinctions of those primary functions of the mind, which are possessed in common by men of *all* vocations and *all* conditions?—to treat of perception and atten-

tion, and memory and imagination, and volition and judgment, and all the other powers or faculties into which our intellectual nature may be distinguished?—Is it not with *these* that Locke, and Berkeley, and Reid, and all the other philosophers who have reasoned or philosophized about mind, have been occupied?—or, what share of Mr Stewart's own invaluable publications is devoted to those slighter shades of individual character, to which alone his supposed experiments have any reference? The philosophy of the human mind, we conceive, is conversant only with what is common to all human beings—and with those faculties of which every individual of the species is equally conscious: and though it may occasionally borrow illustrations, or even derive some reflected light from the contemplation of those slighter varieties that distinguish one individual from another, this evidently forms no part of the study of the subjects of our consciousness, and can never be permitted to rank as a legitimate part of that philosophy.

This exhausts almost all that we have to say in defence of our supposed heresies as to the importance and practical value of the philosophy of mind, considered with reference to the primary and more elementary faculties of man. With regard to the associating principle, we have still a word or two to add. In our original observations, we admitted that this principle seemed to stand in a situation somewhat different from the simpler phenomena of the mind—and that the elucidations which Philosophy had furnished with regard to its operations, did not seem so distinctly impressed on our consciousness as most of her other statements. We allowed, therefore, that some utility might be derived from the clear exposition of this more complicated part of our mental organization, in respect both to the certainty and the extent of its application; at the same time that we felt ourselves constrained to add, that, even as to this habit of the mind, Philosophy could lay no claim to the honours of a *discovery*, since the principle was undoubtedly familiar to the feelings of all men, and was acted upon, with unvarying sagacity, in almost every case where it could be employed with advantage; though by persons who had never thought of embodying it in a maxim, or attending to it as a law of general application. The whole scheme of education, it was observed, has been founded on this principle, in every age of the world. 'The groom,' it was added, 'who never heard of ideas 'or associations, feeds the young war-horse to the sound of the 'trumpet; and the unphilosophical artists who tame elephants, or 'train dancing dogs, proceed on the same obvious and familiar 'principle.'

As this part of our speculations has incurred more of Mr Stewart's disapprobation than any thing which we have hitherto attempted to defend, we think ourselves called upon to state the

substance of his objections in his own eloquent and impressive words. After quoting the sentence we have already transcribed, he proceeds—

'This argument, I suspect, leads a little too far for the purpose of its author, inasmuch as it concludes still more forcibly (in consequence of the great familiarity of the subject) against Physics, strictly so called, than against the Science of Mind. The Savage, who never heard of the accelerating force of gravity, yet knows how to add to the momentum of his missile weapons, by gaining an eminence; though a stranger to Newton's third law of motion, he applies it to its practical use, when he sets his canoe afloat, by pushing with a pole against the shore. In the use of his sling, he illustrates, with equal success, the doctrine of centrifugal forces.—as he exemplifies (without any knowledge of the experiments of Robins) the principle of the rifle-barrel in feathering his arrow. The same groom who, "in feeding his young war-horse to the sound of the drum," has nothing to learn from Locke or from Hume concerning the laws of association, might boast, with far greater reason, that, without having looked into Borelli, he can train that animal to his various paces; and that, when he exercises him with the *longe*. he exhibits an experimental illustration of the centrifugal force, and of the centre of gravity, which was known in the riding school long before their theories were unfolded in the Principia of Newton. Even the operations of the animal which is the subject of his discipline, seem to involve an acquaintance with the same physical laws, when we attend to the mathematical accuracy with which he adapts the obliquity of his body to the rate of his circular speed. In both cases (in that of the man as well as of the brute) this practical knowledge is obtruded on the organs of external sense by the hand of Nature herself: but it is not on that account the less useful to evolve the general theorems which are thus embodied with their particular applications; and to combine them in a systematical and scientific form, for our own instruction and that of others. Does it detract from the value of the theory of pneumatics to remark, that the same effects of a *vacuum*, and of the elasticity and pressure of the air, which afford an explanation of its most curious phenomena, are recognized in an instinctive process coëval with the first breath which we draw; and exemplified in the mouth of every babe and suckling?' *Prel. Diss.* p. lx. lxi.

Now, without recurring to what we have already said as to the total absence of power in all cases of mere observation, we shall merely request our readers to consider, what is the circumstance that bestows a value, an importance, or an utility, upon the discovery and statement of those general laws, which are admitted, in the passage now quoted, to have been previously exemplified in practice. Is it any thing else, than their capacity of a more extensive application?—the possibility or facility of employing them

to accomplish many things to which they had *not* been previously thought applicable? If Newton's third law of motion could never have been employed for any other purpose than to set afloat the canoe of the savage,—or if the discovery of the pressure of the atmosphere had led to nothing more than an explanation of the operation of sucking,—would there have been any thing gained by stating that law, or that discovery, in general and abstract terms? Would there have been any utility, any dignity or real advancement of knowledge, in the technical arrangement of these familiar phenomena under a new classification?

There can be but one answer to these interrogatories. But we humbly conceive, that all the laws of mental operation which philosophy may collect and digest, are exactly in this last predicament. They have no application to any other phenomena than the particular ones by which they are suggested, and which they were familiarly employed to produce. They are not capable of being extended to any other cases; and all that is gained by their digestion into a system, is a more precise and methodical enumeration of truths that were always notorious.

From the experience and consciousness of all men, in all ages, we learn that, when two or more objects are frequently presented together, the mind passes spontaneously from one to the other, and invests both with something of the colouring which belongs to the most important. This is the law of association; which is known to every savage, and to every clown, in a thousand familiar instances; and, with regard to its capacity of useful application, it seems to be admitted, that it has been known and acted upon by parents, pedagogues, priests and legislators, in all ages of the world, and has even been employed, as an obvious and easy instrument, by such humble judges of intellectual resources, as common horse-jockies and bear-dancers.

If this principle, then, was always known, and regularly employed wherever any advantage could be expected from its employment, what reason have we to imagine, that any substantial benefit is to be derived from its scientific investigation, or any important uses discovered for it, in consequence merely of investing it with a precise name, and stating, under one general theorem, the common law of its operation? If such persons as grooms and masters of menageries have been guided, by their low intellects and sordid motives, to its skilful application as a means of directing even the lower animals, is it to be believed, that there can be many occasions for its employment in the government of the human mind, of which men have never yet had the sense to bethink themselves? Or, can it be seriously maintained, that it is capable of applications as much more extensive and important than those which have been vulgarly made in past ages, as are

the uses of Newton's third law of motion, compared with the operation of the savage in pushing his canoe from the shore? If Mr Stewart really entertained any such opinion as this, it was incumbent upon him to have indicated, in a general way, the departments in which he conceived that these great discoveries were to be made, and to have pointed out some, at least, of the new applications, on the assumption of which alone he could justify so ambitious a parallel. Instead of this, however, we do not find that he has contemplated any other spheres for the application of this principle, than those which have been so long conceded to it,—the formation of taste, and the conduct of education: And, with regard to the last and most important of these, he has himself recorded an admission, which to us, we will confess, appears a full justification of all that we have now been advancing, and a sufficient answer to the positions we have been endeavouring to combat. 'In so far,' Mr Stewart observes, 'as 'education is effectual and salutary, it is founded on those princi-'ples of our nature which *have forced themselves upon general ob-'servation*, in consequence of the experience of ages.' That the principle of association is to be reckoned in the number of these, Mr Stewart certainly will not deny; and our proposition is, that *all* the principles of our nature which are capable of any useful application, have thus forced themselves on general observation many years ago, and can now receive little more than a technical nomenclature and description from the best efforts of philosophy.

The sentiments to which we have ventured to give expression in these and our former hasty observations, were suggested to us, we will confess, in a great degree, by the striking contrast between the wonders which have been wrought by the cultivation of modern physics, and the absolute nothingness of the effects that have hitherto been produced by the labours of the philosophers of mind. We have only to mention the names of Astronomy, Chemistry, Mechanics, Optics and Navigation;—nay, we have only to look around us, in public or in private,—to cast a glance on the machines and manufactures, the ships, steam engines and elaboratories, by which we are perpetually surrounded,—or to turn our eyes on the most common articles of our dress and furniture,—on the mirrors, engravings, books, fire-arms, watches, barometers, thunder-rods and opera-glasses, that present themselves in our ordinary dwellings, to feel how vast a progress has been made in exploring and subduing the physical elements of nature, and how stupendous an increase the power of man has received, by the experimental investigation of her laws. Nor is any thing in this astonishing survey more remarkable, than the feeling with which it is always accompanied, that what we have hitherto done in any of these departments, is but a small part of what we are yet destined to accomplish; and

that the inquiries which have led us so far, will infallibly carry us still farther. When we ask, however, for the trophies of the philosophy of mind, or inquire for the vestiges of *her* progress in the more plastic and susceptible elements of human genius and character, we are answered only by ingenuous silence, or vague anticipations, and find nothing but a blank in the record of her achievements. The knowledge and the power of man over inanimate nature, has been increased tenfold in the course of the last two centuries. The knowledge and the power of man over the mind of man, remains almost exactly where it was at the first development of his faculties. The natural philosophy of antiquity is mere childishness and dotage, and their physical inquirers are mere pigmies and drivellers, compared with their successors in the present age; but their logicians, and metaphysicians and moralists, and, what is of infinitely more consequence, the practical maxims and the actual *effects* resulting from *their* philosophy of mind, are very nearly only on a level with the philosophy of the present day. The end and aim of all that philosophy, is to make education rational and effective, and to train men to such sagacity and force of judgment, as to induce them to cast off the bondage of prejudices, and to follow happiness and virtue with assured and steady steps. We do not know, however, what modern work contains juster or more profound views on the subject of education, than may be collected from the writings of Xenophon and Quintilian, Polybius, Plutarch and Cicero: and, as to that sagacity and justness of thinking, which, after all, is the fruit by which this tree of knowledge must be ultimately known, we are not aware of many modern performances that exemplify it in a stronger degree, than many parts of the histories of Tacitus and Thucydides, or the Satires and Epistles of Horace.—In the conduct of business and affairs, we shall find Pericles, and Cæsar and Cicero, but little inferior to the philosophical politicians of the present day; and, for lofty and solid principles of practical ethics, we might safely match Epictetus and Antoninus (without mentioning Aristotle, Plato, Plutarch, Xenophon or Polybius) with most of our modern speculators.

Where, then, it may be asked, are the performances of this philosophy, which makes such large promises? or, what are the grounds upon which we should expect to see so much accomplished, by an instrument which has hitherto effected so little? It is in vain for Mr Stewart to say, that the science is yet but in its infancy, and that it will bear its fruit in due season. The truth is, that it has, of necessity, been more constantly and diligently cultivated than any other. It has always been the first object with men of talent and good affection, to influence and to form the minds of others, and to train their own to the highest

pitch of vigour and perfection: and accordingly, it is admitted by Mr Stewart, that the most important principles of this philosophy have been long ago forced upon general observation, by the feelings and experience of past ages. Independently, however, of this, the years that have passed since Mr Locke drew the attention of Europe to this study, and the very extraordinary genius and talents of those who have since addicted themselves to it, are far more than enough to have brought it, if not to perfection, at least to such a degree of excellence, as no longer to leave it a matter of dispute, whether it was really destined to add to our knowledge and our power, or to produce any sensible effects upon the happiness and condition of mankind. That society has made great advances in comfort and intelligence, during that period, is indisputable; but we do not find that Mr Stewart himself imputes any great part of this improvement to our increased knowledge of our mental constitution; and indeed it is quite obvious, that it is an effect resulting from the increase of political freedom,—the influences of reformed Christianity,—the invention of printing,—and that improvement and multiplication of the mechanical arts, that have rendered the body of the people far more busy, wealthy, inventive and independent, than they ever were in any former period of society.

To us, therefore, it certainly does appear, that the lofty estimate which Mr Stewart has again made of the *practical* importance of his favourite studies, is one of those splendid visions by which men of great genius have been so often misled, in the enthusiastic pursuit of science and of virtue. That these studies are of a very dignified and interesting nature, we admit most cheerfully;—that they exercise and delight the understanding, by reasonings and inquiries, at once subtle, cautious and profound, and either gratify or exalt a keen and aspiring curiosity, must be acknowledged by all who have been initiated into their elements. Those who have had the good fortune to be so initiated by the writings of Mr Stewart, will be delighted to add, that they are blended with so many lessons of gentle and of ennobling virtue,—so many striking precepts and bright examples of liberality, high-mindedness, and pure taste,—as to be calculated, in an eminent degree, to make men love goodness and aspire to elegance, and to improve at once the understanding, the imagination, and the heart. This, however, must be the limit of our praise;—and therefore, while we admire the eloquence, and are warmed with the spirit of the following noble passage, in which Mr Stewart winds up the praises of his favoured studies, we cannot help regarding it as a piece of splendid declamation on the merits of a subject that required so such recommendation.

'I have only to repeat once more,' says Mr Stewart, 'before the

close of this Dissertation, that the correction of one single prejudice has often been attended with consequences more important and extensive than could be produced by any positive accession to the stock of our scientific information. Such is the condition of man, that a great part of a philosopher's life must necessarily be spent, not in enlarging the circle of his knowledge, but in unlearning the errors of the crowd, and the pretended wisdom of the schools; and that the most substantial benefit he can bestow on his fellow-creatures, as well as the noblest species of Power to which he can aspire, is to impart to others the lights he has struck out by his meditations, and to encourage human reason, by his example, to assert its liberty. To what did the *discoveries* made by Luther amount, but to a detection of the impostures of the Romish church, and of absurdities sanctioned by the authority of Aristotle? Yet, how vast the space which is filled by his name in the subsequent history of Europe! and how proud his rank among the benefactors of mankind! I am doubtful if Bacon himself did so much by the logical rules he gave for guiding the inquiries of his followers, as by the resolution with which he inspired them to abandon the beaten path of their predecessors, and to make excursions into regions untrodden before; or if any of his suggestions concerning the plan of experimenting, can be compared, in value, to his classification and illustration of the various prejudices, or *idols*, which mislead us from the pure worship of Truth. If the ambition of Aristotle has been compared, in the vastness of its aim, and the plenitude of its success, (and who can say that it has been compared unjustly?) to that of his Royal Pupil who conquered the world; why undervalue the efforts of those who first raised the standard of revolt against his universal and undisputed despotism? Speedily after the death of Alexander, the Macedonian empire was dismembered among his principal officers. The empire founded by the philosopher continued one and undivided for the period of two thousand years; and, even at this day, fallen as it is from its former grandeur, a few faithful and devoted veterans, shut up in its remaining fortresses, still bid proud defiance, in their master's name, to all the arrayed strength of Human Reason. In consequence of this slow and gradual emancipation of the Mind, the means by which the final result has been accomplished, attract the notice only of the reflecting inquirer; resembling, in their silent, but irresistible operation, the latent and imperceptible influence of the roots, which, by insinuating themselves into the crevices of an ancient edifice, prepare its infallible ruin, ages before its fall; or that of the apparently inert moisture, which is concealed in the fissures of a rock, when enabled, by the expansive force of congelation, to rend asunder its mass, or to heave it from its basis.

'As it is seldom, in such instances, easy to trace to particular individuals what has resulted from their exertions, with the same precision with which, in physics or mechanics, we refer to their respective inventors the *steam-engine* or the *thunder-rod*, it is not surprising, that the attention of the multitude should be so little attracted to

the intellectual dominion of superior minds over the moral world: but the observer must be blind indeed, who does not perceive the vastness of the scale on which speculative principles, both right and wrong, have operated on the present condition of mankind; or who does not now feel and acknowledge, how deeply the morals and the happiness of private life, as well as the order of political society, are involved in the final issue of the contest between true and false philosophy.' *Prel. Diss.* lxxi.—lxxiv.

We have not kept our word very faithfully with our readers; and have been insensibly betrayed into a much longer discussion than we had anticipated. We shall endeavour to make amends, however, by giving them a very brief abstract of the pure metaphysics that ensue.

The leading proposition in the first series of Essays, is, that we have many very precise notions or ideas, of the origin of which we can give no other account, than that they are necessarily suggested to the mind, by the exercise of certain faculties which furnish the *occasions* of their production. The first of these impressions, is that of our own existence, as distinct from the sensations of which we are conscious. Although endued with all our present intellectual capacities, it is quite certain that we should never arrive at the knowledge of our existence, if no impression were made on our external senses. 'The very moment, however, that 'a sensation is excited by means of such an impression, we learn '*two* facts at once,—the existence of the sensation, and our own 'existence as sentient beings,—the existence not only of what is 'felt, but of that which feels.' Yet this last intimation, though perfectly precise and most important in its consequences, evidently is not an object either of sense or of consciousness; and all that can be said of it is, that it is a simple idea, which, by the constitution of our nature, is suggested to us by the exercise of our powers of perception. The notion of our *personal identity* is another of the same description;—it is neither a sensation impressed from without, nor an act or operation of the mind, of which we are properly conscious. It even requires the exercise of memory and comparison, in order to its development; and yet is as perfectly clear, simple and elementary, as any of our primary sensations. From these simple and incontrovertible instances, Mr Stewart proceeds to show, that a great number of other conceptions, the most familiar and important that we possess, are in like manner to be referred neither to perception nor consciousness, but appear to be spontaneously evolved, and to result, of themselves, from the exercise of our various faculties.

'Thus,' he continues, 'by a mind destitute of the faculty of *memory*, neither the ideas of *time*, nor of *motion*, nor of *personal identity*, could possibly have been formed: ideas which are confessedly

among the most familiar of all those we possess, and which cannot be traced immediately to *consciousness*, by any effort of logical subtilty. In like manner, without the faculty of *abstraction*, we never could have formed the idea of *number*, nor of *lines*, *surfaces*, and *solids*, as they are considered by the mathematician; nor would it have been possible for us to comprehend the meaning of such words as *classes* or *assortments*, or indeed of any one of the grammatical *parts of speech*, but proper names. Without the power of *reason* or *understanding*, it is no less evident, that no comment could have helped us to unriddle the import of the words, *truth*, *certainty*, *probability*, *theorem*, *premises*, *conclusion*; nor of any one of those which express the various sorts of *relation* which fall under our knowledge. In such cases, all that can be said is, that the exercise of a particular faculty furnishes the *occasion* on which certain simple notions are, by the laws of our constitution, presented to our thoughts; nor does it seem possible for us to trace the origin of a particular notion any farther, than to ascertain what the nature of the *occasion* was, which, in the first instance, introduced it to our acquaintance.' p. 13, 14.

Having established these simple and certain facts, by an appeal to the experience of all mankind, Mr Stewart proceeds to show the radical errors into which Mr Locke and almost all his followers have fallen, by their forgetfulness or neglect of them. Mr Locke peremptorily limited all our sources of knowledge to *sensation* and *consciousness*, and, of course, left all that great class of notions, to which we have already alluded, altogether unaccounted for and unexplained. This however, was not all; for, by adopting the vulgar doctrine of *ideas*, as actual existences lodged in the mind, and impressing it, he evidently resolved every thing into mere consciousness—or the mind's perception, either of its ideas, or of its own operations. That this led necessarily to the *Idealism* of Berkeley, and the annihilating scepticism of Hume, is quite clear and apparent; and the refutation of these systems, accordingly, was only to be found in the correction of that radical error with regard to the sources of our knowledge, and the recollection of the undeniable fact, that we have a great multitude of clear and certain notions that cannot be directly referred either to sensation or consciousness, but are necessarily suggested to the mind by the exercise and development of its faculties. Of these notions, that of *the existence of an external* world,—of *causation*,—and of the *uniformity of the laws of nature*, are only particular examples; and the knowledge which they imply, being altogether as fundamental and primary as any that is derived directly from consciousness, does really as little admit of being questioned, or confirmed, by reasoning or investigation. We have the same evidence, in short, for the existence of an external world, and of the principle of causation, as we have for our own existence as thinking beings,—for our personal identity, or for any other necessary

preliminary to all kinds of argument or discussion. Nor could any thing but the rash and unlucky adoption of Mr Locke's hypothesis, as to the limited sources of our knowledge, ever have obtained the slightest countenance to any opposite suggestion.

Such is the sum of the doctrine which Mr Stewart has delivered in the first part of this series of Essays, with a degree of clearness, elegance and animation, which occurs in no other exposition of matters so abstracted;—which he has diversified with so many pieces of philosophical history, and so many curious quotations, and enriched with so much admirable illustration, and refined criticism on the labours of his most distinguished predecessors, that we are confident it would be nearly as difficult to satisfy our philosophical readers, by any abstract which we could now execute, as it would be to reconcile those, who are not philosophical, to discussions of a nature so refined. We shall not attempt, therefore, either to detail the observations which he makes under each of these heads, or to mark the steps of the deduction, by which he traces back the systems of Materialism which have been propounded in later times by Hartley, Hooke, Darwin and others, to the same fundamental mistake which infected the theory of Locke and his more temperate followers. After making a short review of those systems upon this broad and comprehensive ground of examination, he ventures to add, in a tone rather more contemptuous than he commonly permits himself—

'Notwithstanding the celebrity of the names which, in the southern part of Great Britain, have lent their credit to this very bold hypothesis, I cannot bring myself to examine it seriously; recollecting the ridicule which *Seneca* has incurred, by the gravity of his reply to some of his stoical predecessors, who maintained, that *the cardinal virtues are animals.* Wild and incredible as this ancient absurdity may at first appear, it will be found, upon examination, to be fully as reasonable as various tenets which have obtained the suffrages of the learned in our own times.' p. 139, 140.

The same sarcastic and unusual severity of manner, is apparent in the subsequent passages, in which, in illustration of Bacon's remark, that 'men of confined scientific pursuits, who betake 'themselves to general contemplations, are apt to wrest and cor-'rupt them with their former conceits,' he observes, that Hooke, who was given to *watch-making*, has undertaken to explain the mechanism of memory, by supposing that there is '*a chain of* '*ideas coiled up* in the mind;—and that, in proportion to the 'number of ideas interposed between that at the end, and that 'in the centre, the soul apprehends *the time* that has intervened:' —That Dr Smith, in like manner (the author of the celebrated treatise on *Harmonics*), has been pleased to conjecture, that 'all 'our senses and faculties depend chiefly on *very minute vi-*'*bratory motions*;—and that his theory of vibrations may pre-

' mote the philosophy of other things besides sounds.' And finally, that the same influence of professional partialities may be traced in most of Dr Darwin's illustrations and analogies, and particularly in the raptures with which he dwells on Mr Hume's conjecture, ' that the world may have been *generated*, and not created.'

The concluding application, however, which Mr Stewart makes of his general doctrine, will be universally intelligible, and, we conceive, universally interesting. It relates to the late philological speculations of Mr Horne Tooke, and others of that school of etymology. The radical error which Mr Stewart imputes to this learned and most ingenious person, is that of taking it for granted, that every word necessarily represents the idea of some precise thing or action, and that its true meaning is only to be ascertained, by tracing back its etymology to the thing or action which it was first used to denote. In this way, he concludes, in the first place, with Berkeley, against the existence of all *general ideas*; and reduces the meaning of the words which are supposed to express them, to the individual objects which they were first employed to denote,—and then extends his exception to all those figurative words which have been used to express the affections or operations of the mind, which, he contends, have still no real meaning but their literal or primitive one. In exposing and refuting the manifold errors that are implied in these positions, Mr Stewart has presented us with one of the finest specimens that we remember to have any where met with, of clear and profound reasoning—full and satisfactory elucidation—and controversy conducted without any admixture either of acrimony or of languor.

He begins by a very fair statement of the difficulty which may be supposed to have attended the first introduction of words applicable only to the operations or affections of mind, and which could not therefore be referred to the things they were intended to signify, in the same manner as material objects or visible actions. When an inventive savage, for example, has devised the word *horse*, as a name for the animal which carried him, or the word *gallop*, as the name of his favourite movement, he had only to point to the animal and his action, when he wished to disclose to his companions the meaning of these new articulations. But when he had thought of a name for the faculty of *memory* or *imagination*, it is not so easy to conceive how he could communicate to his fellows the sense in which that new word was to be applied. Mr Stewart solves the difficulty in a great measure, by observing, that this very process of explanation must in fact be repeated in the instance of every child who, at any period of society, acquires the use of the words last alluded to,—and by the following most ingenious analysis, of that familiar, but very wonderful, operation.

'It is to be observed, in the first place,' says he, 'that the meaning of many words, of which it is impossible to exhibit any sensible prototypes, is gradually collected by a species of *induction*, which is more or less successfully conducted by different individuals, according to the degree of their attention and judgment. The connexion in which an unknown term stands in relation to the other words combined with it in the same sentence, often affords a key for its explanation in that particular instance; and, in proportion as such instances are multiplied in the writings and conversation of men well acquainted with propriety of speech, the means are afforded of a progressive approximation towards its precise import. A familiar illustration of this process presents itself in the expedient which a reader naturally employs for deciphering the meaning of an unknown word in a foreign language, when he happens not to have a dictionary at hand. The first sentence where the word occurs, affords, it is probable, sufficient foundation for a vague conjecture concerning the notion annexed to it by the author; some idea or other being necessarily substituted in its place, in order to make the passage at all intelligible. The next sentence where it is involved, renders this conjecture a little more definite; a third sentence contracts the field of doubt within still narrower limits; till, at length, a more extensive induction fixes completely the signification we are in quest of. There cannot be a doubt, I apprehend, that it is in some such way as this, that children slowly and imperceptibly enter into the abstract and complex notions annexed to numberless words in their mother tongue, of which we should find it difficult or impossible to convey the sense by formal definitions.' p. 148, 149.

We must add, as a farther confirmation of this very luminous and masterly exposition, that it is by a process, exactly analogous, that words of this description are taught to the deaf and dumb, by the instructors who have carried that humane and astonishing art to so high a degree of perfection.

His next observation is, that where new words are wanted to express conceptions that had not been before so commuicated, it has been the universal practice of men, in all stages of society, to attempt this, rather by a metaphorical use, or a slight modification of some existing word, than by the sudden introduction of a new and arbitrary sound.

'To this bias of the mind,' says Mr Stewart, 'to enrich language, rather by a modification of old materials, than by the creation of new ones, it is owing, that the number of primitive or radical words, in a cultivated tongue, bears so small a proportion to the whole amount of its vocabulary. In an original language, such as the Greek, the truth of this remark may be easily verified; and accordingly, it is asserted by Mr Smith, that the number of its primitives does not exceed three hundred. In the compounded languages now spoken in Europe, it is a much more difficult task to establish

the fact: But an irresistible presumption in its favour arises from this circumstance, that all who have turned their attention, of late, in this island, to the study of etymology, are impressed with a deep and increasing conviction, founded on the discoveries which have been already made, that this branch of learning is still in its infancy; and that the roots of an immense variety of words, commonly supposed to be genuine *radicals*, may be traced, in a satisfactory manner, to the Saxon or to the Icelandic.' p. 151–2.

When we can distinctly trace the operation of these fine analogies and apparently capricious metaphors, even in the names of external objects and visible actions, it is easy to see how the words ultimately used to denote abstract notions or mental operations, should be almost all of this derivative character, and should almost all be derived from metaphors and analogies taken from the properties of matter. As our senses and perceptive powers have been long and familiarly exercised before reflection begins to awake, or mind and its phenomena to be an object of attention, it could scarcely but happen, that the terms employed to denote these new objects should be borrowed from others that were better known, and more distinctly apprehended. Yet it no more follows from this, that those words, when so transferred and appropriated to their new intellectual subjects, do not effectually and directly express them,—than it follows, that words, transferred in a similar manner from one external object to another, should give rise to any confusion from this double application. If the epithet '*sharp*,' for example, be transferred from an object of touch to an object of taste or of hearing, without producing the least embarrassment, why should it not be applied, with equal safety, to wit, judgment or temper? The truth is, as Mr Stewart has observed, that though our common metaphorical language concerning the mind is apt to be mistaken by superficial observers, for its true philosophical theory, a very moderate attention to the things denoted by that language will generally be sufficient entirely to dissipate the illusion. 'As the thing typified grows familiar to the thought, the meta-'phor loses its influence on the fancy; and, while the signs we 'employ continue to discover, by their etymology, their historical 'origin, they become, by long and accurate use, virtually equi-'valent to specific and appropriate appellations.' So far, therefore, is he from holding that their meaning can be at all more accurately apprehended by attending to their etymology, that he afterwards remarks, with singular acuteness,

—'that it is, in many cases, a fortunate circumstance, when words of this description have lost their pedigree; or (what amounts nearly to the same thing) when it can be traced by those alone who are skilled in ancient and in foreign languages. Such words have, in

their favour, the sanction of immemorial use; and the obscurity of their history prevents them from misleading the imagination, by recalling to it the sensible objects and phenomena to which they owed their origin. The notions, accordingly, we annex to them may be expected to be peculiarly precise and definite, being entirely the result of these habits of induction, which I have shown to be so essentially connected with the acquisition of language.' p. 184–5.

The opinions of Mr Tooke on all those subjects is diametrically opposite.

'He evidently assumes it as a principle, that, in order to ascertain, with precision, the philosophical import of any word, it is necessary to trace its progress historically through all the successive meanings which it has been employed to convey, from the moment that it was first introduced into our language; or, if the word be of foreign growth, that we should prosecute the etymological research, till we ascertain the literal and primitive sense of the root from whence it sprung. It is in this literal and primitive sense alone, that, according to him, a philosopher is entitled to employ it, even in the present advanced state of science; and whenever he annexes to it a meaning at all different, he imposes equally on himself and on others. To me, on the contrary, it appears, that to appeal to etymology in a philosophical argument, (excepting, perhaps, in those cases where the word itself is of philosophical origin), is altogether nugatory; and can serve, at the best, to throw an amusing light on the laws which regulate the operations of human fancy.' p. 166–7.

In illustration of this, and of the length to which this learned person is disposed to push these principles, Mr Stewart quotes the passages in which Mr Tooke lays it down as quite certain, that 'RIGHT is no other than *rectum (regitum)*, the past participle of 'the verb *regere*;' and proceeds, with the utmost confidence, to infer from this, that the only proper conception of right is '*that which is ordered* or *appointed*;' that *wrong*, in like manner, 'being merely the past participle of the verb to *wring*, means only' what 'is *wrung* or wrested from the *ordered* line of conduct;' and that 'TRUTH, being simply and merely what is '*trowed* (or believed) is therefore applicable only to man;' and consequently, that 'there *is no such thing* as eternal, immutable truth; unless 'mankind, such as they are at present, be also eternal, immut-'able, and everlasting.'

All this, we confess, has always appeared to us as utterly absurd as it would be to maintain, that 'sincere' means nothing but unwaxed, or that 'villain' was a very respectable appellation, 'being simply and merely' the name of a rustic major-domo. The *historical* origin of words that are familiarly and perfectly understood, is indeed a matter of mere curiosity; and, at all events, can never throw any light upon the philosophy of the *things* which they

now so certainly express. The philologer should never be allowed to confound his grammatical speculations with the more important investigations of those who are intent upon realities; and should be frequently reminded, that

—' after he has told us (for example), that *imagination* is borrowed from an optical *image*, and *acuteness* from a Latin word denoting the sharpness of a material instrument, we are no more advanced in studying the theory of the human intellect, than we should be in our speculations concerning the functions of money, or the political effects of the national debt, by learning, from Latin etymologists, that the word *pecunia*, and the phrase *æs alienum*, had both a reference, in their first origin, to certain circumstances in the early state of Roman manners.' p. 161.

As an additional proof that the metaphorical expressions which are employed to denote intellectual objects, have really no influence on our actual conceptions of those objects, Mr Stewart, with that fine sagacity which distinguishes this whole discussion, has directed the attention of his readers to the great *variety* of such metaphors that are indiscriminately applied to the same faculties or objects. With regard to the *Memory*, for example, he shows that, even in the correct and cautious pages of Mr Locke, it is successively spoken of under the image of a tablet—a dark closet—a canvas—a receptacle—engraved marble—and stamped metal. Now, if the idea we have of this faculty, depended at all upon the metaphors under which we so commonly speak of it, it is obvious, that it would be not only improper, but quite monstrous and unintelligible to employ such a variety of inconsistent images, each of which, as Mr Stewart has well observed, is, upon this supposition, necessarily *exclusive* of all the others. The use of this variety, however, in our metaphorical language, is not only found to produce no sort of confusion or inconvenience, but is recommended by Mr Stewart, with his usual acuteness, as one of the most effectual means for preventing any one figure or form of speech from acquiring such an influence over the imagination, as to occasion any hazard of its being supposed essential to our conception of the thing typified.

In the midst of these profound and admirable speculations, Mr Stewart has touched lightly upon a more general and original topic, which was not essentially necessary, indeed, to the refutation in which he was engaged, but which could scarcely fail to suggest itself to such a mind upon such an occasion;—namely, the extreme imperfection of language, even in its most improved state—and the vast *supplements* that are required to be made by the understanding, to that which is most fully and perspicuously expressed.

'We speak,' says Mr Stewart, of *communicating*, by means of words, our ideas and our feelings to others; and we seldom reflect sufficiently on the latitude with which this metaphorical phrase ought to be understood. The truth is, that, even in conversing on the plainest and most familiar subjects, however full and circumstantial our statements may be, the words which we employ, if examined with accuracy, will be found to do nothing more than to suggest *hints* to our hearers, leaving by far the principal part of the process of interpretation to be performed by the mind itself. In this respect, the effect of *words* bears some resemblance to the *stimulus* given to the memory and imagination, by an outline or a shadow, exhibiting the profile of a countenance familiar to the senses. The most minute narratives, accordingly, are by no means, in every instance, the most intelligible and satisfactory; as the most faithful copies after nature do not always form the best portraits. In both cases, the skill of the artist consists in a happy selection of particulars which are *expressive*, or *significant.*' p. 153, 154.

'In reading, for example, the enunciation of a proposition, we are apt to fancy, that for every *word* contained in it, there is an *idea* presented to the understanding; from the combination and comparison of which *ideas*, results that act of the mind called *judgment*. So different is all this from the fact, that our words, when examined separately, are often as completely insignificant as the letters of which they are composed; deriving their meaning solely from the connexion, or relation, in which they stand to others. Of this a very obvious example occurs, in the case of terms which have a *variety* of acceptations, and of which the import, in every particular application, must be collected from the whole sentence of which they form a part.' p. 155, 156.

'A still more palpable illustration of the same remark presents itself, when the language we listen to admits of such transpositions in the arrangement of words, as are familiar to us in the Latin. In such cases, the artificial structure of the discourse suspends, in a great measure, our conjectures about the sense, till, at the close of the period, the *verb*, in the very instant of its utterance, unriddles the *ænigma*. Previous to this, the former words and phrases resemble those detached and unmeaning patches of different colours, which compose what opticians call an *anamorphosis;* while the effect of the *verb*, at the end, may be compared to that of the mirror by which the *anamorphosis* is *reformed*, and which combines these apparently fortuitous materials into a beautiful portrait or landscape.' p. 157.

These remarks, he observes, apply to all cases in which language is used;—but, where the subject treated of involves notions that are complex or abstract, the defects of the instrument are infinitely greater.

'In reading, accordingly, the most perspicuous discussions, in which such notions form the subject of the argument, little instruc-

tion is received, till we have made the reasonings *our own*, by revolving the steps again and again in our thoughts. The fact is, that, in cases of this sort, the function of language is not so much to *convey* knowledge (according to the common phrase) from one mind to another; as to bring two minds into *the same train of thinking;* and to confine them, as nearly as possible, to the same track.—Many authors have spoken of the wonderful *mechanism of speech;* but none has hitherto attended to the far more wonderful *mechanism* which it puts into action behind the scene.' p. 158.

After having thus disposed of the philosophical heresies into which Mr Tooke has unfortunately fallen, Mr Stewart, before parting from him, takes the opportunity of pointing out the philological and critical errors of which he has also been guilty.

'It is assumed,' he observes, 'or, at least, implied as an axiom, in almost every page of Mr Tooke's work; That, in order to understand, with precision, the import of any English word, it is necessary to trace its progress historically through all the successive meanings which it has been employed to convey, from the moment that it was first introduced into our language; or, if the word be of foreign growth, and transmitted to us from some dialect of our continental ancestors, that we should prosecute the etymological research, till we ascertain the literal and primitive sense of the root from whence it sprung.' p. 190, 191.

So notable an extravagance might have been exposed, perhaps, by a feebler hand than Mr Stewart's—but he has reproved it in a tone so gentle, and embellished his correction with so many gratuitous indications of a cultivated and delicate taste, that it is impossible not to rejoice that the task has fallen upon him. After observing that the just and true meaning of any word can only be acquired by vigilant induction and comparison of the most approved authors, and holding up to just ridicule the criticism which could make us appeal from the authority of Swift and Addison to the woods of Germany, he proceeds to remark, that

—'among words deriving their origin from the same source, we find some *ennobled* by the usage of one country; while others, very nearly allied to them, nay, perhaps identical in sound and in orthography, are *debased* by the practice of another. It is owing to this circumstance, that Englishmen, and still more Scotchmen, when they begin the study of German, are so apt to complain of the deep rooted associations which must be conquered, before they are able to relish the more refined beauties of style in that parent language on which their own has been grafted.

'On the other hand, when a word originally low or ludicrous, has, in consequence of long use, been once ennobled or consecrated, I do not well see what advantage, in point of taste, is to be expected from a scrupulous examination of its genealogy or of its kindred con-

nexions. Mr Tooke has shown, in a very satisfactory manner, that some English words which are now banished, not only from solemn discourse, but from decent conversation, are very nearly allied, in their origin, to others which rank with the most unexceptionable in our language; and he seems disposed to ascribe our prejudice against the former to a *false delicacy!* I should be glad to know what practical inference Mr Tooke would wish us to draw from these discoveries. Is it that the latter should be degraded, on account of the infamy of their connexions; or that every word which can claim a common descent with them from a respectable stem is entitled to admission into the same society?' 192, 193.

Upon the same sound principles, Mr Stewart afterwards reproves the pedantry of those etymological critics, who take exception at any such use of our common figurative language, with regard to mind, as would amount to a *mixed metaphor*, if the words had been used as similes or illustrations, and not as the direct exponents of these intellectual objects. Many such words, he observes, are now so fully appropriated to those secondary significations, that they have completely lost their figurative quality, and have entirely the effect of literal denominations for the intellectual objects to which they have been transferred. With regard to such words, for example, as *sagacity—deliberation—expediency—acuteness*, and many others, it is obvious, that they never suggest to the mind any conception of material qualities; and that we could not combine them, in common speech, with expressions referable to their *primitive* and physical signification, without the most barbarous pedantry. Where the metaphorical expressions are less worn and familiar, and are still employed with a sort of recollection of their original meaning, some adaptation of the general structure of the sentence to that meaning, is not only allowable, but graceful. In poetry however, where the object of the writer is to clothe every idea with a sensible image, and to keep the fancy for ever on the wing, it is by no means sufficient, as Mr Stewart has observed, to speak in metaphors or figures of either of these descriptions. It is necessary to employ such as still retain enough of the *gloss of novelty*, to stimulate the powers of conception and imagination; and not merely to convey a meaning, but to produce a picture. The first series of Essays closes with some fine and delicate remarks on the effects that are likely to be produced on taste and on composition, by an habitual and excessive attention to those *arcana* of etymology, the philosophical importance of which has been so prodigiously overrated by Mr Tooke and his followers.

The second series of Essays begins with a long dissertation on 'the Beautiful;' in which we find not only all the acuteness,

sound reasoning, and modesty which characterizes the philological speculations we have just left, but still stronger instances of a refined and delicate taste; and such indications of a tender and contemplative nature, as were scarcely to have been expected in combination with so much subtlety and precision.

The Essay on Beauty is, in reality, a sort of *philological* dissertation;—the leading object of which is, to reconcile and correct all the different theories that have been proposed upon this subject, by showing that Beauty is not *one* thing, but *many*; and that, instead of investigating the hidden nature of that one imaginary quality, which is denoted by this epithet, the true course of proceeding would have been, to trace out the laws of thought *and of speech*, by which that epithet has come to be applied to a great variety of different qualities.

In prosecution of this plan of inquiry, Mr Stewart begins by suggesting, that the word Beautiful originally denoted what was physically and organically agreeable *to the eye*; and that it was afterwards transferred, successively, to such qualities as were agreeable to some of the other senses; and then to objects that derived their powers of pleasing from associations of a different nature. The first steps of this transition are abundantly obvious and easy. If the plumage of a bird was agreeable to the eye, and its notes to the ear, it certainly is not difficult to conceive how the epithet Beautiful, which at first, perhaps, applied only to its visible qualities, should be extended also to those that addressed themselves to the ear. Both agreed in being pleasing;—they were united in one object;—and producing, in their union, one undistinguished effect, were naturally comprehended under one epithet. The next step is not much more laborious. When those qualities which are thus pleasing to the eye and the ear, are united in an object that is qualified to delight still higher principles of our nature, and present themselves (as in the case of an amiable woman), as the accompaniments, and in some degree the signs, of those mental qualities which win our affection and esteem,—it is easy to perceive, that these material qualities must become infinitely more pleasing from this association; and that the epithet by which they are distinguished, must assume a higher and more ennobling signification, at the same time that it is extended to a new class of objects. When we have once accustomed ourselves to call the complexion, and form, and voice of a lovely woman beautiful, it is scarcely possible that we should not apply the same epithet to that smile which pleases, not by its visible qualities, but by the sentiments of which it is expressive, and to those graceful movements that derive their principal charm from the same consideration. When the word has once gained this lati-

tude of signification, and has come to denote the external signs or indications of any thing that is pleasing or engaging, there is no difficulty in understanding how it should be applied, indiscriminately, to the regularity of art, and the irregularity of nature; and, leaving the primary beauties of colour and form, and, indeed, all other sensible physical qualities, in the lowest orders of its constituents, should derive the greatest part of its materials from the fertile and boundless field of association. It thus appears, that all those who have occupied themselves in an attempt to ascertain the real constituent of Beauty, and to detect the common quality which procures that denomination to so great a variety of objects, have been labouring in a hopeless course, and pursuing an unattainable, because an imaginary object;—the truth being, that the word Beauty does not denote any one quality, or class of qualities, but is applied to all such pleasing objects as may be connected, by a very wide and capricious analogy, with the primary gratifications of the eye.

In the proof and illustration of this simple and original notion, Mr Stewart has delivered a whole miscellany of excellent observations, calculated to show both the partial truth, and the radical inconsistency of the various theories which have been proposed, upon more narrow grounds, by writers of the most splendid abilities, for the solution of this interesting problem.

The extention of the epithet beautiful, from *colour* to *form*, and the consolidation of those two sources of pleasure into one, is pleasingly illustrated by the ready and familiar application of the Latin word *formosus*, as an epithet of beautiful colouring,—as, in the line of Virgil—

> ' *O formose* puer, nimium ne crede *colori*—
> —Ederâ *formosior albâ*,' &c.

The further transference of the same epithet to *motion*, is next explained, by the suggestion, that such motions generally describe the outline of a beautiful form,—and by the following fine observations.

' The beauty of motion has, however, beside this, a charm peculiar to itself; more particularly, when exhibited by an animated being;—above all, when exhibited by an individual of our own species. In these cases, it produces that powerful effect, to the unknown cause of which, we give the name of *grace*;—an effect which seems to depend, in no inconsiderable degree, on the additional interest which the pleasing form derives from its fugitive and evanescent existence; the memory dwelling fondly on the charm which has fled, while the eye is fascinated with the expectation of what is to follow. A fascination, somewhat analogous to this, is experienced when we look at the undulations of a flag streaming to the wind;—

at the wreathings and convolutions of a column of smoke;—or at the momentary beauties and splendours of fireworks, amid the darkness of night. In the human figure, however, the enchanting power of graceful motion is probably owing chiefly to the living expression which it exhibits;—an expression ever renewed, and ever varied, of taste and of mental elegance.' p. 234.

Mr Burke's Theory of the Beautiful, it is then remarked, is vitiated both by the absurd attempt to trace the whole into a particular relaxation of the fibres, and by the author's perpetual and exclusive, though tacit reference, to the constituents of *female* beauty. Mr Stewart quotes, at full length, the notable extravagancies which he has delivered on the subject of *smoothness*; and, after observing, with his usual elegance and candour, that, 'in consequence of the intimate association which is formed in 'the mind between the perceptions of sight and those of touch, 'it is reasonable to expect, that those qualities which give pleasure to the latter sense, should also be agreeable to the former: 'Hence the agreeable impression which the eye receives from all 'those smooth objects about which the sense of touch is habitually conversant; and hence, in such instances, the unpleasant 'appearance of ruggedness, or of asperity. The agreeable effect, too, of smoothness, is often heightened by its reflecting 'so copiously the rays of light; as in the surface of water, in 'polished mirrors, and in the fine kinds of wood employed in 'ornamental furniture. In some instances, besides, as in the 'last now mentioned, smoothness derives an additional recommendation from its being considered as a mark of finished work, 'and of a skilful artist,'—he proceeds to point out the utter fallacy of the general position, by the examples of the sharp and angular forms of cut crystal—the buds of the moss-rose—rock and grotto scenery—sculptured ornaments—fretted ceilings, &c. &c.

The deference which Mr Price has felt for this theory of Mr Burke, taken in combination with its obvious inconsistency with some of the most remarkable facts in nature, have led that very ingenious writer to invent his new system of the Picturesque, under which he has ranked a great variety of objects, which are admitted to be pleasing, although sinning against every article of Mr Burke's definition of Beauty. Upon that system, Mr Stewart is naturally led, therefore, to offer a few observations, which indicate the same candour, justness, and delicacy of taste, with those we have just been considering. Besides the radical error resulting from the original narrowness of their induction, both Mr Burke and Mr Price have been misled, by rashly supposing, that nothing could be beautiful in combination, which was not felt to possess that quality when considered separately, and by itself;

and the latter, finding that many such objects were at the same time highly pleasing, both in the works of nature and of art, thought it absolutely necessary to form a new class for them, under the denomination of the Picturesque, in which he has arranged them, along with those which please by themselves, in spite of the statutory disabilities imposed on them by the authority of Mr Burke. Mr Stewart very properly protests against such an innovation on ordinary language; and endeavours to show, that where the objects, which Mr Price has denominated picturesque, are not singly entitled to the appellation of beautiful, they will generally be found to deserve that title, by aiding the impression and effect of adjoining beauties—by the pleasing associations with which they are connected—and by the new sources, as it were, of poetical interest, which they open to the imagination. 'Of this sort,' he observes, 'is a group of cattle standing in a river, or collected under the shade of a tree, when introduced into a landscape, to recal the impressions and scenery of a summer noon;—a ruined castle or abbey employed to awaken the memory of former times, accompanied with those feudal or monastic visions so dear to a romantic fancy;—with numberless other instances of a similar sort, which must immediately occur to all my readers.' (p. 279).

In order to illustrate still further the true source of the pleasure to which Mr Price refers, in a large class of his Picturesque, to the mere roughness and angularity of many forms that are dear to the painter, Mr Stewart does not hesitate to take up his own formidable example of the *Ass*;—whose claims to a place among interesting objects he shows, in the following inimitable passage, to be founded upon far higher and more intelligible grounds than the roughness of his coat, or the length of his ears.

'But the Ass, it must be remembered, has, beside his appearance, strong claims, on other accounts, to the painter's attention. Few animals have so powerful an effect in awakening associated ideas and feelings; and accordingly, it is eminently Picturesque, in the poetical sense of that word, as well as in the acceptation in which it is understood by Mr Price. Not to speak of the frequent allusions to it in Holy Writ, what interest are we led to attach to it in our early years, by the Fables of Æsop; by the similes of Homer; by the exploits of Don Quixote; by the pictures which it recals to us of the by-paths in the forest, where we have so often met with it as the beast of burden, and the associate of the vagrant poor, or where we have stopped to gaze on the infant beauties which it carried in its panniers;—in fine, by the circumstances which have called forth, in its eulogy, one of the most pleasing efforts of Buffon's eloquence—its own quiet and inoffensive manners, and the patience with which it submits to its life of drudgery. It is worthy,

too, of remark, that this animal, when we meet with it in painting, is seldom the common ass of our own country, but the ass ennobled by the painter's taste; or copied from the animal of the same species, which we have seen in the patriarchal journeys, and other scripture pieces of eminent masters. In consequence of this circumstance, a pleasing association, arising from the many beautiful compositions of which it forms a part, comes to be added to its other recommendations already mentioned, and has secured to it a rank on the canvas, which the degradation of its name will for ever prevent it from attaining in the works of our English poets.

'These observations may be extended, in some degree also, to the Goat; strongly associated as its figure is with the romantic scenes of an alpine region; and with the precipitous cliffs, where it has occasionally caught our eye, browsing on the pendant shrubs in security and solitude.' p. 279—281.

We have not left ourselves room to complete our abstract of this fine speculation; nor, indeed, to do more than indicate the general plan of what yet remains of the Essay on the Beautiful. The effects of association in extending the range of objects that are called beautiful, are very fully and clearly illustrated; and the result of the combined operation of all those various sources of delight summed up in the following pleasing and characteristic passage.

'Although I have endeavoured to show that our first notions of Beauty are derived from *colours*, it neither follows, that, in those complex ideas of the Beautiful which we are afterwards led to form in the progress of our experience, this quality must necessarily enter as a component part; nor, where it does so enter, that its effect must necessarily predominate over that of all the others. On the contrary, it may be easily conceived in what manner its effect comes to be gradually supplanted by those pleasures of a higher cast, with which it is combined; while, at the same time, we continue to apply to the joint result, the language which this *now* subordinate, and seemingly unessential ingredient, originally suggested. It is by a process somewhat similar, that the mental attractions of a beautiful woman supplant those of her person in the heart of her lover; and that, when the former have the good fortune to survive the latter, they appropriate to themselves, by an imperceptible metaphor, that language, which, in its literal sense, has ceased to have a meaning. In this case, a very pleasing arrangement of nature is exhibited; the qualities of Mind which insensibly stole, in the first instance, those flattering epithets which are descriptive of a *fair exterior*, now restoring their borrowed embellishments, and keeping alive, in the eye of conjugal affection, that Beauty which has long perished to every other.' p. 306, 307.

In the concluding part of the Essay, the characteristics of beauty, as applicable to works of art, or other creatures of the

imagination, are very carefully investigated; and the singular fact, of more delight being sometimes afforded by the happy creations of poetry, than by any reality that nature has presented, is explained, by considering the unlimited power of the poet to aggravate all his elements of beauty at pleasure, and to concentrate and contrast them in a bolder and more profuse manner than suits with the parsimony of nature; but chiefly by referring to the power which he possesses, of presenting an infinitely greater number of images in a short time; so that, though the effect of each is considerably fainter than that of its prototype in reality, the whole amounts to a much greater sum of sensation. The Essay closes with some excellent remarks on the different laws that regulate our taste and judgment in considering the beauties of nature, and those that occur in works of imagination.

This Essay on the Beautiful is succeeded by another on the Sublime; which we do not think altogether deserving of so honourable an alliance. Its general scope is precisely the same with that of the preceding essay;—to show, that sublimity, like beauty, is not the name of any one mysterious quality, but of very many allied or analogous qualities; and that its primitive and original application was to physical Elevation or Height. The first of these objects, however, is very imperfectly discussed, and very sparingly illustrated; while a great deal too much pains is taken, and not very successfully taken, to establish the last proposition. So keenly, indeed, does Mr Stewart pursue the thin and fleeting analogies by which he conceives that the idea of physical elevation may be associated with almost every object which we term sublime, that he sometimes appears almost to stand in need of the inestimable admonitions which he has himself bestowed upon Mr Tooke, in an earlier part of the volume; and to require to be reminded of the fallacies into which those who philosophize by the aid of etymology are almost certain to be betrayed. When he tells us, for example, that the *higher* mathematics are so called, partly because their chief application is to physical astronomy, which treats of objects high up in the air,—or that the sublime effect of great horizontal extent 'arises *entirely* from the natural association between *elevated position* and a large prospect of the earth's surface,'—or that a considerable part of the sublimity of the ocean proceeds from our conception of 'its immeasurable *depth*, or, in other words, the immeasurable *elevation* of its surface above its bottom,'—we confess that we not only feel inclined to withhold our assent, but to wonder a little at the eagerness which has given rise to conclusions so strained and paradoxical. To us, we will acknowledge, the impression of Force or Power has always appeared to be the radical ingredient of Sublimity,—though we are

quite ready to admit, that the word may have been extended, though in a far less degree than that of Beauty, to many other analogous impressions. It is the more surprising, too, that Mr Stewart should have thought it worth while to insist so long upon the continual predominance of the idea of physical elevation, as he distinctly warns his readers, in the close, as well as in the beginning of the essay, that 'his aim is *not* to investigate *the principle* on which the various elements of sublimity give pleasure to the mind, but only to trace the association by which the *common name* of sublimity has been applied to them all;'—an end which, we think, would have been much more happily accomplished, by pointing out some of the secondary and ulterior relations which connect the various sorts of sublimity with each other, than by a vain attempt to trace each back, by a separate route, to the primitive impression of elevation. The greater part of this paper, however, is very beautifully written; and it contains many fine specimens, both of extreme ingenuity and of sensitive and correct taste.

The Third Essay, and perhaps the most original and important of the whole, is on the subject of Taste. The leading idea here is, that the power which is so named, consists entirely in an accurate knowledge of the true sources of the pleasures derived from the contemplation of beauty or sublimity; and that it is altogether an *acquired* faculty, gradually matured and brought to perfection by the repeated exercise of judgment and observation. There must, indeed, be a certain degree of natural sensibility to that class of pleasures, sufficient at least to hold out a motive for the cultivation of those habits of discrimination, in which taste is here supposed to consist: But the power itself is a power of rapid and correct *judgment* as to matter of fact; and is very nearly akin, in its general nature, as well as in the process of its formation, to our acquired knowledge of the causes of phenomena merely physical.

Nature presents nothing but complicated appearances; nor is it possible, without diligent observation and experiment, to ascertain, in any case, what are the *constant*, and what the *accidental* concomitants of any particular phenomenon. By such observation and experiment, however, we know that this may be ascertained; and our whole knowledge of the physical *causes* of the various appearances of nature, is founded on such an examination. In the very same manner, nature presents those objects which give pleasure as beautiful or sublime, in combination with circumstances or concomitants that are either disagreeable or indifferent; and it is only by experiment and observation that we are at last able to discriminate the qualities and appearances that really occasion our pleasure. This power of discrimination con-

stitutes the faculty of Taste; and the Essay before us is employed in tracing out the gradual process by which it is acquired and improved.

That the justness or accuracy of Taste does not depend upon the degree of natural sensibility to beauty, is made out from various considerations; but chiefly from the delusive effects of the sort of rapture or enthusiasm with which persons of this character are apt to regard every thing which *contains* great excellence, and from the far deeper hold which accidental or casual associations are apt to take of such inflammable imaginations. 'And thus it happens,' observes Mr Stewart, 'that to 'a mind tremblingly alive to impressions of beauty, a charm is 'communicated to whatever accessories or appendages happen 'to invest any object of its admiration; accessories which are 'likely to leave a far less permanent trace in the memory of a 'more indifferent spectator. The consequence will be, that, in 'a person of the former temper, the cultivation of a correct 'taste will be a much more difficult task than in one of the latter; and a proportionally greater attention will be requisite, on 'the part of his instructors, to confine his habitual studies to 'the most faultless models.' p. 473, 474.

From what we have already said on the subject of Beauty, it will be easily understood, that the objects that are naturally pleasing to our organs of sense, form a much smaller part of the proper objects of Taste, than those which delight us in consequence of certain associations. With regard to this last class, however, it is of importance to remark, that some acquire this power of pleasing, in consequence of associations that are Universal and common to the whole human race, while others are indebted for it to associations of a more particular and arbitrary nature. These last, Mr Stewart distinguishes into three orders. 1. Classical associations; 2. Local or natural associations; and, 3dly, and chiefly, Personal or individual associations—

—'such as those which arise from the accidental style of natural beauty in the spot where we have passed our childhood and early youth; from the peculiarities in the features of those whom we have loved; and other circumstances connected with our own individual feelings. Of these, it is necessary that every man, who aspires to please or to instruct others, should divest himself, to the utmost of his power; or, at least, that he should guard against their undue ascendant over his mind, when he exercises either his imagination or his taste, in works addressed to the public.' p. 467–8.

Corresponding to this distinction of Universal and of Arbitrary Beauty, Mr Stewart has observed, with that delicate and unerring sagacity which seems to be the great characteristic of the work before us, that there are two obvious modifications of Taste.

'The one enables a writer or an artist to rise superior to the times in which he lives, and emboldens him to trust his reputation to the suffrages of the human race, and of the ages which are yet to come. The other is the foundation of that humbler, though more profitable sagacity, which teaches the possessor how to suit his manufactures to the market; to judge, beforehand, of the reception which any new production is to meet with, and to regulate his exertions accordingly. Its proper sphere is such a capital as London or Paris. It is there that the judges are to be found, from whose decision it acknowledges no appeal; and it is in such a situation alone, that it can be cultivated with advantage.

'The groundwork of this last species of taste (if it deserves the name) is a certain *facility of association*, acquired by early and constant intercourse with society—more particularly, with those classes of society who are looked up to as supreme legislators in matters of fashion; a habit of mind, the tendency of which is to render the sense of the Beautiful (as well as the sense of what is right and wrong) easily susceptible of modification from the contagion of example. It is a habit by no means inconsistent with a certain degree of original sensibility; nay, it requires, perhaps, some original sensibility as its basis: But this sensibility, in consequence of the habit which it has itself contributed to establish, soon becomes transient and useless; losing all connexion with reason and the moral principles, and alive only to such impressions as fashion recognizes and sanctions. The other species of taste, founded on the study of Universal Beauty (and which, for the sake of distinction, I shall call *Philosophical Taste*), implies a sensibility, deep and permanent, to those objects of affection, admiration and reverence, which interested the youthful heart, while yet a stranger to the opinions and ways of the world. Its most distinguishing characteristics, accordingly, are strong domestic and local attachments, accompanied with that enthusiastic love of nature, simplicity and truth, which, in every department, both of art and of science, is the best and surest presage of genius. It is this sensibility that gives rise to the habits of attentive observation by which such a taste can alone be formed; and it is this also that, binding and perpetuating the associations which such a taste supposes, fortifies the mind against the fleeting caprices which the votaries of fashion watch and obey.' p. 469–471.

From this masterly exposition of the true nature of Taste, it is perfectly easy to understand how it may be possessed, or appear to be possessed, in very considerable perfection, by individuals who have but a very faint perception of beauty,—and how men should often be able to point out faults with accuracy, who appear to derive no pleasure from the consideration of excellence. In such minds, there is great reason to suppose, that the rules by which they judge, are not the natural growth of their own judgment and experience, but have been derived, by study and imi-

tation, from those by whom they have been successively invented. By far the greater part of men are satisfied with the current and traditionary taste of the age in which they live; and such of them as wish for the glory of *connoisseurs*, very commonly obtain it at no greater cost than the study of the technical rules and maxims which they find established around them.

'Such rules,' Mr Stewart has excellently observed, 'though often abused, are not without their value; for, although they can never supply the want of natural sensibility, or inspire a relish for beauty in a mind insensible to it before, they may yet point out many of the *faults* which an artist ought to avoid, and teach those critics how to censure, who are incapable of being taught how to admire. They may even communicate to such a critic, some degree of that *secondary pleasure* which was formerly mentioned as *peculiar to taste;* the pleasure of remarking the coincidence between the execution of an artist, and the established rules of his art; or, if he should himself aspire to be an artist, they may enable him to produce what will not much offend, if it should fail to please. What is commonly called *fastidiousness of taste*, is an affectation chiefly observable in persons of this description; being the natural effect of habits of common-place criticism on an eye blind to the perception of the beautiful.' p. 480.

Where taste is native and indigenous, however cultivated by study and observation, Mr Stewart is of opinion, that it will always be more strongly disposed to the enjoyment of beauties, than to the detection of blemishes;—'that it will seize eagerly on every 'touch of genius with the sympathy of kindred affection; and, 'in the secret consciousness of a congenial inspiration, shares, in 'some measure, the triumph of the artist. The faults which 'have escaped him, it views with the partiality of friendship; 'and willingly abandons the censorial office to those who exult 'in the errors of superior minds as their appropriate and easy 'prey.' p. 485.

An idolatrous devotion to particular models—and, above all, the sinister, though often unsuspected influences of literary jealousy, or political or personal hostility, frequently blind and mislead the decisions of the most consummate judges. 'It is only,' as Mr Stewart has well remarked, 'when the mind is perfectly serene, 'that decisions of this delicate faculty can be implicitly relied 'on. In these nicest of all operations of the intellect, where the 'grounds of judgment are often so shadowy and complicated, 'the latent sources of error are numberless; and to guard against 'them, it is necessary that no circumstance, however trifling, 'should occur, either to discompose the feelings, or to mislead the 'understanding.' (p. 491.) He exemplifies this in the general malignant cast of Johnson's criticisms in his Lives of the Poets; and adds this other more striking and less notorious instance—"Thom-

" son has lately published a poem called the Castle of Indolence, " in which there are some good stanzas." Who could have ex- ' pected this sentence from the pen of Gray? * In an ordinary ' critic, possessed of one hundredth part of his sensibility and ' taste, such total indifference to the beauties of this exquisite ' performance would be utterly impossible.'

After enlarging a little farther on this humiliating cause of false judgment, Mr Stewart thinks it necessary to make an apology for those inestimable observations, as ' pointing at some sources ' of false taste, overlooked in our common systems of criticism; ' and which, however compatible with many of the rarest and ' most precious gifts of the understanding, are inconsistent with ' that unclouded reason, that unperverted sensibility, and that ' unconquerable candour, which mark a comprehensive, an up- ' right, and an elevated mind.' (p. 494.) And closes his generous and high-minded remonstrance with this powerful appeal—

' Why do not men of superior talents, if they should not always aspire to the praise of a candour so heroic, strive at least, for the honour of the arts which they love, to conceal their ignoble jealousies from the malignity of those, whom incapacity and mortified pride have leagued together, as the covenanted foes of worth and genius? What a triumph has been furnished to the writers who delight in levelling all the proud distinctions of Humanity; and what a stain has been left on some of the fairest pages of our literary history, by the irritable passions and petty hostilities of Pope and of Addison!' p. 495.

The concluding Essay is ' on the Cultivation of certain Intellectual Habits connected with the Elements of Taste;' and need not detain us long, after the ample survey we have already taken of the subjects by which it is suggested. The main object of the author is to recommend to the attention of all persons who have leisure for such pursuits, the pleasures that may be derived from a diligent cultivation of those habits of mind by which the principles of taste are gradually developed or improved; and to point out the means by which this may be successfully accomplished, even in the case of those whose days have been hitherto engrossed with cares or studies of a very different description. Without some degree of taste for the beauties of nature, our intellectual frame is incomplete and mutilated; and this taste, when once acquired, leads, by an easy transition, to all the other pleasures of which the imagination is the organ or foundation. The culture of the imagination, therefore, becomes a most important

* Mr Stewart might have found a still stronger example of portentous misjudgment in the letters of the celebrated Waller; who speaks thus of the first appearance of Paradise Lost—' The old blind schoolmaster, John Milton, hath published a tedious ' poem on the fall of Man—if its length be not considered as merit, it has no other!'

part of that wise and generous education that looks to the whole future happiness of its objects. But it is not to the young only that these invaluable lessons may be effectually addressed: and though we cannot afford room to lay before our readers any view of the culture by which Mr Stewart thinks that this later spring of the soul may be successfully brought on, we shall close our extracts with the following animated picture of the delights which it is calculated to bestow—over the whole of which, the cultivated fancy and affectionate earnestness of the author have enabled him to throw so warm and captivating a colouring.

'Nor is it to the young alone, that I would confine these observations. Instances have frequently occurred of individuals, in whom the Power of Imagination has, at a more advanced period of life, been found susceptible of culture to a wonderful degree. In such men, what an accession is gained to their most refined pleasures! What enchantments are added to their most ordinary perceptions! The mind, awakening, as if from a trance, to a new existence, becomes habituated to the most interesting aspects of life and of nature; the intellectual eye is "purged of its film;" and things the most familiar and unnoticed, disclose charms invisible before. The same objects and events which were lately beheld with indifference, occupy now all the powers and capacities of the soul; the contrast between the present and the past, serving only to enhance and to endear so unlooked for an acquisition. What Gray has so finely said of the *pleasures of vicissitude,* conveys but a faint image of what is experienced by the man, who, after having lost, in vulgar occupations and vulgar amusements, his earliest and most precious years, is thus introduced at last to a new heaven and a new earth.

"*The meanest flow'ret of the vale,*
The simplest note that swells the gale,
The common sun, the air, the skies,
To him are op'ning Paradise."

'The effects of foreign travel have been often remarked, not only in rousing the curiosity of the traveller while abroad, but in correcting, after his return, whatever habits of inattention he had contracted to the institutions and manners among which he was bred. It is in a way somewhat analogous, that our occasional excursions into the regions of imagination, increase our interest in those familiar realities from which the stores of imagination are borrowed. We learn insensibly to view nature with the eye of the painter and of the poet, and to seize those "happy attitudes of things" which their taste at first selected; while, enriched with the accumulations of ages, and with "the spoils of time," we unconsciously combine with what we see, all that we know, and all that we feel; and sublime the organical beauties of the material world, by blending with them the inexhaustible delights of the heart and of the fancy.' p. 508, 510.

The remainder of the Essay consists chiefly in observations on the important part which reason has to perform in preparing and

exalting the pleasures of imagination; and in combating the vulgar opinion, that those pleasures, and the powers from which they are derived, are to be found in the greatest perfection, either in early youth, or in rude and barbarous periods of society. For the details of these speculations, and of all the curious and miscellaneous information that is to be derived from the notes and illustrations, we must now, however, refer the reader to the work itself.

Our general opinion of the merit of this volume, may be gathered from the length of the examination which we have been induced to bestow upon it. We regard it, indeed, as one of the most unequivocal productions of a powerful and an accomplished mind, that has ever fallen under our survey; and one, also, of those fortunate productions, which cannot be studied or admired without benefit both to the taste and the understanding. There are faults, however, in the execution, which it is our duty to point out. The style is too solemn and diffuse for the title of Essays;—and there is rather too much apology, though very gracefully delivered, and too much reference to the books which the author has written, and the books he proposes to write. A more radical fault, perhaps, is the want of continuity and conciseness in the statement of the argument. The whole of the author's design, and the grounds of it, are no where opened up at once; and when the curiosity and interest of the reader is raised to the highest pitch, by his visible approach to the most important part of the discussion, he is suddenly mortified with an intimation, that that part is postponed to another chapter, or even to a future publication. The style, our readers will easily see from the extracts we have given, is beautiful and flowing;—though, perhaps, rather more remote from vivacity or familiarity, than is suitable to the taste of this irreverent generation. We had noted some phrases that appeared to us to be ungraceful or inaccurate; but have mislaid our references; and can only now remember, that we were hurt at the word 'sphericity;' and dissatisfied with the phrase, of the mind 'being ascertained of' certain facts or phenomena.

ART. X. ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ. *Æschyli Prometheus Vinctus. Ad Fidem Manuscriptorum emendavit, Notas et Glossarium adjecit,* CAROLUS JACOBUS BLOMFIELD *A. B. Collegii SS. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienses Socius. Cantabrigiæ, Typis ac Sumptibus Academicis excudit J. Smith.* MDCCCX. pp. 160.

IN our twenty-ninth and thirtieth Numbers, we have given some account of that part of Mr Butler's elaborate edition of Æs-

chylus, which contains the Prometheus and the Suppliants. We learn, with pleasure, that another portion of that valuable work is upon the eve of publication; to which we shall probably devote a share of our attention, as soon as it is dismissed from the hands of the printer. In the mean time, it is not without concern that we observe, that Mr Butler is by no means satisfied with that mixture of approbation and censure which pervades our animadversions on his labours. Our concern, indeed, on this occasion, is not accompanied by much surprize, as we have generally found that the expectations of authors far surpass the most unqualified applause which conscientious reviewers can bestow. In order to vindicate himself from our strictures, Mr Butler has adopted the ancient and authorized method of writing a pamphlet, the title of which begins with the following words—*A Letter to the Rev. C. J. Blomfield A. B. one of the junior Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.* In this epistle, the attentive perusal of which we earnestly recommend to all the admirers of Greek criticism and English wit, Mr Butler very artfully insinuates, that notwithstanding the constant use of the plural number, the obnoxious articles are not really the joint composition of all the writers of the Edinburgh Review, but that they are written exclusively by the above mentioned Mr Blomfield; and that no metaphysician or political economist whatsoever is responsible for any of the sentiments which they contain.

We presume that our readers are well aware, that we should act in a mode perfectly inconsistent with the mysteries of our profession, if we entered into any explanation as to the manner in which our review of Mr Butler's work was composed, or the persons who assisted in the composition. It is with considerable reluctance that we speak even hypothetically upon a question which we wish to involve in the most profound secrecy. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with observing, that if Mr Butler's suspicions are well founded, the appellation of *the fairest of critics* is no less due to Mr Blomfield than to the Rev. Luke Milbourn, whose remarks upon Dryden's translation of Virgil were accompanied by a specimen of a rival translation executed by himself. *

The rivalry which may be supposed to exist between the Prometheus of Mr Butler and that of Mr Blomfield, does not arise from any remarkable resemblance, either in the plan or the execution of the two works. Mr Butler's edition contains the cor-

* See Pope's note on the Dunciad, book ii. v. 349. Perhaps a recent instance of a similar nature may occur to the attentive readers of the Edinburgh Review.

rupt text of Stanley; three distinct sets of Scholia; a Latin version; the commentary of Stanley; a very ample selection of various readings, and critical remarks on the text; and, lastly, an equally ample selection of explanatory notes. The quantity of matter comprized in these various articles is so great, that Mr Butler's edition of the Prometheus occupies nearly two thirds of a considerable volume in quarto. Mr Blomfield's edition, which is a pamphlet of moderate dimensions, contains a Greek text, exceedingly different from that of Stanley, under which are exhibited the most important various readings, interspersed with occasional observations, chiefly relating to points of verbal criticism. An explanatory glossary is added at the end of the volume. We shall endeavour to give our readers an account of the manner in which Mr Blomfield has executed each of the three departments of his work.

In our account of Mr Butler's edition, we lamented that he was compelled, by the stern decree of the Syndics of the University press, to adhere strictly to the text of Stanley; which, in fact, is no other than the text of Henry Stephens, with a few alterations and improvements by Canter, and by Stanley himself. We are apprehensive, that although Mr Butler's edition is, on the whole, the best which has yet appeared, the adoption of so depraved a text will for ever prevent it from being useful in any other way than as a book of reference. At the same time, we are rather inclined to believe, that critical scholars will consult it with more advantage in its present state, than they would have done if the editor had been permitted to employ his own judgment in the formation of his text. It is with the edition of Stanley, or with that of Pauw which is reprinted from it, with no intentional alterations of the text, that manuscripts have been most usually compared. So far, therefore, as any inference can be drawn from the silence of the collator, we are justified in supposing, that, in those passages which he passes over without notice, the readings of the manuscript agree with the text of Stanley. In consequence of this circumstance, an editor of Æschylus, who makes use of former collations, which all editors who attend to various readings are compelled to do, will find that the greatest care and vigilance will not prevent him from frequently misleading his readers, and sometimes himself, unless he either adopts the text of Stanley, or exhibits it distinctly in his notes, as the standard with which his various readings are to be compared. The truth of this observation will perhaps be rendered more conspicuous by an example. In the 235th verse of the play before us, Mr Blomfield has printed ἐξερυσάμην, in his text, with the following note—'ἐξελυσάμην, *Rob.*' The obvious interpreta-

tion of these words is, that both manuscripts and editions, for the most part, read ἐξερυσάμην; and the other reading depends principally upon the authority of the edition of Robortellus. The fact, however, is otherwise. The editions of Stephanus and Stanley agree with that of Robortellus; and we have little doubt that a great majority of the manuscripts concur in the same lection. It is from the circumstance of Stanley's having ἐξελυσάμην, that the collators are silent as to that reading, and specify those manuscripts alone which have ἐξερυσάμην. We observe, for instance, that Vauvilliers gives ἐξερυσάμην as the reading of two of the five manuscripts of the Prometheus, the collation of which he has published in the first and fourth volumes of the *Notices des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Roi.* As he does not state the reading of the remaining three, we may fairly conclude that they retain ἐξελυσάμην; especially as Vauvilliers has extracted out of each of the five manuscripts, a various reading of another word in the same line. We will add Mr Butler's note on this passage, which will betray the reader into no error from which Mr Butler is himself exempt. 'ΕΞΕΛΥΣΑΜΗΝ Ἐξερυσάμην *Ask A. C. Ven. t. 2. Ox In Ask. B. quoque* ἐξερυσάμην, *sed ibi suprascriptum* λ. Ἐξερυσάμην *habent etiam Ald. Tum. Cant. Giac. Brunck Schutz. Pors. idque Schutzius exquisitius et ornatius judicat quam* ἐξελυσάμην.'

More instances of this confusion might perhaps be collected out of Mr Blomfield's notes; but they are amply compensated for by the cause which occasions them—the adoption of a purer text of the Prometheus than has hitherto been presented to the world. As the foundation of his own text, he has judiciously adopted that of the Glasgow edition in octavo, which is well known to have been printed from a copy of the edition of Pauw, corrected for that purpose by the late Professor Porson. In this edition, Mr Porson has removed an infinite quantity of the rubbish accumulated by former editors, and has added proportional facility to the labours of the future editor and the studies of the common reader. The Glasgow text is, however, much less correct than it would have been, if the editor had devoted a greater portion of his time and attention to it; and is susceptible of very considerable improvement, by a skilful application even of those imperfect materials which we at present possess. * Of those ma-

* Of these materials, the Scholia are not the least considerable, and deserve a more accurate examination than they have yet received. In some places, the true reading may be recovered from them, when no vestige of it exists in the manuscripts. In the Persians, for instance, Xerxes addresses the Chorus in the following words, v. 945.

terials Mr Blomfield has availed himself with judgment and success, and has rendered no small service to the text of the Prometheus.

Mr Blomfield's manuscript authorities are numerous and considerable. In the catalogue subjoined to his preface, thirty copies are enumerated, which have been collated at different times, by different persons, and with very different degrees of accuracy. Several of these manuscripts have never been used by any former editor. No notice is taken by Mr Butler, in particular, of the first seven, the seventeenth, nineteenth, twenty-first and twenty-second. We conceive, however, that the actual difference in the number of manuscripts used by each of these two editors is not very considerable; and that seven or eight of the names in Mr Blomfield's list might be expunged, without any diminution of the real number of his copies. We will detail our sentiments on this subject in a note, in which we will insert Mr Blomfield's catalogue in his own words. †

Ἴετ' αἰανὴν καὶ πανόδυρτον Δύσθροον αυδάν. Δαιμων γὰρ οὐ αὖ Μετάτροπος ἐπ' ἐμοί. The Chorus answers: Ἥσω τοι καὶ πανοδυρτον Λαοπαθῆ τε τεβίζων, Ἀλίτυπά τε βάρη, &c. Upon these lines the Scholiast comments as follows: Πέμψω θρῆνον καὶ λίαν πανοδυρτον, σεβιζων και τεβάζων τὰ λαοπαθῆ, &c. It seems probable, that the word λίαν existed in the copy of which the Scholiast made use; from which observation, we believe that the true reading of the passage may be deduced. We read: Ἥσω τοι καὶ λίαν Λαοπαθῆ σέβιζων, Ἀλιτυπά τε βάρη. The word πανόδυρτον appears to have been inserted from the preceding words of Xerxes; and the τε after λαοπάθη does not appear in the three first editions. Καὶ λιαν, it may be observed, is frequently used for λιαν. Compare the Prometheus of Æschylus, v. 1030; the Hecuba of Euripides, v. 1286; the Medea, v. 596; and the Knights of Aristophanes, v. 1231. With regard to the metre of the passage under consideration, the corresponding lines are commonly read as follows, but somewhat differently divided: Πρόσφθογγόν σοι νόστου, Τὰν κακοφάτιδα βοάν, Κακομέλετον ἰὰν, &c. It is evident that the middle lines. τὰν κακοφάτιδα βοάν and λαοπαθῆ σεβιζων, do not exactly tally. Perhaps we ought to read, λαοπάθεα τε σέβων, which emendation we have drawn from the *Tentamen* of Dr Burney. But we are inclined to believe that the poet wrote, τὰν κακοφάτιδ' ὀὰν, and, λαοπάθεα σέβων. *The ill sounding* ὀὰ is an interjection which occurs several times in this play: see v. 116. 122. 570. 574. 579. 583. The verse is dochmiac.

† 1, 2. *Codices Regii Parisienses apud Brunckium.*—3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *Codices Regii Parisienses a Vauvillerio collati.*—8, 9, 10, 11. *Codices Regii Parisienses, quorum collationes in Bibliotheca Academiæ Cantabrigiensis adservantur duobus libris, quorum marginibus adscriptæ fuerant a Petro Needhamo, et postea ab Antonio Ascerio.*—12, 13. *Codices*

It is always desirable, and not unfrequently practicable, to identify the manuscripts used by the early editors, with those which

olim in Bibliotheca Colbertina, quorum collationem habuit Needhamus. Subsequently to the time when Needham's collation of the six preceding copies was made, the manuscripts of the Colbert library were purchased for the Royal Library; in the printed catalogue of which, the Colbert manuscripts are arranged promiscuously with the rest, but may be distinguished from them by the word *Colbertinus*, which is regularly inserted in the description. When the catalogue was made, the Royal library contained nine manuscripts of the Prometheus; three of which, numbered 2785, 2789 and 2884, had formerly belonged to the Colbert library. The remaining six are numbered 2782 A, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2790 and 2886. Both Brunck and Vauvilliers have stated the numbers of the seven copies collated by them. In the order in which they are placed in Mr Blomfield's list, they correspond with 2884, 2787, 2789, 2790, 2782 A, 2788 and 2785 in the catalogue of the Royal manuscripts. As the catalogue contains only two copies of the Prometheus, besides the seven just enumerated, it is evident that at least four of the six collated by or for Needham are among the number of those since collated by Brunck and Vauvilliers; and that three out of the whole nine were not used by Needham or his collator. The following reasons induce us to believe, that those three copies are the same which are numbered 2782 A, 2789 and 2790. The first is stated to have arrived from Constantinople too late to find its regular place in the catalogue, and is accordingly inserted in the appendix. The second is a Colbertine copy; and its readings, as published by Vauvilliers, do not agree with those of either of Needham's Colbertine manuscripts. The third contains the Prometheus alone; whereas all Needham's manuscripts contain also the two following tragedies, as they are commonly arranged. That Needham's fourth copy is the same as that numbered 2886 in the printed catalogue, is sufficiently demonstrated by the circumstance of their both containing the Suppliants, which play occurs in no other of the Royal manuscripts. From these considerations, and from a comparison of readings, we deduce, that Needham's six manuscripts are respectively the same as those numbered 2786, 2787, 2788, 2886, 2785 and 2884 in the Royal library. We have no doubt that our statement is correct as to the four last numbers; but we are not without suspicion that the two first numbers ought to be interchanged. The question might probably be decided by an examination of Brunck's edition of the Prometheus, which book we are not at present able to procure. We return to Mr Blomfield's list—14, 15. *Codices chartacei, quos ex monte Atho emerat Ricardus Mead, medicus celeberrimus. Hos olim ab Askerio, et postea a Butlero collatos, ipse quoque in Bibliotheca Academiae Cantabrigiensis inspexi.*—16. *Codex Mediceus Florentiae adservatus, et vetus-*

are still preserved in the various libraries of Europe. Where this knowledge cannot be obtained, the critic incurs continual danger

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tate insignis; cujus collationem fecit, et Needhamo transmisit A. M. Salvinus.—17. *Codex Philelphi; hujus lectiones margini exemplaris editionis Stanleianae adnotantur, cujus usum mihi humanissime concessit Vir supra meum praeconium longe positus, literarum dum vixit amantissimus, Gulielmus Windham. Videtur esse vel Codex ipse Mediceus, vel ejus transcriptum; lectiones enim semper fere coincidunt; ideoque illum prout Mediceum citavi. Semel tamen atque iterum variationes praebet, quas litera Φ designavi.*—18. *Codex Arundelianus, a Stanleio collatus. Pleniorem collationem inter Porsoni schedas deprehendi* — 19. *Codex Seldenianus, cujus collationem mecum humanissime communicavit Thomas Gaisford A. M. qui in notis ad Hephaestionem p. 242 editionis suae doctissimae, codicis descriptionem dedit Haec collatio non ante ad manus venit, quam fabulae pars prima typis commissa fuerat.* From his note on v. 411, Mr Blomfield appears to suspect that the two preceding numbers refer to the same manuscript. In this opinion we entirely concur. Stanley's account of the two copies which he collated, is as follows. *Adhaec, Tragoedias priores cum duobus Codd. MSS. contulimus, quorum unus inter καιμήλια Barociana in* [*Bibliotheca Bodleiana conservatus; alterum e Bibliotheca*] *Arundeliana communicavit magnus noster Seldenus.* To give young critics an instance of the necessity of recurring to originals, whenever it is practicable, we are induced to mention, that, in the reimpression of Stanley's preface which is prefixed to Pauw's edition, the printer, apparently misled by the repetition of the word *Bibliotheca*, has destroyed the meaning of the preceding sentence, by omitting the words which we have enclosed between brackets. We are not able to gain any direct information as to the mode by which the Arundel manuscript of Æschylus became the property of Selden. It is not improbable, that Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel, might present part of his manuscripts to Selden, by whose vigilance both the library at Arundel-house, and the royal library at St James's, had been preserved from dispersion during the civil war. In consequence of this donation, or from some other cause, the manuscript in question is now deposited in the Bodleian library at Oxford, instead of the library of the Royal Society in Somerset place.—20. *Codex Oxoniensis, a Stanleio collatus.* —21. *Codex Baroccianus num. 231 hujus quoque collationem praebuerunt Porsoni schedae.* As there is only one Baroccian manuscript of Æschylus, it is evident that these two numbers designate the same copy. We presume that Mr Butler will not forget to notice, in his 'general Preface,' the great resemblance which subsists between the Baroccian manuscript and his own *Venetus primus.* See particularly v. 182, 618, 627, 899, 870, 874, 902. Perhaps one of these copies is a transcript of the other. We also observe, that they are very nearly related to the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, and, what is of more

of attributing double or triple authority to the same copy, by citing it under two or three different names. The investigation, indeed, is attended by much difficulty, in consequence of the carelessness or bad faith of the editors, who commonly exaggerate both the number and the value of their manuscript authorities. A single incorrect and recent copy, is sometimes styled *miræ fidei et vetustatis exemplaria;* and a printed edition is frequently quoted under the name of *alii libri, nonnulli codices*, &c. It is in consequence of not understanding this phraseology, which was once the common language of the profession, that the modern editors of Sophocles gravely appeal to the manuscripts of that poet, collated by Henry Stephens. We certainly impute no intentional fraud to that learned printer; but we are not the less convinced, that no grounds exist for supposing that he ever examined any copy of Sophocles, either written or printed, except the edition of Turnebus. Turnebus himself has printed a number of various readings at the end of his edition of Æschylus, with the following title: Τὰ ἄλλως εὑρεθέντα ἐν τισὶν ἀντιγράφοις. Misled by the ambiguity of the expression, subsequent editors not unfrequently quote these various readings by the name of *MSS. apud Turnebum*; and we observe, that both Mr Butler and Mr Blomfield have inadvertently committed the same error.* Turnebus, however, did not mean to deceive his successors, as he expressly admits in his Greek dedication to the celebrated Michel de l'Hôpital, afterwards Chancellor of France, that he had derived no assistance from manuscripts, with the exception of a single copy

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importance to the critic, to the miserable copy from which Aldus printed the Prometheus.—22. *Emerici Bigoti codex; cujus varietates secum communicatas habuerat Musgravius, e cujus libro descripsit Porsonus.* The manuscripts which belonged to Emeri Bigot were purchased, after his death, by the Abbé de Louvois for the Royal library. Of the nine copies of the Prometheus above enumerated, that which is numbered 2786 bears, in the catalogue, the name of *Tellerianus*, and, from that circumstance, appears to be the same as that purchased by the Abbé de Louvois, whose surname was Le Tellier. This observation, if it be correct, will identify Mr Blomfield's twenty-second copy with his eighth or ninth.—23, 24. *Mosquenses duo apud Schutzium.*—25. *Codex Vitebergensis a Zeunio collatus.*—26, 27. *Lipsienses duo apud Butlerum.*—28. *Codex Guelferbytanus, apud Schutzium.*— 29, 30. *Veneti duo apud Butlerum.* We will not anticipate Mr Butler's general Preface, by making any observations on the eight copies last enumerated.

* See Mr Butler's note on v. 570, and Mr Blomfield's on v. 755, of their respective editions.

of the three first plays, the property of the President de Ranconet. † Whoever will undertake the task of attentively comparing the text and appendix of Turnebus, with the readings of the third copy in Mr Blomfield's list, as published by Vauvilliers, will soon be convinced, that that copy is the identical *codex Ranconeti* which was used by Turnebus. It must be observed, that among his ἄλλως εὑρεθέντα, he has inserted some of the Aldine readings, which he has rejected from the text, and some of his own conjectures, which he has not thought proper to admit into it. ‡

After all, however, as we stated on a former occasion, the accumulation of manuscripts does not contribute, in so great a degree as might be supposed, to the amendment of our author's text. All the manuscripts of Æschylus which have yet been examined, are transcribed, mediately or immediately, from the same copy, which appears to have survived alone the general wreck of antient literature. The concurrence, therefore, of fifty or five hundred manuscripts of Æschylus in the same lection, implies no more than that, in the ninth or tenth century, such a reading was discovered in a single manuscript. If that manuscript now existed, and could be verified, perhaps its numerous progeny might all be safely disposed of to the makers of sky-rockets, after the example of the biblical manuscripts of the University of Alcala. §

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† Ranconet, who was a President of the Parliament of Paris, and one of the most accomplished scholars of that learned age, incurred the formidable resentment of the Cardinal of Lorraine, by opposing some violent measures which the Cardinal recommended for the extirpation of heresy. The President de Ranconet was afterwards reduced to the necessity of exercising the occupation of corrector of the press; and at last died of a broken heart, in prison. The Cardinal of Lorraine is said to have held fourteen of the richest bishoprics in France at once.

‡ As the *Notices des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Roi* do not frequently occur in the libraries of private scholars, we subjoin a few readings, which, to the best of our knowledge, are not found in any manuscript, except the *Codex Regius*, 2789, which we conjecture to have belonged to the President de Ranconet. These readings, the greater part of which is erroneous, are all inserted in the Appendix of Turnebus, with the exception of those marked with an asterisk, which he has adopted in his text. V. 376. λωφησω. 568. εἴδωλον γὰρ Ἄργου. 590. φθέγματος *v. l.* [προσφθέγματος T. *servato scilicet* προς—*e vulgatis libris.*] 616. ὦ μοι πέπαυμαι. 622. ὄρκεσα [αρκεσα T. *ex emendatione*] 810 ὀρεων. 811. * εὔποτος. 899. * πόνων *abest.* 910. Κρόνου ποτ ἤδη. 951. Ζεύς τοι τοιουτοις. 975. κακοῦσιν ἐκδικως. 1013. * εαν και τοίς.

§ See Michaëlis's Introduction to the New Testament, translated

Of the incorrectness of the original manuscript of Æschylus, no other proof is requisite, than the agreement of its descendants in so many palpably erroneous readings. If we open the Prometheus, we find a striking instance as early as the sixth line, which, in the edition of Aldus, stands as follows: Ἀδαμαντίναις πέδῃσιν ἐν ἀῤῥήκτοις πέτραις. The same reading is exhibited by all the manuscripts, with no material variation. The true lection, Ἀδαμαντίναν δεσμῶν ἐν ἀῤῥήκτοις πέδαις, would have been lost for ever, if it had not been preserved by the Scholiast on Aristophanes, and his transcriber Suidas, on whose authority Canter first admitted it into the text. In this instance, as in innumerable others, it may be observed, that the dissimilarity between the true and false readings is so great, that no assistance could have been derived from conjectural emendation, if the correction had not been supplied from another source. We do not mean to deny, that among a thousand conjectures, the reading preserved by the Scholiast might have occurred to a Porson, or even to a Pauw; but the alteration would have been justly considered as so violent and improbable, that no editor, endowed with half the modesty and judgment of Mr Blomfield, would have ventured to admit it into his text.

Whoever will take the trouble to open the Glasgow edition, will perceive, that a considerable number of passages are marked with an *obelus*. ‖ On further examination it will be discovered, that most of these passages are palpably corrupt, some of them suspicious, and a few not liable to any very apparent objection. We believe, that in almost every instance in which this mark occurs, Mr Porson was provided with another reading, which he conceived to be specious and probable; but did not, at

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by Marsh, Vol. 2. p. 441. ed. 1802. We do not at present recollect where we have read, that these *membranas y cartas inutiles*, as they were styled in the bill of sale, were not sold to a maker of *rockets*, but to a maker of *rackets*. or battledores. Indeed, the latter mode of converting antient parchments to use, is so natural and judicious, that it must certainly have suggested itself, in the first instance, to the learned librarian, whose name Michaëlis laments that he has not been able to di cover.

‖ The number of *obeli*, in the Prometheus, is thirty-one. They occur in the following verses: 2. 17. 49. 51. 116. 140. 155. 182. 264. 369. 384. 426. 460. 480. 482. 503. 566. 578. 590. 607. 630. 678. 711. 769. 828. 834. 849. 860. 916. 943. 1056. As the verses are very incorrectly numbered in the Glasgow edition, we have made use of the numeration of Stanley, throughout the whole of this article, except when we quote Mr Blomfield's notes, without reference to the text. The obelized passages will all be distinctly mentioned hereafter.

that time, think proper to receive into the text. Of these readings, such as are derived from manuscripts, editions, and other obvious sources of emendation, may commonly be discovered with very little difficulty. It appears, that a considerable part of the remainder, is noted on the margins and blank leaves of Mr Porson's books; and that a certain portion is preserved, by a kind of oral tradition, among his friends. It is well known, that Mr Porson's literary relics are deposited in the library of Trinity College, in Cambridge; and it will readily be supposed, that Mr Blomfield, who is a Fellow of Trinity College, would take the earliest opportunity of examining them. It may also be presumed, that Mr Porson's literary friends, many of whom are also the friends of Mr Blomfield, would conceive it to be their duty to assist so promising a disciple of the Porsonian school, with all the information in their power. Accordingly, Mr Blomfield has been able to explain most of the *obeli* of the Glasgow edition; and has frequently admitted into his text, the readings to which they appear to refer. We have no doubt that the greater part of these alterations would meet with Mr Porson's concurrence, if he were now living. We are sorry to observe, that, in a few instances, Mr Blomfield has not been able to discover the reading to which the *obelus* alludes.

In the disposition of the choral odes, Mr Blomfield has judiciously availed himself of the light which has been diffused by the *Tentamen* of Dr Burney, the greatest modern master of metrical science. * The lyric parts of the Prometheus, it is well

* It has long been our intention to devote a prolix article to the consideration of the *Tentamen*, and to examine all the choral odes of Æschylus, as they are arranged by Dr Burney. In a very small number of instances, we think that we could suggest a better arrangement than that which is adopted in the *Tentamen*. As a specimen, we subjoin part of the first Chorus in the Agamemnon.

STROPHE 226.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδυ λέπαδνον,
φρενὸς πνέων δυσεβῆ τροπαίαν,
ἄναγνον, ἀνίερον, τόθεν
τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνα
βροτοῖς. θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις
τάλαινα παρακοπὰ
πρωτοπήμων. ἔτλα δ' οὖν θυτὴρ γενέσθαι
θυγατρὸς, γυναικοποίνων πολέμων ἀρωγὰν,
καὶ προτέλεια ναῶν.

ANTISTROPHUS 236.

Λιτὰς δὲ καὶ κληδόνας πατρῴους
παρ' οὐδὲν, αἰῶνα παρθένειόν τ',

known, are less considerable than those of any other of our author's tragedies; and, in common with the remainder of the play, have descended to us in a state of great purity, in comparison with most of the subsequent pieces.

Except from these two sources, Mr Blomfield professes to have been sparing of alterations in the Glasgow text. A very small part of those which he has made, is derived from conjecture. To his initiation into the school of Porson, he owes his exemption from that common disease of young critics, which Mr Butler very aptly terms *emendandi κακοζηλία*; and which, if Mr Wakefield's name were capable of assuming a Greek form, might, perhaps, still more significantly be denominated *Wakefieldiasis*. At the conclusion of this article, we intend to state all the changes which Mr Blomfield has made; and to point out, as concisely as we can, upon what kind of authority he has made them.

ἔθεντο Φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς.
φράσεν δ' ἀόζοις πατὴρ μετ' εὐχαν,
δίκαν χιμαίρας ὑπερθε βωμοῦ,
πέπλοισι περιπετῆ,
παντὶ θυμῷ προνωπῆ λαβεῖν ἑρδην,
στόματός τε καλλιπρῴρου φυλακὰν κατασχεῖν,
φθογγον ἀραῖον οἴκοις.

STROPHE 246.

Βία χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδᾳ μένει.
κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα,
ἔβαλλ' ἕκαστον θυτήρων
ἀπ' ὄμματος βέλει φιλοίκτῳ,
πρέπουσά θ', ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς, προσενέπειν
θέλουσ', ἐπεὶ πολλάκις
πατρὸς κατ' ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπέζους
ἤμελψεν, ἀγνὰ δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐδᾷ πατρὸς
φίλου τριτόσπονδον εὔποτμον τ'
αἰῶνα φίλως ἐτίμα.

ANTISTROPHUS 256.

Τὰ δ' ἔνθεν, οὔτ' εἶδον, οὔτ' ἐννέπω·
τέχναι δὲ Κάλχαντος οὐκ ἄκραντοι·
δίκα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν
μαθεῖν ἐπιῤῥέπει· τὸ μέλλον δ',
ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν λύτις, προχαιρέτω·
ἴσον δὲ τᾷ προστένειν·
τορὸν γὰρ ἥξει ξύναρθρον αὐτᾷ.
πέλοιτο δ' οὖν τἀπὶ τούτοισιν εὐπραξίς, ὡς
θέλει τόδ' ἄγχιστον Ἀπίας
γαίας μονόφρουρον ἔρκος.

We are not dissatisfied with several of the readings in these lines; but they are not those which affect the metre.

On turning our attention to the notes, we observe that a portion of them is printed in the Italic character, and marked with the initials of Richard Porson. This circumstance is explained in the Preface. Mr Blomfield was permitted by his College to extract from the papers of Mr Porson every thing that could be found relative to the Prometheus. Mr Blomfield appears to have availed himself very carefully of the permission granted to him; but the result is not so important as we could have wished; or, to say the truth, as we expected. Mr Porson's notes consist principally in references to writers who have quoted the verses of the Tragedian, with or without variation. We think these references valuable; and we should be glad to have many more of them; but we would willingly exchange the whole of them for half a dozen satisfactory emendations of the text.

The nature of Mr Blomfield's own notes will best be explained by stating, that he has copied the excellent model which is exhibited in Mr Porson's remarks on the four first plays of Euripides. We do not mean to say, that Mr Blomfield's notes on Æschylus are equally valuable with those of Mr Porson on Euripides: Πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. There is, however, a considerable resemblance between the manner of the disciple and that of the master. The resemblance would have been greater, if Mr Blomfield had not confined himself much more strictly than Mr Porson to the immediate object of his labours.

It is probable, that those persons who delight in literary warfare and the shedding of christian ink, will eagerly explore the pages of Mr Blomfield's edition, with the intention of discovering in what manner he receives the castigation which has been so copiously inflicted upon him in Mr Butler's pamphlet. Perhaps many such persons will be displeased, when they discover, that although Mr Butler's name recurs continually both in Mr Blomfield's notes and his glossary, the mention of it is generally attended with approbation; and in no instance, if our observation be correct, with petulance or asperity.

Mr Blomfield has not annexed a Latin translation to his edition, but has supplied the place of it by a copious glossary, in which almost all the difficult words and passages are interpreted in a very satisfactory manner. This glossary might, perhaps, with more propriety, have been called an explanatory commentary; as the words are not arranged alphabetically, but in the order of their occurrence in the play. Notwithstanding a few omissions and redundancies, some of which will be noticed hereafter, we consider this part of Mr Blomfield's work as extremely valuable; and we do not hesitate in recommending the imitation of it to all future editors of single Greek plays. Feeling, as we profess to feel, all

possible respect for that department of the critical art, which consists in the restoration of corrupted passages, the proper arrangement of metres, and the discussion of questions of orthography and syntax, we cannot suppress a wish, that eminent scholars would devote a considerable part of their time and talents to the labour of mere interpretation. Most of the Latin classics have already received sufficient illustration; but the remains of the Greek writers are in a very different condition. In the present state of Greek literature, very tolerable scholars may read the best Greek classics in the best editions, assisted by the best Latin translations, without being secure from the danger of mistaking the sense of the author; or, at least, of losing the force and spirit of his expression, in almost every page. We will give an instance of the latter sort from the play before us. When the nymphs, who constitute the Chorus, recommend silence and submission to Prometheus, he answers, v. 936. Σέβου, προσεύχου, θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεί. Now, we apprehend, that nineteen schoolboys out of twenty, would either translate the words, τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεί, *him who rules for ever*,—that is to say, Jupiter, who is really the person in question; or would join ἀεὶ to σέβου, &c. Stanley, a man of considerable learning, took the line in the former sense, as appears by his translation:—*Cole, invoca, palpa istum æternum gubernatorem.* The real sense of the passage has been pointed out by Mr Butler, whose observation is borrowed, with proper acknowledgment, by Mr Blomfield. The words, τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεί, mean, *whoever happens to be in power.* In the same sense, οἱ ἀεὶ ἄρχοντες an expression which occurs not unfrequently, means, *the magistrates for the present year;* or, if the reader pleases, *the present ministry.*

Mr Blomfield's Latinity, although sufficiently fluent, and entirely devoid of affectation, is, upon the whole, rather deficient in correctness. We observe, for instance, that he frequently, perhaps always, uses the subjunctive mood after *etsi.* P. ii. *Etsi sine nomine editoris exierit.* P. 36. *Etsi a Stanleio prætermittatur.* P. 45. *Etsi πλανος satis frequens sit.* P. 58. *Etsi εἰσάπαξ in hoc loco edi permiserit.* P. 72. *Etsi τὸ μὴ οὐ versum claudat.* P. 138. *Etsi Scholiastes Venet. ad Il.* Ψ 34. *habeat*, &c. This construction is common enough among modern authors, and not without example among the ancients; but we apprehend the use of the indicative to be the more usual, and, consequently, the safer method. In the course of this article we shall give convincing proof, that we do not aspire to the character of purists in Latinity; ‡ and we

‡ In return for this modest acknowledgment, our readers will doubtless do as the justice to attribute most of our apparent blunders to the indistinctness of our handwriting, and the carelessness of the

should not have mentioned the subject at all, if it were not for the following reason. Mr Blomfield, if he survive the effects of Mr Butler's indignation, is very likely to rise to great eminence as a classical scholar, and to excite considerable jealousy in the souls of his unsuccessful competitors for reputation. It is, therefore, incumbent on him to guard himself as much as possible against their attacks, by endeavouring to give to his compositions the highest degree of correctness which he can attain. It may be observed, that of all the possible defects of a writer, grammatical errors are the least important, the soonest detected, and the last forgotten. Thousands of readers exist, who are stone-blind as to the presence or absence of genius, judgment, learning, sagacity, taste, candour and right reasoning, but possess a lyncean quickness of vision with regard to false concords and false quantities. We recollect to have seen, many years ago, a work of a very popular author, the reputation of which was greatly diminished by a malicious reviewer, who discovered that the writer had frequently fallen into the colloquial error of using the active verb, *To lay*, instead of the neuter verb, *To lye*. We therefore seriously recommend to Mr Blomfield, as he values his future quiet, to ply his Tursellinus hard, while his faculties are ductile and tenacious. He is a young man, and cannot possibly be aware of the difficulties which elderly gentlemen encounter in learning to dance, or to write Latin.

We know, indeed, that some philosophers are of opinion, that the study of Hesychius and Suidas is incompatible with the cultivation of a pure Latin style. But we apprehend that this theory has been sufficiently refuted by David Ruhnkenius. Besides the example of elegance and accuracy which that illustrious scholar exhibited in his own writings, it is well known that he republished the works of Muretus, chiefly for the purpose of demonstrating, that the barbarous jargon of the Burmannian school was not the only modification of the Latin language capable of being used in books of verbal criticism. In consequence of the labours of Ruhnkenius, Ernesti, and others, a considerable amelioration has been effected in the Latinity of the Dutch and German scholars of the last and present generations. Their works, indeed, are commonly destitute of that classical air which per-

compositor. Should any of Mr Willison's assistants transform *sed* into *scio*, or *primus* into *parvus*, we beg leave to state, that no part of the blame attached to such portentous errors ought to fall upon any of our own body, except the unfortunate gentleman who exercises the functions of Editor.

vades the writings of almost all the modern Italian scholars, and which cannot be acquired by mere attention to grammatical rules. * It is chiefly in correctness that the recent philologers of Leyden and Leipzig excel their predecessors at the distance of a century; and, in this respect, the improvement which has taken place, is very considerable. Part of it may perhaps be ascribed to the gradual disuse of that convenient *patois*, which formerly performed most of the functions of a living language, in the schools and universities of the north of Europe. A celebrated critic, in whose opinion we do not altogether concur, has attributed the correctness of style which the Italian writers of the sixteenth century possessed, in a great measure to their total inability to converse in any language except their own. †

As we have alluded to Mr Blomfield's youth, we are bound to state, in justice to him, that we have discovered no sympton of it in his edition of the Prometheus, except his title of Bachelor of Arts, which we readily admit to be a very equivocal one. But all doubt of the fact is removed by Mr Butler, who, in his Epistle to Mr Blomfield, professes to number him among his own private friends, and has urged the circumstance of his juvenility against him, with great strength of reasoning, and liveliness of fancy.

We now proceed to execute our promise of comparing Mr Blomfield's text of the Prometheus with that of the Glasgow edition. This task we shall execute with considerable minuteness. In the course of our examination of the two editions, several passages of the tragedy have occurred to us, on which we conceive that we can throw a little light. We shall therefore take the liberty of stating our opinion respecting part of them, and of assuming, in these instances, the character of annotators, in-

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* Few men, in all probability, have studied the Latin grammar with more attention than Richard Johnson, the author of the Grammatical Commentaries, and *Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus*. In the latter work, he assures the reader, that seven years' severe labour is not sufficient to master the complicated difficulties of the subjunctive mood. He does not inform us how large a portion of his own life he has devoted to the acquisition of a graceful and dignified style. Perhaps some conjecture may be formed from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth lines of his preface, which we are almost ashamed to set down. *Quae aliis fortasse stomachum, mihi profecto nil, nisi risum moverit, perinde reputanti, utrum sursum isti, an deorsum crepent.* If Strada had adopted this elegant phraseology, Scioppius would never have written the *Infamia Famiani*.

† See Scioppius *de Stilo Historico*, p. 68.

stead of that of reviewers. * As this subject must be entirely devoid of interest to the unlearned reader, we do not conceive that any apology will be required for our having drawn up the remaining part of this article in Latin. The following strictures were nearly completed before we conceived the intention of communicating them to the world through the channel of the Edinburgh Review. When we adopted that mode of publication, perhaps we ought to have translated our remarks into English; but we were induced to spare ourselves that trouble, by the consideration of their being equally intelligible, and rather more concise, in their present form. We have also retained the use of the singular number, as we find that the contrary practice has not had the effect of protecting us from the suspicion of dividing our force, and of employing only a single reviewer upon each of our articles. The text, it will be remembered, which we set down at the head of each remark, is that of the Glasgow edition, which is stated, in the title-page, to have been printed in 1794, and published in 1806.

Ver. 1. Χθονὸς μὲν εἰς τηλουρὸν ἥκομεν πέδον. Ἐς τηλουρὸν B. qui cum Porsono alteram formam raro adhibet, nisi ex necessitate. Uterque tamen dedit εἰς τέχνην, v. 496. εἰς νόσον, v. 477. εἰς θεούς, v. 944. et alia fortasse. Equidem suspicor Tragicos nunquam ἐς usurpasse, nisi ex licentia poëtica, quam in septem fabulis vicies tantum sibi permisit Sophocles.

Ver. 2. Σκύθην ἐς οἴμον, † ἄβατον εἰς ἐρημίαν. Ἄβροτον ex ipsius Porsoni monitu reposuit B. Quibus argumentis nitatur haec scriptura, in Censura nostra ed. Butlerianae jam dictum est.

Ver. 16. Πάντως δ' ἀνάγκη τῶνδέ μοι τόλμαν σχέθειν· † ἐξωριάζειν γὰρ πατρὸς λόγους βαρύ. Scribendum, σχεθεῖν, mutato accento. Σχεθεῖν enim aoristus est. Εὐωριάζειν dedit B. ipso Porsono auctore. Iterum adeunda Censura ed. Butlerianae.

Ver. 28. Τοιαῦτ' ἀπηύρων τῆ φιλανθρώπου τρόπου. Ἐπηύρων cod. Mediceus. Vera scriptura, ni fallor, est ἔπηυρον. Eurip. Hec. 476. Τίν' αἰτίαν σχὼν, ἧς ἐπηυρόμην ἐγώ. Idem sensu non dissimili Iph. Taur. 529. Πρὶν γὰρ θανεῖν σε, τοῦδ' ἐπαυρέσθαι θέλω. Incertus apud Athen. p. 336. B.

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* We subjoin a few readings transcribed from the margin of our copy of the Glasgow edition, which appear to us to be preferable to those which Mr Porson has retained in the text. V. 93. αἰκείαισιν. 108. ἐνέζευγμαι. 177. αἰκείας. 181. ἐρέθισε. 211. κρανοῖτο. 267. θνητοῖς ἀρήγων. 275. ταὐτά τοι. 395. ἄσμενος δὲ τἄν. 399. δακρυσίτακτον ἀπ' ὄσσων. 431. ξυμπίτνων. 433. ἀγνορύτων. 495. κνίση. 601. αἰκείαις. 643. αἰσχύνομαι. 671. κἀπέκλησε. 732. Βόσπορός τ' ἐπώνυμος. 734. Ἄσιδ'. 803. Γρῦπας. 911. ἐκπίτνων. 923. θαλασσίαν δὲ γῆς. 926. τό γ' ἄρχειν. 931. πῶς δ' οὐχὶ ταρβεῖς. 934. ὁ δ' οὖν ποιεῖτω. 952 σεμνόστομός τε. 972. καὶ σέ γ' ἐν τούτοις. 979. οἴμοι. 1023. πανήμερος, *cum minima distinctione.* 1024. κελαινόβρωτον θ' ἅπαξ.

Μικροῦ δὲ βιότου ζῶντ' ἐπαυρέσθαι χρεών. Andocides, p. 75. ed. Reisk. a Stanleio allegatus: *Εἴτι ὑμᾶς χρὴ ἀγαθὸν ἐμοῦ ἐπαυρέσθαι.* Male apud Hesychium legitur *ἐπαύρασθαι*, sed grammatici, opinor, potius quam librarii vitio. Recte *ἀπολαῦσαι* interpretatur, sed postea mediam formam saepius confundit cum activa *ἐπαυρεῖν*, quae Atticis non videtur in usu fuisse. Praesens est *ἐπαυρίσκομαι*, neque ipsum in Atticorum scriptis hodie obvium.

Ver. 39. *Τὸ ξυγγενές τοι δεινόν, ἢ θ' ὁμιλία. V.* 793. *Ἦ κἀμὲ γάρ τι ξυμφοραῖς ἐπαιτίᾳ;* Omnes edd. ante Porsonum *τὸ συγγενὲς* et *τί συμφοραῖς* praebent. Quam scripturam post brevem vocalem ubique praetulerim, nisi in initio versus, et ubi altera forma metro necessaria est. *V.* 495. *Κνίσῃ τε κῶλα συγκαλυπτά· καὶ μακρὰν* Porsonus et B. ut vulgo.

Ver. 42. *Ἀεί γε δὴ νηλὴς σὺ, καὶ θράσους πλέως.* Haec scriptura Brunckio debetur. In Aldina *αἰεί τε δὴ* legitur. Sed omnes fere codd. pro *τε* habent *τι* vel *τοι*. Scripsit fortasse Poëta: *Αἴ, αἴ, τι δὴ νηλὴς σὺ καὶ θράσους πλέως;* Saltem non de nihilo est, quod in initio senarii *αἰεί* per diphthongum scriptum habent vulgati libri.

Ver. 49. *Ἅπαντ' † ἐπράχθη πλὴν θεοῖσι κοιρανεῖν. Ἐλεύθερος γὰρ οὔτις ἐστὶ πλὴν Διός.* Quid in animo habuerit Porsonus, incertum est. Nihil mutant libri. Atreschii conjectura, *ἐπρώθη*, ne Graeca quidem est. Sed erit fortasse qui cum Stanleio conjiciat *ἐπαχθῆ*, hac significatione: *Nulla conditio ab aerumnis libera, praeter summum imperium, quo solus potitur Jupiter.* Quae verba non male Vulcani de sua conditione querimoniis respondent. Vocem autem *ἐπαχθὴς*, quod per *ὑπίπονος* recte explicat Hesychius, apud Tragicos non reperi, qui eodem sensu *ἀχθεινὸς* usurpant.

Ver. 51. *Ἔγνωκα, † τοῖσδε κοῖδιν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχω. Ἔγνωκα, καὶ τοῖσδ' οὐδὲν* B. ex ingenio. Facilior emendandi ratio erat, *τοῖσδέ τ' οὐδέν.* Sed malim, deleta copula: *Ἔγνωκα· τοισὶδ' οὐδὲν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχω.* De dativo *τοισίδε*, vide ad v. 234.

Ver. 85. *Ψευδωνύμως σε δαίμονες Προμηθέα Καλοῦσιν· αὐτὸν γὰρ σὲ δεῖ Προμηθέως, Ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τῆσδ' ἐκκυλισθήσει τύχης.* Vide an scribendum, *αὐτὸν γὰρ σὲ δεῖ προμηθίας*, fere ut infra 468. *Τοιαῦτα μηχανήματ' ἐξευρὼν τάλας Βροτοῖσιν, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχω σόφισμ', ὅτῳ Τῆς νῦν παρούσης πημονῆς ἀπαλλαγῶ.*

Ver. 99. *Πῇ ποτε μόχθων Χρὴ τέρματα τῶνδ' ἐπιτεῖλαι. Τέρμα* Aldus et Robortellus, cum plerisque codd. Alteram scripturam metri gratia invectam esse suspicor. Nam *τέρμα*, non *τέρματα*, hoc sensu plerumque adhibet noster. Sic infra 183. *Πᾷ ποτε τῶνδε πόνων χρή σε τέρμα κέλσαντ' Ἐσιδεῖν.* 257. *Οὐδ' ἔστιν ἄθλου τέρμα σοι προκείμενον.* 623. *Τέρμα τῆς ἐμῆς πλάνης.* 754. *Νῦν δ' οὐδὲν ἐστι τέρμα μοι προκείμενον Μόχθων.* 827. *Πρὸς αὐτὸ δ' εἰμὶ τέρμα σῶν πλανημάτων.* 1025. *Τοιοῦδε μόχθου τέρμα μήτι προσδόκα.* Hinc nostro loco malim: *Χρὴ τέρμα τοιῶνδ' ἐπιτεῖλαι.* Vulgata tamen defendi potest e. v. 704. quem suo loco citavi.

Ver. 116. *† Θεόστυτος, ἡ βρότειος, ἡ κεκραμένη.* Veterem scripturam *θεοστυτον* post Burneium revocavit B. Nollem factum. Infra v. 279. *κραιπνόστυτον* contra omnes libros reponendum monuit Bentleius ad Phalarin p. 140. *Ver.* 599. *θεόστυτον* et mox 602. *λαοβρύστους* codd.

et edd. fere omnes, metro utrobique pessumdato. Ceterum Porsoni obelus ad v. 764. hujus fabulae respicere videtur: Θέορτον, ἢ βρότειον; εἰ ῥητὸν, φράσον.

Ver. 122. Τὴν Διὸς αὐλὴν εἰ-οιχνεῦσιν. Malim εἰσοιχνοῦσιν. Διοιχνεῖ habet Noster Eum. 316. οἰχνεῖ Soph. Aj. 564. οἰχνῶ El. 166. οἰχνεῖν El. 313. Ionicam formam accepisse videntur librarii ex Hom. Il. 1. 384. Ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισι καὶ ὄχεσφι. Agnoscit eam tamen Hesychius a Stanleio indicatus: Εἰσοιχνεῦσιν. εἰσπορεύονται καὶ ἐνεδρεύουσι. Apud Eurip. Med. 423. vulgo legitur ὑμνεῦσαι pro ὑμνοῦσαι, nec mutavit Porsonus. Pro infinitivo verbi ὑμνέειν accepit interpres Latinus, qui vertit *celebrare*. Apud Nostrum infra 646. πολεύμεναι mutavit B. Apud Soph. Trach. 647. pro σεῦται legendum σοῦται.

Ver. 140. Δέρχθητ', † ἐσίδεσθ' Οἴῳ δεσμῷ προσπορπατὸς Τῆσδε φάραγγος σκοπέλοις ἐν ἄκροις Φρουρὰν ἄζηλον ὄχησω. Multi libri ἐσίδεσθέ μ' habent minus numerose quidem, nec tamen metro prorsus pessumdato, modo hos versus aliter distribuas. Pronomina in hujusmodi locutionibus valde frequentant Tragici, ut Noster supra 92. Ἴδεσθέ μ' οἵᾳ πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θεός. Et in fine fabulae 1092. Ἐσορᾷς μ' ὡς ἔκδικα πάσχω. Δέρχθητέ μ', ἴδεσθ' ex conjectura reposuit B.

Ver. 146. Σὸν δῆμας εἰσιδούσῃ Πέτραις προσαυαινόμενον, Ταῖσδ' ἀδαμαντοδέτοισι λύμαις. Recte B. εἰσιδούσας, et infra 541. δερκομένα pro δερκομένη. Deinde multi libri πέτρᾳ, quod vulgatae scripturae praefero, sequente scilicet λύμαις. Sic infra 967. τῇδε λατρεύειν πέτρᾳ. Unde nostro loco malim etiam τᾷδ' pro ταῖσδ'.

Ver. 152. Εἰ γάρ μ' ὑπὸ γῆν, νέρθεν τ' Ἀΐδου Τοῦ νεκροδέγμονος εἰς ἀτέραντον Τάρταρον ἧκεν, δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις † Ἀγρίως πελάσας, ὡς μήτε θεὸς Μήτε τις ἄλλος τοῖσδ' ἐπεγκθει. Νέρθεν θ' Ἀΐδου Turnebus, unde recte B. νέρθεν θ' Ἀΐδου. Mox pars codicum ἀγρίοις, quod recepit B. motus simili loco infra 175. πρὶν ἂν ἐξ ἀγρίων Δεσμῶν χαλάσῃ. Vide an scribendum, δεσμοῖς ἀλύτως Ἀγρίοις πελάσας, ut supra 69. Ἄραρεν ἥδε γ' ὠλένη δυσεκλύτως. Deinde plerique libri ὡς μήποτε θεὸς, quod salvo metro retineri poterat, licet aliter sentiat Butlerus. Sed sequentia verba, μήτε τις ἄλλος, suspicor esse corrupta. Nulla enim causa erat, quare mortales, quorum maximus benefactor esset Prometheus, ex ejus malis gaudium perciperent. De diis solis eum locutum esse ostendit Chori responsum v. 159. Τίς ὧδε τλησικάρδιος Θεῶν ὅτῳ τάδ' ἐπιχαρῆ. Malim igitur, ὡς μήποτε θεὸς Μηδεὶς ἄλλος. Ultimo versu nonnulli libri ἐπιγεγήθῃ, ἐπιγεγήθει, et ἐπεγεγήθει. Scribendum sine praepositione, τοῖσδ' ἐγεγήθει. Eurip. Hec. 279. Ταύτῃ γέγηθα, κἀπιλήθομαι κακῶν. Aristoph. Vesp. 612. Τούτοισιν ἐγὼ γάνυμαι. Adde quod γέγηθα passim legitur apud Tragicos, γηθῶ vero nusquam, quod sciam, nisi apud Nostrum Choëph. 770. Ἄνωχθ' ὅσον τάχιστα γαθοῦσῃ φρενί.

Ver. 157. Νῦν δ' αἰθέριον κίνυγμ' ὁ τάλας Ἐχθροῖς ἐπίχαρτα πέπονθα. Pars codicum, nominatim quatuor e quinque Regiis apud Vauvillerium, κίνυγμα ὁ τάλας. Unde repono, κινυγμα τάλας, deleto articulo, qui rectius abest. Vide hujus fabulae v. 108. 468.

Ver. 163. Θέμενος ἀγναμπτον νόον. Metri gratia τιθέμενος conjecit Pauwius. Cui assentior. Nam longe melius dicitur ἀεὶ τιθέμενος quam ἀεὶ θέμενος. Ἀεὶ cum participio aoristi raro conjungitur.

Ver. 182. Δέδια † γὰρ ἀμφὶ σαῖς τύχαις. Δέδια δ' pro δέδια γὰρ post Burneium B. ex ipsius Porsoni emendatione. Sed fortasse nihil mutandum. Vide ad v. 163.

Ver. 208. Ὡίοντ' ἀμοχθεῖ πρὸς βίαν τε δεσπόσειν. Ἀμοχθὶ B. Quam scripturam in plerisque hujus formae adverbiis adhibendam censet, ego vero in omnibus. Exemplis ab eo citatis adde Archilochum, apud Apollonium ad calcem Maittairii de Dialectis p. 435. Ἀμισθὶ γάρ σε πάμπαν οὐ διδάξομεν. Vulgo διἀξομεν. Soph. Œd. Col. 1251. Ἄστακτι λειβῶν δάκρυον ὧδ' ὀδιπορεῖ.

Ver. 234. Καὶ τοῖσιν, οὐδεὶς ἀντέβαινε πλὴν ἐμοῦ. Imo, καὶ τοισίδ'. Passim permutantur τοῖσιν et τοισίδ'. Eurip. Med. 1294. Ἆρ' ἐν δόμοισιν, ἢ τὰ δεῖν' εἰργασμένη Μήδεια τοισίδ', ἢ μεθέστηκεν φυγῇ; ubi τοῖσιν habent Lascaris et Aldus, τοῖσδε γ' codd. ut videtur, meliores. Idem Heracl. 146. Ἐν τοισιδ' αὐτοῖς τοῖσιν ἔσταμεν λόγοις. Scribendum, ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖς τοισιδ', ut apud Soph. Ant. 1076. Ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖς τοῖσδε ληφθῆναι κακοῖς.

Ver. 239. Θνητοὺς δ' ἐν οἴκτῳ προθέμενος, τούτου τυχεῖν Οὐκ ἠξιώθην αὐτὸς, ἀλλ' ἀνηλεῶς Ὧδ' ἐρρύθισμαι, Ζηνὶ δυσκλεὴς θέα. Ad haec B. Ἐν οἴκτῳ προθέμενος. Misertus. *Neque hanc neque similem phrasin alibi videsse memini.* Non valde dissimilia habet Eurip. Hec. 806. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐν αἰσχρῷ θέμενος, αἰδέσθητί με. Conferendum etiam Tyrtaeanum illud, Οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείην. Ubi τιθείμην ex Platone reponunt nonnulli, licet activam formam exemplis confirmarit Klotzius p. 68. retinueritque Porsonus ad Med. 542. Deinde pro ἀλλ' ἀνηλεῶς, scribendum ἀλλὰ νηλεῶς. Ita Noster Choëph. 240. Καὶ τῆς τυθείσης νηλεῶς ὁμοσπόρου. Simili vitio laborant libri vulgati in Agam. 133. ubi pro μοῖρ' ἀλαπάξει legerim μοῖρα λαπάξει. Sed nescio an pro νηλεῶς scribendum νηλέως retracto accentu. Ionicae formae, sunt ἐλεεινὸς, ἐλεήμων, νηλεὴς, Atticae ἐλεινὸς, ἐλήμων, νηλής. Noster supra 42. Ἀεί γε δὴ νηλὴς σὺ καὶ θράσους πλέως. Eurip. Cycl. 368. Νηλὴς ὁ τλάμων. Apud Soph. Œd. Tyr. 180. plurale νηλέα dactylus est. Vulgo quidem legitur apud eundem Ant. 1197. Πεδίον ἐπ' ἄκρον, ἔνθ' ἔκειτο νηλεὲς Κυνοσπάραχτον σῶμα Πολυνείκους ἔτι. Sed suspicor Tragicum scripsisse νηλέως.

Ver. 261. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν Μεθῶμεν, ἄθλων δ' ἔκλυσιν ζήτει τινά. Ἄθλων omnes editores ante B. praeter Aldum, qui ἄθλον (sic) habet. Ἄθλου ex multis codd. reposuit B. Sed respexisse videntur librarii ad v. 257. Οὐδ' ἔστιν ἄθλου τέρμα σοι προκείμενον. Ἄθλων igitur retineo. Infra 751. Ἦ δυσπετῶς ἂν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄθλους φέροις.

Ver. 263. Ἐλαφρὸν, ὅστις πημάτων ἔξω πόδα Ἔχει, παραινεῖν, νουθετεῖν τε † τοὺς κακῶς Πράσσοντας. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦθ' ἅπαντ' ἠπιστάμην. Ἑκὼν ἑκὼν ἥμαρτον, οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι. Πημάτων omnes libri, quod mutare nolim. Πραγμάτων tamen habet Eurip. Heracl. 110. Καλὸν δέ γ' ἔξω πραγμάτων ἔχειν πόδα, Εὐβουλίας τυχόντα τῆς ἀμείνονος. Apud Nostrum infra 970. fluctuant libri inter πήμασι et πράγμασι. Ne maneret anapaestus in tertio versu, τὸν κακῶς Πράσσοντ' ex emendatione Stanleii Heathiique recepit B. Neque adversari videtur Porsonus. Malim tamen, deleto pronomine, εἶ δὲ ταῦθ' ἅπαντ' ἠπιστάμην. Quae scriptura etiam sententiae melius convenit. Quis enim nescit quoties εὖ, καλῶς, σάφα, σαφῶς, et similia, verbis ejus significationis, cujus est ἐπίσταμαι, praefigantur?

Ver. 268. Οὐ μήν τι ποιναῖς γ' ὠόμην τοιαῖσι με Κατισχνανεῖσθαι πρὸς πέτραις πεδαρσίοις, Τυχόντ' ἐρήμου τοῦδ' ἀγειτονος πάγου. Haec verba plus una menda laborare videntur. Haud facile crediderim Tragicum τοιαῖσι dicturum fuisse, cum eadem opera scribere posset τοιαῖσδε. De hac re plura vide ad v. 906. Deinde με prorsus supervacaneum est, et pro τυχόντ' malim τυχών. Ita Aristoph. Plut. 114. Οἰμαι γὰρ, οἰμαι, ξὺν Διῒ δ' εἰρήσεται, Ταύτης ἀπαλλάξειν σε τῆς ὀφθαλμίας, Βλέψαι ποιήσας. Hinc apud nostrum τοιαισίδε et τυχὼν repono. Erunt etiam qui malint, πρὸς πέτραις πεδάρσιος. Sed vulgatam satis defendit similis locutio, πρὸς πέτραις ὑψηλοκρήμνοις v. 4.

Ver. 272. Πεδοί δὲ βᾶσαι. Sic libri omnes, quibuscum consentit Eustathius p. 153. 34. monente B. Cum vero hoc adverbium a nemine veterum agnoscatur, scribendum puto πεδᾷ, quod eodem sensu passim occurrit. Vide nostrum Prom. 748. Theb. 434. Eum. 263. 482. 656. Soph. El. 747. Eurip. Or. 1433. 1440. Idem valet πρὸς πεδᾷ.

Ver. 274. Πείθεσθέ μοι, πείθεσθε, συμπονήσατε Τῷ νῦν μογοῦντι. v. 1038. Πείθου. σόφῳ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἐξαμαρτάνειν. Ubicunque apud Tragicos per metrum fieri possit, auctor sim ut pro πείθου et πείθεσθε rescribatur πιθοῦ et πίθεσθε. Hanc formam apud nostrum priore loco probabiliorem reddit alter imperativus συμπονήσατε. Neque quidquam in hac re librorum auctoritati tribuendum. Infra 333. εὐπειθὴς habet Aldus in fine senarii. V. 562. πειθων pro πιθὼν, ex cod. Mediceo enotatum video.

Ver. 282. Χθονὶ τῇδε πελῶ. Verbum πελῶ in Glossario praetermisit B. Male *accedo* vertit Stanleius. Futurum est a πελάζω, ut βιῶ a βιάζω. Legitur apud Soph. Œd. Col. 1060. Phil. 1150. El. 497. Alteram formam πελάσω praetulit Euripides. Vide Or. 1684. Iph. Taur. 886. Hel. 361. El. 1332.

Ver. 325. Καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν εἶμι, καὶ πειράσομαι, Ἐὰν δύνωμαι, τῶνδέ σ' ἐκλῦσαι πόνων. Distinctionem post δύνωμαι delevit B. Sed vereor ut Graecum sit, πειράσομαι ἐὰν δύνωμαι, quamvis recte apud nostrates dicatur, *I will try if I am able.*

Ver. 337. Ὁρμώμενον δὲ μηδαμῶς ἀντισπάσῃς. Μηδαμῶς μ' ἀντισπάσῃς B. ex utroque cod. Cantabrigiensi.

Ver. 347. Οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεί με καὶ κασιγνήτου τύχαι Τείρουσ' Ἄτλαντος. Malim καὶ κασιγνήτου. Articulum ex ingenio, ut videtur, invexit Porsonus. Caeterum male *fratris tui* Stanleius. Tota enim haec ῥῆσις, quae vulgo Oceano tribuitur, manifesto Prometheo continuanda est.

Ver. 353. Ἑκατογκάρηνον πρὸς βίαν χειρούμενον Τυφῶνα θοὺρον, πᾶσιν ὃς ἀντέστη θεοῖς. Ἑκατογκάρανον B. quod verum videtur. Scripti libri ἑκατοντακάρηνον habent. Altero versu ὅστις pro πᾶσιν ὃς repraesentat, ex emendatione Gaisfordii, quam probavit Porsonus. Nonnulli libri, saltem regius 2782. apud Vauvillerium et Baroccianus apud Stanleium, ὃς πᾶσιν exhibent. Quae scriptura propius ad Gaisfordianam accedit. Nam πᾶς pro τις positum alicubi vidisse memini. Deinde multa scriptorum loca e schedis Porsoni indicat B. in quae πᾶς perperam a librariis invectum sit. Quamquam fatendum est, nonnihil de vi sententiae ablatum iri, si a nostro loco ejiciatur. Emendat Elm-

sleius ad Aristoph. Ach. 1082. Τυφὼν, ἅπασιν ὅστις ἀντέστη θεοῖς. Sed recte monet B. vocem θοῦρον pro librariorum additamento vix haberi posse. Minoris sunt ponderis quae ad Elmsleii de accusativo Τυφῶνα monitum respondet B. Apud Eurip. Herc. 1272. unde τριτωμάτους Τυφῶνας attulit B. Γηρυόνας legendum conjecerat Elmsleius, cujus sententiae favet Noster Agam. 879. Τρισώματος τὰν Γηρυὼν ὁ δεύτερος. Neque enim tribus corporibus, sed centum capitibus instructus erat Typhon. Vide, si tanti est, interpretes, praecipue Lacerdam, ad Virgilianum illud, *Et forma tricorporis umbrae*, Æn. VI. 289.

Ver. 369. Τῆς καλλικάρπου Σικελίας † λευρὰς γύας. Malim cum Robortello, λευροὺς γύας. Soph. Œd. Col. 58. οἱ δὲ πλησίον γύαι. Eurip. Heracl. 839. τὸν Ἀργείαν γύην.

Ver. 384. Ἔα με † τήνδε τὴν νόσον νοσεῖν. Aldinam scripturam τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ revocavit B. Consentiunt cod. Mediceus aliique nonnulli. Similem diversitatem in Æliani fragmento apud Suidam e Porsoni schedis enotavit B. Longe frequentior apud Tragicos est accusativi usus, atque ideo tutior videtur Porsoni scriptura, quam primus repraesentavit Turnebus. Nec tamen alteram abjudicare ausim.

Ver. 404. Ὑπερφάνων θεοῖσι τοῖσι πάρος δεικνυσιν αἰχμάν. V. 413. Μεγαλοστόνοισι σοῖσι Πήμασι συγκάμνουσι θνητοί. Haec ad Heathii mentem constituit Porsonus. Pleraeque edd. τοῖς πάρος θεοῖς δεικνυσιν habent. Melior est Robortelli scriptura, θεοῖς τοῖς πάρος δεικνυσιν, quam repraesentant omnes fere codd. nisi quod inter δεικνυσιν, δεικνύει, ἐνδείκνυσιν et ἐνδεικνύει fluctuant. Θεοῖς τοῖς πάρος ἐνδείκνυσιν dedit B. et in antistropho σοῖς revocavit, quod habent plerique codd. et edd. Verbum compositum ἐνδεικνυμι legitur apud Soph. Œd. Col. 48. Eurip. Alc. 152. Bacch. 47.

Ver. 416. Παρθένοι, μάχας ἄτρεστοι. Μάχαις multi libri et Schol. Recepit B. laudato Soph. Aj. 365. Τὸν ἐν δαΐκτοις ἄτρεστον μάχαις. Mihi quidem magis arridet vulgata, modo μάχας pro secundo casu accipiatur.

Ver. 420. Ἄραβίας τ' ἄρειον ἄνθος, Ὑψίκρημνόν θ' οἱ πόλισμα Καυκάσου πέλας νέμονται, Δαΐος στράτος, ὀξυπρώροισι βρέμων ἐν αἰχμαῖς. Cum tota Chori oratio in maris Euxini accolis recensendis versetur, jure mirantur interpretes, unde haec Arabiae mentio. Nonnulli ad emendationem confugiunt, quorum conjecturas memorare supersedeo. Magis placet Butleri sententia, qui ostendere conatur, nomen Arabiae latius olim quam vulgo creditur patuisse. Sed nolim hanc quaestionem nimis curiose tractare. Nam verisimile est Æschylum Geographiae nihilo peritiorem fuisse Tragico nostrate, qui oram Bohemiae maritimam memorat. Unum moneo, delendam esse copulam post ὑψικρημνον, quae metro simul et sententiae nonnihil obest. Nemo, opinor, de hac emendatione dubitabit, qui integrum Poëtae locum adibit, unde superiora desumta sunt.

Ver. 425. Μόνον δὴ πρόσθεν ἄλλον ἐν πόνοις Δαμέντ' ἀκμαντοδέτοις Τιτᾶνα λύμαις εἰσιδόμαν θεῶν Ἄτλανθ', ὃς αἰὲν ὑπείροχον σθένος Κραταιὸν οὐράνιόν τε πόλον Νώτοις ὑτόβαστάζει. Ἐν πόνοισιν B. post Burneium. Mox ἀδαμαντοδέτοις ex emendatione Stanleii, uno cod. consentiente. Citat v. 143. Ταισὸ' ἀδαμαντοδέτοισι λύμαις. Deinde ὑπείροχον post Herman-

num et Burneium. Postremo νώτοις ὑποστενάζει cum codd. tantum non omnibus. Ceterum haec et sequentia in strophen et antistrophen distribuere conatus est Hermannus. Cui quidem hactenus assentior, ut credam revera antistrophica esse. Scripturam ab eo propositam parum sanus sit qui probet.

Ver. 448. Τὸν μακρὸν χρόνον Ἔφυρον εἰκῇ πάντα, κοὔτι πλινθυφεῖς Δόμους προσείλους ἦσαν, οὐ ξυλουργίαν· Κατώρυχες δ' ἔναιον. Omnes fere codices τὸν μακρὸν βίον, quod nescio an praeferendum vulgatae scripturae. Eodem fere sensu verba τὸν μακρὸν βίον usurpat noster infra 536. Ἠδύ τι θαρσαλέαις Τὸν μακρὸν τεινειν βίον ἐλπισι. Deinde κοὔτι πλινθυφεῖς ex ipsius Porsoni emendatione est, nam κοὔτε habent omnes libri. Cui scripturae quid objici possit non video, cum simillima passim legantur. Ita Soph. Œd. Col. 972. Ὃς οὔτε βλάστας πω γενεθλίους πατρὸς, Οὐ μητρὸς εἶχον, ἀλλ' ἀγέννητος τότ' ἦ. Ubi οὔτι contra omnes libros dedit Brunckius. Idem Ant. 249. Οὐκ οἶδ'. ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὔτε του γενηδος ἦν Πλήγμ', οὐ δικέλλης ἐκβολὴ· στυφλὸς δὲ γῆ Καὶ χέρσος, ἀρρᾴξ οὐδ' ἐπημαξευμένη Τροχοῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἄσημος οὐργάτης τις ἦν. Ita distinguendum. Eurip. Or. 41. Ὧν οὔτε σῖτα διὰ δέρης ἐδέξατο, Οὐ λούτρ' ἔδωκε χρωτί, χλανιδίων δ' ἔτω Κρυφθείς, ὅταν ιὲν σῶμα κουφισθῇ νόσου, Ἐμφρων δακρύει. Et mox 46. Ἔδοξε δ' Ἄργει τῷδε μηθ' ἡμᾶς στέγαις, Μὴ πυρὶ δεχεσθαι, μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινα Μητροκτονοῦντας. Ubi fortasse legendum, μηδὲ προσφωνεῖν, licet receptae favere videatur noster Choëph. 289. καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις οὔτε κρατῆρος μέρος Εἶναι μετασχεῖν, οὐ φιλοσπόνδου λιβὰς, Βωμῶν τ' ἀπείργειν οὐχ ὁσωμένην πατρὸς Μήνιν· δέχεσθαι δ' οὔτε συλλύειν τινά. Ita fere legendus videtur iste locus, nisi quod malim, βωμῶν δ' ἀπείργειν. Superioribus adde Eurip. Or. 1086. Μήθ' αἱμά μοι δέξαιτο κάρπιμον πέδον, Μὴ λαμπρὸς αἰθὴρ, εἴ σ' ἐγὼ προδοὺς ποτε, Ἐλευθερώσας τοὐμὸν, ἀπολιτοιμί σε. Med. 1348. Ὃς οὔτε λέκτρων νεογάμων ὠνήσομαι, Οὐ παῖδας, οὓς ἔφυσα κἀξεθρεψάμην, Ἔξω προσειπεῖν ζῶντας, ἀλλ' ἀπώλεσα. Nusquam autem, si bene memini, post οὐδὲ aut μηδὲ legitur οὐ aut μή. Vide ad v. 477.

Ver. 460. Μνημην δ' ἁπάντων μουσομήτορ' † ἐργάτιν. Ἐργάτιν omnes codd. hodierni, sed ἐργάνην Stobaeus LXXIX. p. 468. Gesn. LXXXI. p. 341. Grot. quod post Brunckium recepit B. Hesychius: Ἐργάνη, ὡς δαπάνη. ἐργασια, ἐργατικὴ, δορυτέχνησις, ἐργάτις. παρὰ δὲ Σαμίοις ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἔλεως (sic cod.) Ἐργαστίναι. αἱ τὸν πέπλον ὑφαίνουσαι. Posteriora ita refingo: Παρὰ δὲ Σαμιοις ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἔ. λε. (ἐργάνη λέγεται), ὡς ἐργαστικη. καὶ ἐργάναι, αἱ τὸν πέπλον ὑφαίνουσαι. Ceterum apud B. in Notis pro *Lycamben* scribendum *Neobulen.*

Ver. 475. Τὰ λοιπά μου κλύουσα, θαυμάσει πλέον Οἵας τέχνας τε καὶ δόλους ἐμητάμην. Multi codd. μοι pro μου, quod non temere rejiciendum esse monuit Vauvillerius. Deinde interpungendum post πλέον, ut ordo sit, κλυοῦσα οἵας τεχνας. Malim etiam οἵας τεχνας γε, ut in Theb. 638. Λέξω τὸν αὐτοῦ σοῦ κατιγνητον, πόλει Οἵας γ' ἀρᾶται καὶ κατεύχεται τύχας. Πορους vero pro δολους praebant Robortellus aliique multi, quos merito secutus est B.

Ver. 477. Τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, εἴτις εἰς νόσον πέσοι, Οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξημ' οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ βρώσιμον, Οὐ χριστὸν, οὐδὲ πιστὸν, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων Χρεία κατεσκέλλοντο, πρὶν † ἐγὼ σφίσιν Ἔδειξα κράσεις ἡπίων ἀκεσμάτων, Αις τὰς ἁπάσας † ἐξανύνονται νόσους. Magnas inter interpretes controversias excitavit vox

πιστόν. Plerique a πίνω derivant, ut sit *poculentum*, quod Graecis est πότιμον. Alii παστὸν conjiciunt ex Theocriteo illo, οὐδ' ἔγχριστον, ἐμὶν δοκεῖ, οὐδ' ἐπίπαστον. Sed utraque interpretatio postulare videtur ut pro οὐ χριστὸν rescribatur οὐδὲ χριστὸν, quod per metrum non licet. Equidem duo tantum medicaminum genera hic recenseri puto, interna scilicet et externa. Illa βρώσιμα, haec χριστὰ vocat Poëta. Quod si verum est, scribendum e nonnullis libris, οὔτε βρώσιμον, Οὐ χριστὸν, de qua constructione satis dixi ad v. 448. Verba autem οὐδὲ πιστὸν ita fere interpretanda puto: *Neque certa spes salutis.* Πιστὸν Αἶδαν, *certum exitium* dixit Eurip. Bacch. 1155. Fateor interpretationem jam memoratam non eam esse quae ex omni parte mihi placeat. Vulgata tamen prorsus absurda est. Versu sequente nonnulli libri πρίν γ' ἐγὼ, quod recepit B. Deinde ἐξαμείβονται Aldus et pars codicum. Nescio an rectius.

Ver. 487. Γαμψωνύχων τε πτῆσιν οἰωνῶν σκεθρῶς Διώρισ', οἵ τινές τε δεξιοὶ φύσιν, Εὐώνυμοί τε, καὶ δίαιταν ἥντινα Ἔχουσ' ἕκαστοι, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τίνες Ἐχθροί τε καὶ στέργηθρα καὶ συνεδρίαι. Malim, οἵτινές γε δεξιοὶ φύσιν, Εὐωνύμους τε. Εὐωνύμους habent plerique libri. Altera scriptura praeter necessitatem a correctore invecta est. Manifesto repetendum διώρισα a superioribus. Deinde nescio an magis Atticum esset, ἔχουσ' ἕκαστος. Aristoph. Ran. 1379. Καὶ λαβομένω, τὸ ῥῆμ' ἑκάτερος εἴπατον. Ibid. 1422. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου τιν' ἔχετον Γνώμην ἑκάτερος; Plut. 784. Νύττουσι γὰρ, καὶ φλῶσι τἀντικήμια, Ἐνδεικνύμενοι ἕκαστος εὐνοιάν τινα. Eupolis apud Pollucem X. 161. Οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐνθάδ' ἐν τρισὶν καλιδίοις Οἴκημ' ἔχων ἕκαστος. Aliter Noster Pers. 135. Περσίδες δ' ἀκροπενθεῖς, Ἑκάστα πόθῳ φιλάνορι Τὸν αἰχμάεντα Ξοῦρον Εὐνάτᾳ ἀποπεμψαμένα, Λείπεται μονόζυξ. Mox apud Nostrum πρὸς ἀλλήλους tacite dedit Pauwius, operarum, opinor, vitio. Quae quidem scriptura Vauvillerio fraudi fecit, qui eam scrio refellit. Ita quoque legendum conjecit Wakefieldius, quem latuisse videtur emendationem suam a typographo Batavo jam occupatam esse. Ultimo versu recte B. ξυνεδρίαι, et infra 865. κτεῖναι ξύνευνον pro κτεῖναι σύνευνον.

Ver. 503. Οὐδεὶς, σάφ' † οἶδα, μὴ μάτην φλῦσαι θέλων. Codd. quidam σάφ' οἶδ', εἰ μὴ habent. Sed rectius abest εἰ. Quid significet Porsoni obelus, adhuc incertum est.

Ver. 519. Τοῦτ' οὐκ ἂν οὖν πύθοιο, μηδὲ λιπάρει. Τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔτ' ἂν πύθοιο tres codd. quos post Brunckium secutus est B. Malim, si consentirent libri: Τοῦτ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐκπύθοιο, μήτε λιπάρει.

Ver. 544. Ζῆνα γὰρ οὐ τρομέων Ἰδιᾳ γνώμῃ σέβει Θνατοὺς ἄγαν, Προμηθεῦ. Ἐν ἰδίᾳ γνώμᾳ B. Praepositionem metri gratia addidit Burneius.

Ver. 550. Ὀλιγοδρανίην. Recte ὀλιγεδρανίαν B. et mox 565. ἁπλακίας pro ἁπλακίης. Infra tamen 592. Ἰναχείης retinuit, ubi veram scripturam Ἰναχείας, exhibet cod. Mediceus.

Ver. 565. Τινος ἁπλακίης † Ποιναῖς ὀλέκει; Fluctuant codd. inter ποιναῖς, ποινὰς, ποινᾶς et ποινῆς. Tantum non omnes passivum ὀλέκῃ habent. Stephani emendationem, ποινά σ' ὀλέκει, recepit B. Sed per totam fere fabulam ποινὰς, πημονὰς, πήματα, πόνους et similia plurali numero usurpat Poëta. Nec quidquam in vulgata scriptura inest quod reprehendi possit.

Ver. 569. Χρέϊ τις αὖ με τάλαιναν οἴστρος. Repone, με τὰν τάλαιναν, ut versus sit senarius syllaba minor. Articulus, quem agnoscunt codd. nonnulli, e plerisque expulit similitudo literarum TAN et TAΛ. Mansit tamen infra 574. Ἀλλά με τὰν τάλαιναν ἐξ ἑνέρων περᾶν κ. τ. ἑ.

Ver. 576. Ὑπὸ δὲ κηρόπλαστος ὀτοβεῖ δόναξ. Haec verba strophen inchoant, antistrophum vero v. 596. Πόθεν ἐμοῦ σὺ πατρὸς ὄνομ' ἀπύεις; Quod nemini, quantum scio, adhuc animadversum est. Nihil est in antistropho quod superioribus versibus 568—575 respondeat. Quo minus autem quidquam excidisse putes, obstant quatuor senarii 591—594. qui cum initio antistrophi arctissime cohaerent. Ceterum de versuum divisione judicium meum non interpono.

Ver. 577. Ἰὼ ἰώ, ποῖ ποῖ, Πῶ πῶ· πῇ μ' ἀγουσι τηλέπλαγκτοι † πλάνοι. Haec e multis codd. ita constituit B. Ἰώ, ἰώ, πόποι, πόποι, Πῇ μ' ἄγουσι τηλέπλαγκτοι πλάναι. Ut strophe cum antistropho conveniat, repone: Ἰώ, ἰὼ πόποι. Ὦ πόποι, πᾷ μ' ἀγουσι τηλέπλανοι πλάναι. His respondent: Τίς ἆρα μ', ὦ τάλας, Τὰν ταλαίπωρον ὧδ' ἐτήτυμα προσθροεῖς;

Ver. 579. Τί ποτέ μ', ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ, τί ποτε, Τί ποτε ταῖσδ'. Secundum τί ποτε post Brunckium bene delevit B.

Ver. 584. Πυρὶ φλέξον, ἢ χθονὶ κάλυψον, ἢ Ποντίοις δάκεσι δὸς βορᾶν. Scribendum puto, πυρί με φλέξον. Mox male B. ποντίοισιν.

Ver. 587. Ἄδην με πολύπλαγκτοι πλάναι Γεγυμνάκασιν. Veterem scripturam ἄδδην frustra defendere conatur Butlerus Epist. p. 30. Attici enim β et δ nunquam geminant. Deinde metri gratia restituenda Aldina scriptura πολύπλανοι πλάναι, qua etiam de causa supra 578. τηλέπλανοι πλάναι dedimus. Similia sunt σὺν δίκῃ δικαίᾳ apud Soph. Ant. 23. κλέος εὐκλεέστερον ibid. 502. πόδα τυφλόπουν apud Eurip. Phoen. 1543. et alia passim. Denique repone γεγυμνάκασ' cum elisione.

Ver. 590. Κλύεις πρόσφθεγμα τᾶς † βουκέρω παρθένου; Haec puellae continuanda sunt, nisi antistrophica, Θρόει, φράζε τᾷ δυσπλάνῳ παρθένῳ, Choro tribuere mavis. Recte autem φθέγμα pro πρόσφθεγμα Robortellus, non improbante B. Quid velit Porsoni obelus ante βουκέρω, equidem conjicere nequeo.

Ver. 597. Τὰν ταλαίπωρον ὧδ' ἔτυμα προσθροεῖς; Repone ἐτήτυμα cum Butlero e tribus codd. Eadem scripturae diversitas supra 293.

Ver. 598. Θεόσυτον δὲ νόσον ὠνόμασας. Scribendum cum Butlero θεόσυτόν τε, minima distinctione post προσθροεῖς adhibita. Δὲ pro τε primus invexit Turnebus.

Ver. 600. Κέντροισι φοιταλέοισιν. Male B. κέντροις. Ceterum suspicione laborat φοιταλέοισιν secunda producta.

Ver. 602. Λαῷροσσυτος ἦλθον, Ἐπικότοισι μήδεσιν δαμεῖσα. Scribendum λαῳρόσυτος. Post ἦλθον vero deesse videtur vox dissyllaba, cui respondeat τειρεις v. 583. Deinde male Porsonus ἐπικότοισι μήδεσιν. Pejor apud B. scriptura, ἐπικότοισιν μήδεσιν. Recte ἐπικότοισι μήδεσι omnes ante Porsonum.

Ver. 605. Ἀλλά μοι τορῶς Τέκμηρον ὅτι μ' ἐπαμμένει Παθεῖν, τί † μὴ χρή· τί φάρμακον νόσου, Δεῖξον, εἴπερ οἶσθα. Nonnulli libri τί με χρὴ habent, quod metro adversatur. Alii τί μοι χρή. Utraque scriptura librariorum emendaturientium ingenio tribuenda videtur. Post παθεῖν

plene distinguendum est. Deinde conjicio Tragicum scripsisse: *Τί μῆχαρ, τι φάρμακον νόσου, δεῖξον, εἴπερ οἶσθα.* Μῆχαρ autem et μῆχος forma magis quam significatione inter se differunt. Μῆχαρ apud Nostrum legitur Agam. 207. Suppl. 399. 602. μῆχος Agam. 2. et apud Eurip. Androm. 537. Utrumque non male per ἀπαλλαγὴ explicari potest, quo sensu saepe occurrit cognata vox μηχανὴ, ut, μηχανὴ κακῶν.

Ver. 630. *Μή μου προκήδου μᾶσσον † ὡς ἐμοὶ γλυκύ.* Μᾶσσον ἢ ὡς ἐμοὶ Turnebus pro var. lect. non improbante, ut videtur, Porsono. Μᾶσσον ἢ κἄμοι anonymus apud B. Malim, μασσόνως ἢ 'μοὶ γλυκύ. Ita fere Soph. Œd. Col. 104. *Εἰ μὴ δοκῶ τι μειόνως ἔχειν.* Eurip. Hec. 1121. *οὐκ ἀπωλέσ', ἀλλὰ μειζόνως.* Incertus Rhes. 849. *οἱ δὲ μειζόνως Παθόντες, οὐχ ὁρῶσιν ἡλίου Φάος.*

Ver. 638. *Ὡς τἀποκλαῦσαι κἀποδύρεσθαι τύχας.* Κἀποδύρασθαι post multos codices et Brunckium B. Quae scriptura etiam sine codicum auctoritate reponenda erat.

Ver. 646. *Ἀεὶ γὰρ ὄψεις ἔννυχοι πολεύμεναι.* Πωλεύμεναι cod. Ranconeti, quod Homericum est, Πολούμεναι ex uno cod. dedit B. Vide Eurip. Or. 1269. Alc. 30. Aristoph. Av. 181. ab eo allegatos.

Ver. 648. *Ὦ μέγ' εὐδαιμων κόρη.* Εὐδαίμων unus cod. cum ed. Robortelli, unde εὔδαιμον dedit B. Verum cum Attici promiscue ὦ τλήμων et ὦ τλῆμον dixerint, nolim vulgatam scripturam contra omnes fere codices mutare. Imo, si utraque lectio pari auctoritate niteretur, vulgatam, ut paullo exquisitiorem, praeferrem.

Ver. 659. *Ὁ δ' ἔς τε Πυθὼ κἀπὶ Δωδώνην πυκνοὺς Θεοπρόπους ἴαλλεν.* Melior est altera scriptura, *κάπι Δωδωνης*, quam repraesentant multi scripti et impressi. Ita Eurip. El. 1343. *Στείχ' ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν.* Ubi consulendus Barnesius.

Ver. 662. *Ἦκον δ' ἀναγγέλλοντες αἰολοστόμους Χρησμοὺς, ἀσήμως δυσκρίτως τ' εἰρημένους.* Malim ἀπαγγέλλοντες. Altero versu ἀσήμους nonnulli codd. et Robortellus. Recepit B.

Ver. 668. *Κεἰ μὴ θέλοι, πυρωπὸν ἐκ Διὸς μολεῖν Κεραυνὸν, ὃς πᾶν ἐξαϊστώσει γένος.* Haec pendent a superioribus βαξις ἦλθε. Quod cum ita sit, parum video quomodo sententiae conveniat μολεῖν, quod non *venturum esse*, sed *venisse* significet. Reponendum igitur puto, *πυρωπὸν ἂν Διὸς μολεῖν Κεραυνὸν.* Quam mutationem vel ex hac fabula stabilire possum. Nam v. 618. ubi recte edidit Porsonus, *πᾶν γὰρ ἂν πυθοίμου*, Turnebus et sequentium plerique *πᾶν γὰρ ἐκπύθοιό μου* repraesentarant. Alterum exemplum praebet Noster Pers. 450. *Ἐνταῦθα πέμπει τοῦδ', ὅπως, ὅταν νεῶν Φθαρέντες ἐχθροὶ νῆσον ἐκσωζοιατο, Κτείνοιεν (κτεινειαν Pors.) εὐχειρότον Ἑλλήνων στρατόν.* Ubi ὅταν ante optativum ἐκσωζοιατο soloecum est. Scribendum igitur, ὅτ' ἐκ νεῶν. Constructio autem ἂν μολειν pro futuro μολεισθαι occurrit apud Soph. Œd. Tyr. 305. *Φοίβος γὰρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ κλύεις τῶν ἀγγέλων, Πεμψασιν ἡμῖν ἀντέπεμψεν, ἔκλυσιν Μόνην ἂν ἐλθεῖν τοῦδε τοῦ νοσήματος, Εἰ τοὺς κτανόντας Λάϊον, μαθόντες εὖ, Κτείναιμεν, ἢ γῆς φυγάδας ἐκπέμψαιμεθα.* Denique longe melius dicitur Διὸς κεραυνὸν quam ἐκ Διὸς κεραυνον. Noster supra 372. *Καιπερ κεραυνῷ Ζηνὸς ἠνθρακωμένος.* Sic Διος κεραυνὸς apud Soph. Œd. Col. 1502. *πυρφόρος θεοῦ κεραυνὸς*, ibid. 1658. *κεραυνοι Διὸς* El. 823. et alia passim.

Ver. 677. Ἥσσον πρὸς εὔποτόν τε Κερχνείας ῥέος, Λέρνης † ἄκρην τε. Pars codicum Κεγχρείας, sed altera scriptura fortasse τραγικωτέρα est. Vide omnino quid de κεγχρώμασιν et κερχνώμασιν dixerit Valckenarius ad Phoen. 1397. a B. ad nostrum locum allegatus. Obiter emendandus Erotianus in Κερχνώδη: Καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς Κερχνώδη ἀγγεῖα λέγεται, τὰ τραχεῖα ἀνωμαλίας ἔχοντα. ὡς καὶ Σοφοκλῆς περὶ τῆς ἀποταυρουμένης φησὶν, Ἰχθὺς τραχὺς ᾧ χελώνης κέρχνος ἐξανίσταται. Scribo: Ὡς καὶ Σοφοκλῆς περὶ τῆς ἀποταυρουμένης φησιν Ἰοῦς, Τραχὺς χελώνης κερχνος ἐξανίσταται. Qui senarius manifesto ex satyrica fabula desumtus est, atque adeo ex Inacho, quam satyricam fuisse post Hemsterhusium Toupiumque monuit Brunckius. Deinde apud Nostrum Λέρνης, ἄκρον τε habent Aldus et Robortellus, sed ακρην omnes fere codd. Λέρνης τε κρήνην ex emendatione Canteri recepit B. appositis Scholiastae verbis: Καὶ πρὸς τὴν Λέρνην τὴν πηγήν. Citat etiam Λερναῖα νάματα et Λέρνης ὕδωρ ex Eurip. Phoen. 127. 616.

Ver. 681. Ἀπροσδόκητος δ' αὐτὸν αἰφνίδιος μόρος Τοῦ ζῆν ἀπεστέρησεν. Nihil mutant libri, praeter cod. Selden. qui pro αἰφνίδιος ἐξαίφνης habet, monente Gaisfordio ad Hephaest. p. 243. Quam quidem scripturam e glossemate ortam puto. licet aliter sentiat Gaisfordius, a cujus sententia invitus discedo. Ἀπροσδόκητος δ' αἰφνιδιος αὐτὸν μόρος dedit B. e schedis Porsonianis. Equidem nullus dubito quin ἀφνίδιος scribendum sit, vulgato vocabulorum ordine servato. Hanc formam agnoscit Hesychius: Ἀφνιδία. αἰφνιδίως, αφνω. Favet etiam analogia. Ut enim ex ἀεί, μάψ, et ῥέα formantur ἀΐδιος, μαψιδιος et ῥᾳδίδιος, ita ex ἄφνω fit ἀφνίδιος, quod nescio an nusquam hodie occurrat, praeterquam apud Hesychium. Communem scripturam, praeter Nostrum hoc loco, habet Aristoph. Thesm. 127. ubi metrum incertum est.

Ver. 693. Ἰὼ ἰώ, μοῖρα, μοῖρα, Πέφρικ', εἰσιδοῦσα πρᾶξιν Ἰοῦς. Male meo quidem judicio, alterum μοῖρα delevit B. Geminant omnes libri praeter ed. Robortelli. Mox malim cum quibusdam libris, ἐσιδοῦσα.

Ver. 699. Τὴν πρίν γε χρείαν ἠνύσασθ' ἐμοῦ πάρα. Ἠνύσασθ' recte B. mutato spiritu.

Ver. 704. Σὺ δ', Ἰνάχειον σπέρμα, τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους Θυμῷ βάλ', ὡς ἂν τέρματ' ἐκμάθῃς ὁδοῦ. Σύ τ' B. e multis libris et Stephano Byzantino. Recte, ni fallor. Deinde τέρμ' pars codicum. De qua scriptura vide ad v. 99.

Ver. 711. Οἷς μὴ πελάζειν, ἀλλ' † ἀλιστόνοις πόδας Χρίμπτουσα ῥαχίαισιν ἐκπερᾶν χθόνα. Nonnulli libri pro πόδας γύποδας habent, alii γυποπόδας. Hinc conjicio fuisse quosdam qui legerent, ἀλλ' ἀλιστονοις γ' ὑπὸ Χρίμπτουσα ῥαχίαισιν. Quid censuerit Porsonus incertum est. Altero versu constructio χρίμπτουσαν postulare videtur, metro renuente. Malim igitur ἐκπέρα.

Ver. 715. Ἀνημέροι γὰρ, οὐδὲ πρόσπλαστοι ξένοις. Imo, πρόσπλατοι. Recte πλαθείην post Porsonum dedit B. hujus fabulae v. 896. ubi omnes fere libri πλασθείην habent. Apud Soph. Aj. 256. recte vulgo legitur ἄπλατος, et ἄπλατον apud Eurip. Herc. 399. Hinc emendandus Noster Eum. 53. Ῥέγκουσι δ' οὐ πλαττοῖσι φυσιάμασιν, Ἐκ δ' ὀμμάτων λείβουσι δυσφιλῆ βιαν. *Non fictis flatibus* vertit Stanleius, quasi mens Scriptoris esset, Furiarum somnum non fictum et simulatum esse, sed

verum. Repone, οὐ πλατεῖσι *qui accessum prohibent*, diris scilicet et tremendis. Hesychius inter Πλάστρα et Πλαταγώνιον: Πλαστά. προσπελαστά. Scribendum πλατὰ ex ordine literarum.

Ver. 726. Ἐχθρόξενος ναύτῃσι, μητρυιὰ νεῶν. Ναύταισι B. Edidit in hac fabula Aldus πεδῆσιν v. 6. γαμφηλῆσι 355. ῥιζῶσιν 365. Quae postea mutarunt Stephanus et Canterus. Pars codicum ζευγλῆσι v. 462. ἄλλῃσιν 773. His exceptis, communem formam satis constanter servant scripti et impressi.

Ver. 731. Εἰσαεί. *V.* 749. εἰσάπαξ. *V.* 949. αὐθέκαστ'. Omnia divisim B.

Ver. 741. Ἰώ μοι μοι. ἔ ἔ ἔ ἔ. Sic B. Ἰώ μοι μοι. ἒ, ἔ.

Ver. 760. Πρὸς τοῦ τύραννα σκῆπτρα συληθήσεται; Αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ πανοφρόνων βουλευμάτων. Malim cum tribus codd. πρὸς αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ. Sic infra 919. Τοῖον παλαιστὴν νῦν παρασκευάζεται Ἐπ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ. Ubi αὐτὸς τ' αὐτῷ dedit Robortellus Agam. 845. Τοῖς τ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πήμασιν βαρύνεται. Soph. Œd. Col. 929. Σὺ δ' ἄξιαν οὐκ οὖσαν αἰσχύνεις πόλιν Τὴν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ.

Ver. 765. Τί δ' ὄντιν'; οὐ γὰρ ῥητὸν αὐδᾶσθαι τάδε. Τόδε Robortellus et pars codicum, quos secutus est B. ipso Porsono, ut videtur, probante.

Ver. 768. Οὐδ' ἔστιν αὐτῷ τῆσδ' ἀποστροφὴ τύχης; Οὐ δῆτα, πρὶν † ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθεὶς. Inter πρὶν ἂν ἔγωγ', πρὶν ἔγωγ' ἄν, et πλὴν ἔγωγ' ἄν fluctuant libri, quorum alii λυθῶ, alii λυθεὶς exhibent. Sed exquisitius videtur λυθεὶς, quod praetulit Porsonus, scilicet ut Promethei sermonem abrumpat subita Jussi interrogatio, Τίς οὖν ὁ λύτων σ' ἐστὶν, ἄκοντος Διός; Versum ita constituit B. Οὐ δῆτα, πρὶν ἂν ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθεὶς, satis ingeniose. Ad emendationem suam confirmandam, nonnulla scriptorum loca citat, quae ἂν geminatum exhibeant. Quibus adde Aristoph. Nub. 782. Ὑθλεῖς. ἀπερρ'. οὐκ ἂν διδάξαιμ' ἄν σ' ἔτι. Sed proculdubio fallitur juvenis doctissimus. Ἂν geminatum cum indicativo et optativo saepissime, cum subjunctivo nunquam conjungunt Attici. Verbi gratia, recte dicas, οὐκ ἂν εἶπον ἄν, *non dixissem*, οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμ' ἄν, *non dicerem*, male πρὶν ἂν εἶπω ἄν, *priusquam dixero*, ὃς ἂν εἴπῃ ἄν, *quicunque dixerit*. Quod ad nostrum locum attinet, scriptura quam retinuit Porsonus, praeter metri defectum, eo etiam nomine vitiosum est, quod inusitato ordine vocabula collocat. Nihil enim inter πρὶν et ἂν interponi debet, nisi particula. Cum cod. Mediceus, omnium, ut videtur, praestantissimus, aliique duo πλὴν ἔγωγ' ἂν exhibeant, suspicor Tragicum scripsisse, Οὐ δῆτα, πλὴν ἔγωγ' ὅταν δεσμῶν λυθεὶς {aut λυθῶ}. Πλὴν ὅταν habet Noster supra 258. Οὐκ ἄλλο γ' οὐδὲν, πλὴν ὅταν κείνῳ δοκῇ. Soph. El. 293. Τάδ' ἐξυβρίζει, πλὴν ὅταν κλύῃ τινὸς Ἥξοντ' Ὀρέστην. Nec minus bene dicitur δεσμῶν λυθεὶς quam ἐκ δεσμῶν. Noster infra 1005. Λῦσαί με δετμῶν τῶνδε. Ceterum Cratini senarius, quem in Annotationibus citat B. ita fere legendus videtur: Ἔδει [σε] παρέχειν ὅτι τις εὔξαιτ' ἐμβραχύ. Scriptura a B. proposita ὅτι ἂν τις εὔξαιτ', vix magis Attica est quam ἐάν τις εὔξαιτο. Vel δεῖ παρέχειν ὅτι ἂν τις εὔξηται, vel ἔδει παρέχειν ὅτι τις εὔξαιτο dicendum est.

Ver. 777. 866. Δυεῖν. Δυοῖν utrobique B. Cui assentior. Semel

tantum apud Sophoclem δυεῖν exhibet Aldus in Œd. Tyr. 1280. ubi multi codices, fortasse plerique, recte δυοῖν praebent.

Ver. 781. Τούτων σὺ τὴν μὲν τῇδε, τὴν δ' ἐμοὶ χάριν Θέσθαι θέλησον, μηδ' ἀτιμάσῃς λόγους. Certissime repono, μηδ' ἀτιμάσῃς λόγου. Sensus est: Μὴ ἀτιμάσῃς ἡμᾶς τοῦ σοῦ λόγου. *Ne nobis deneges narrationem quam petimus.* Ita Œdipus apud Soph. Œd. Col. 49. Πρὸς νῦν θεῶν, ὦ ξείνε, μή μ' ἀτιμάσῃς Τοιόνδ' ἀλήτην, ὧν σε προστρέπω φράσαι. Respondet hospes: Σήμαινε, κοὐκ ἄτιμος ἔκ γ' ἐμοῦ φανεῖ. Adde ejusdem fabulae 1273. 1278. Œd. Tyr. 789. In his omnibus ἀτιμάζειν vel ἄτιμον ποιεῖν *nullum responsum dare* significat. Quod ad genitivum λόγου attinet, conferri potest Theb. 1021. ubi ἄτιμον ἐκφορᾶς, *carentem funere*, dixit Poëta.

Ver. 790. Πρὸς ἀντολὰς φλογωπὰς ἡλιοστιβεῖς. Recte φλογῶπας R. De qua scriptura consulenda Censura ed. Butlerianae, ejusque Epistola p. 32.

Ver. 800. Τοιοῦτο μέν σοι τοῦτο φρούριον λέγω. Ἄλλην δ' ἄκουστον δυσχερῆ θεωρίαν. Τοιοῦτο et τοσοῦτο rarissime apud Tragicos occurunt. Quod si animadvertisset Brunckius, apud. Soph. Œd. Col. 790. ubi recte vulgo legitur, Χθονὸς λαχεῖν τοσοῦτον, ἐνθανεῖν μόνον, τοσοῦτό γ' ex emendatione Valckenarii non reposuisset. Apud Nostrum duo codd. τοιοῦτον μέν σοι habent, τοιοῦτον μάν σοι alii duo et Aldus. Suspicor Poëtam τοιοῦτον ἔν σοι scripsisse. Φρούριον autem recte *quod vites* interpretatur Stanleius in auctario Commentarii.

Ver. 804. Οἱ χρυσόῤῥυτον Οἰκοῦσιν ἀμφὶ κᾶμα Πλούτωνος πόρου. Πόρου Robortellus et pars codicum. Recepit B.

Ver. 806. Τηλουρὸν δὲ γῆν Ἥξεις κελαινὸν φῦλον, οἱ πρὸς ἡλίου Παίουσι πηγαῖς. Vide an legendum sit γῆς, ut sit τηλουρὸν γῆς φῦλον, quemadmodum in initio fabulae χθονὸς τηλουρὸν πέδον dictum est. Ita quoque γᾶς ἔσχατον τόπον v. 418. πόλις ἐσχάτη χθονὸς v. 845.

Ver. 828. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθες πρὸς Μολοσσὰ † δάπεδα, Τήν τ' αἰπύνωτον ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην. Γάπεδα recepit B. ex ipsius Porsoni conjectura ad Or. 324. Cum autem γάπεδον, auctore Stephano Byzantino, τὸ πρὸς τοῖς οἴκοις ἐν πόλει κῆπιον significet, scripturam a B. repraesentatam ita vertit Butlerus Epist. p. 38. *The little back-yards behind the houses of the Molossians.* Sed reliqua Stephani verba neglexit vir festivissimus: Ὅπερ οἱ τραγικοὶ διὰ τοῦ ᾱ φασὶ διῳρίζοντες. Unde satis Nostro adstruitur usus vocis γάπεδα. Nec tamen prorsus absurdum esset, πρὸς Μολοσσὰ δάπεδά τε.

Ver. 832. Ὑφ' ὧν σὺ λαμπρῶς κοὐδὲν αἰνικτηρίως Προσηγορεύθης ἡ Διὸς κλεινὴ δάμαρ † Μέλλουσ' ἔσεσθ', εἰ τῶνδε προσσαίνει σέ τι. Aldus et nonnulli codd. ἔσεσθαι τῶνδε habent. Alii ἔσεσθαι τῶν δέ. Hanc scripturam praebet cod. Ranconeti, quod ideo moneo, quoniam vulgatam ex ingenio, ut videtur, dedit Turnebus. Versum ita repraesentat B. Μέλλουσ' ἔσεσθαι· τῶν δὲ προσσαίνει σέ τι. Posteriora verba διὰ μέσου posita censet, hac scilicet significatione; *Quin et hisce oraculis gratum aliquid* [*aliquod*] *tibi inerat.* Quae quidem interpretatio neque mihi magnopere placet, neque ea meliorem excogitare possum.

Ver. 847. Ἐνταῦθα δή σε Ζεὺς τίθησιν ἔμφρονα, Ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θιγὼν μόνον. Ἐπώνυμον δὲ τῶν Διὸς † γεννημάτων Τέξεις κελαινὸν Ἔπαφον.

Epaphum e Jovis tactu natum esse docet Noster Suppl. 318. Καὶ Ζεύς γ' ἐφάπτωρ χειρὶ φιτύει γόνον. Consentit alter Schol. ad nostrum locum: Γεννημάτων Διὸς λέγει περὶ τῆς ἐπαφῆς, αὕτη γὰρ ἀντὶ σπέρματος ἤρκεσεν. Hinc recte γεννημάτων, quod agnoscunt omnes libri, defendunt Vauvillerius aliique. Sed cum verba ἐπαφῶν καὶ θιγὼν μόνον non ad ἔμφρονα, sed ad ἐγκυμονα vel tale quid pertineant, verisimile est aut nonnihil post ἔμφρονα intercidisse, aut verba Ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θιγὼν μόνον ab erudito librario in margine apposita, demum in textum irrepsisse. Quae quidem sententia fortasse verior est. Non enim necessarium erat ut Prometheus, cujus sermo paullo αἰνιγματωδέστερος est, rem spectatoribus satis notam perspicue Ioni aperiret. Displicet etiam in hoc senario subita temporum mutatio, cum vel ἐπαφήσας vel θιγγάνων dicendum esset. Simile vitium infra 638. sustulit B. Sed magnam licentiam in hac re sibi permittunt Tragici. Tale est κλύειν, ἀκοῦσαι in Choëphororum prologo. Ceterum vocem apud Tragicos rarissimam ἐπαφῶν in Glossario praetermisit B.

Ver. 857. Ἥξουσι θηρεύσοντες οὐ θηρασίμους Γάμους, φθόνον δὲ σωμάτων ἕξει θεός· Πελασγία δὲ δέξεται θηλυκτόνῳ Ἄρει † δαμέντων νυκτιφρουρήτῳ θράσει. Θηρεύοντες cod. regius 2785 probante Vauvillerio. Reliqua corrupta sunt, nec quidquam mutant libri, uno excepto, qui δαμέντα habet. Δαμέντας e Pauwii conjectura dedit B. Ego nihil video.

Ver. 897. Ταρβῶ γὰρ ἀστεργάνορα παρθενίαν Εἰσορῶσ' Ἰοῦς γάμῳ δαπτομέναν Δυσπλάνοις Ἥρας ἀλατειαις. Ἰοῦς με γάμῳ Aldus, unde Ἰοῦς μέγα conjecit Schultzius, post Burneium recepit B.

Ver. 900. Ἐμοὶ δ' ὅτι μὲν ὁμαλὸς ὁ γάμος Ἄφοβος, οὐ δέδια· μηδὲ κρεισσόνων Θεῶν ἔρως ἄφυκτον ὄμμα προσδέρκοιτο με. Ἀπολεμος ὅδε γ' ὁ πόλεμος, ἄπορα Πόριμος· οὐδ' ἔχω τίς ἂν γενοίμαν. Τὰν Διὸς γὰρ οὐχ ὁρῶ μῆτιν ὅπα φύγοιμ' αν. Nihil hic mutavit B. nisi quod ex Musgravii sententia θεῶν omisit, et post Burneium προσδέρκοιτό μ' scripsit. Ex quinque Regiis apud Vauvillerium, primus προσδέρκοι με habet, secundus et quartus προσδέρκει με, tertius προσδράμοι με, qui infra 993. κυμάτω habet pro κυκατω. Quintus mutilus est. Reliqui codd. προσδέρκοι με, προσδάρκοι με et προσδέρκοισθε habent. Parum dubito quin vulgata scriptura προσδερκοιτό με e Turnebi cerebello nata sit. Scribendum puto προσδράκοι με, fere cum Robortello, qui προσδράκῃ με edidit. Προσδρακειν habet Noster Eum. 167. Ideo autem plenius de hujus loci scriptura dixi, quod non dubito quin hi versiculi in strophen et antistrophum distribuendi sint. Strophen ita constituo: Ἐμοὶ διότι μὲν ὁμαλὸς ὁ γάμος, ἄφοβος, Οὐδὲ δέδια· μηδὲ κρείσσων Θεῶν ἔρως ἄφυκτον ὄμμ' * * * Φροσδράκοι με. In antistropho nihil muto. Syllaba syllabae respondet, nisi quod longa duabus brevibus bis opponitur. Θεῶν monosyllabon est. Deest post ὄμμ' dactylus. Diversam scripturam, et fortasse meliorem, exceperunt Burneius.

Ver. 90[illegible] [illegible] μὴν ἔτι Ζεὺς, καίπερ αὐθάδη Φρονῶν, Ἔσται ταπεινὸς, οἷον ἐξαρτύεται [illegible]. Recte τοῖον ἐξαρτύεται Robortellus. Ita noster mox [illegible] γὰρ αὐτῷ ταῦτ' ἐπαρκέσει τὸ μὴ οὐ Πεσεῖν ἀτίμως πτώματ' οὐκ ἀνασχετά. [illegible] παλαιστὴν νῦν παρασκευάζεται Ἐπ' αὐτὸς αὑτῷ. Soph. Aj. 56[illegible] [illegible] Ἀχαιῶν, οἶδα, μήτις ὑβρίσῃ Στυγναῖσι λαβαῖς,

οὐδὲ χωρὶς ὄντ' ἐμοῦ· Τοῖον πυλωρὸν φύλακα Τεῦκρον ἀμφὶ σοὶ Λείψω, τροφῆς ἄοκνον ἔμπακ'. Eurip. Hec. 905. Σὺ μὲν, ὦ πατρὶς Ἰλιὰς, Τῶν ἀπορθήτων πόλις οὐκέτι λέξει, Τοῖον Ἑλλάνων νέφος ἀμφὶ σὲ κρύπτει, Δορὶ δὴ δορὶ πέρσαν. Ubi τοῖον metri gratia reposuit Kingius, cum olim legeretur, τοιόνδ' Ἑλλάνων νέφος. Utraque scriptura sententiae aeque convenit, ut ex exemplis nonnullis clarius patebit. Eurip. Med. 717. Παύσω δέ σ' ὄντ' ἄπαιδα, καὶ παίδων γονὰς Σπεῖραί σε θήσω· τοιάδ' οἶδα φάρμακα. Ibid. 787. Κἀντεῦθεν λαβοῦσα κόσμον ἀμφιθῇ χροΐ, Κακῶς ὀλεῖται, πᾶς δ' ὃς ἂν θίγῃ κόρης· Τοιοῖσδε χρίσω φαρμάκοις δωρήματα. Ibid. 1319. Παῦσαι πόνου τοῦδ'· εἰ δ' ἐμοῦ χρείαν ἔχεις, Λέγ' εἴ τι βούλει· χειρὶ δ' οὐ ψαύσεις ποτέ· Τοιόνδ' ὄγκημα πατρὸς Ἥλιος πατὴρ Δίδωσιν ἡμῖν, ἔρυμα πολεμίας χερός. Ibid. 1344. Ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἄν σε μυρίοις ὀνείδεσι Δάκοιμι· τοιόνδ' ἐμπέφυκέ σοι θράσος. Hoc ideo monendum putavi, quoniam extra significationem jam memoratam raro legitur τοῖος apud Atticos poëtas.

Ver. 914. Πρὸς ταῦτα νῦν Θαρσῶν καθήσθω τοῖς πεδαρσίοις κτύποις Πιστὸς, τινάσσων † τ' ἐν χεροῖν πύρπνοον βέλος. Οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ταῦτ' ἐπαρκέσει τὸ μὴ οὐ Πεσεῖν ἀτίμως πτώματ' οὐκ ἀνασχετά. Πρὸς ταῦτά νυν recte B. Deinde ex tacita Porsoni emendatione ad Hec. 1125. τινάσσων χειρὶ exhibet. Omnes quidem codd. τινάσσων τ' ἐν servare videntur, sed eorum nonnulli inter χειρὶ, χερσὶ et χερσὶν fluctuant. Versu sequente τὸ μὴ dedit B. omisso οὐ, consentientibus codd. quibusdam. Perperam sane. Etsi enim utraque scriptura satis proba est, exquisitior est vulgata, et majori nititur auctoritate. Supra 786. οὐ, quod omittunt multi libri, retinuit B.

Ver. 933. Ἀλλ' ἆθλον ἄν σοι τοῦδε γ' ἀλγίω πόροι. Malim, τοῦδ' ἔτ' ἀλγίω. Noster Pors. 438. Καὶ τίς γένοιτ' ἂν τῆσδ' ἔτ' ἐχθίων τύχη; Soph. El. 1189. Καὶ πῶς γένοιτ' ἂν τῶνδ' ἔτ' ἐχθίω βλέπειν; Ita recte post Canterum Brunckius. Alii, τῶνδέ τ' ἐχθίω.

Ver. 943. Σὲ τὸν σοφιστὴν, τὸν † πικρᾶς ὑπέρπικρον, Τὸν ἐξαμαρτόντ' εἰς θεοὺς, τὸν ἐφημέρους Πορόντα τιμὰς, τὸν πυρὸς κλεπτὴν λέγω. In vulgatam scripturam τὸν πικρᾶς ὑπέρπικρον consentiunt omnes libri, nec quidquam mutat B. Deinde τὸν ante ἐφημέρους omittunt quatuor minimum codd. quos sequitur B. Ipse ita vertit: *Qui contra Deos peccasti, beneficia mortalibus praestando.* Magis placet Porsoni emendatio, a B. post Gaisfordium memorata, ne ipsa quidem omnibus numeris absoluta, κἀφημέρους pro τὸν ἐφημέρους. Sed eo difficilius est vulgatae scripturae medicinam facere, quod nihil in ea est, quod non optime sententiae conveniat.

Ver. 946. Πατὴρ ἄνωγέ σ' οὔστινας κομπεῖς γάμους Αὐδᾶν, πρὸς ὧν τ' ἐκεῖνος ἐκπίπτει κράτους. Πατὴρ σ' ἄνωγεν mavult Brunckius. Sed rectius pronomen omnino abesset. Altero versu legendum πρὸς ὧν ἐκεῖνος, deleta inutili copula. Vertendum: *Quaenam sint illae nuptiae, quae eum regno pulsurae sint.* Unus cod. πρὸς ὧν γ' ἐκεῖνος habet, quod fortasse recipiendum est.

Ver. 1007. Τέγγει γὰρ οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ μαλθάσσει κέαρ Λιταῖς. Libri omnes praeter ed. Robortelli λιταῖς Ἐμαῖς habent pro κέαρ Λιταῖς. Ea κέαρ λιταῖς Ἐμαῖς exhibet, unde κέαρ recepit Porsonus, deleto scilicet ἐμαῖς. Verum suspicor scriptorem codicis, quo usus est Robortellus, non

aliunde suum κέαρ hausisse, quam e v. 379. Ἐάν τις ἐν καιρῷ γε μαλθάσσῃ κέαρ. Veterem igitur scripturam revocandam censeo.

Ver. 1055. Τί γὰρ ἐλλείπει μὴ παραπαίειν; † Εἰ δ' εὐτυχῆ, τί χαλᾷ μανιῶν; Εἰ δ' εὐτυχῆ ex conjectura, ni fallor, dedit Turnebus. Nam codd. tantum non omnes vel ἐὰ τἀδ' εὐτυχῆ vel εἶτα δ' εὐτυχῆ habent. Εἰ τοὐδ' εὐτυχῆ praebet Mediceus. Hinc ἐὰ γ' οὐδὲ τύχη τι χαλᾷ μανιῶν dedit B. Sed non animadvertit juvenis doctissimus ἐὰ οὐ soloecum esse. Εἰ τἀδ' ἀτυχῆ cod. Guelpherbytanus, quod merus librarii error videtur. Simili vitio supra 580. ἀρὼν 586. ἀγμάτων dedit Aldus. Virorum doctorum conjecturae omnes ejusmodi sunt, quibus facile carere possimus. Nihil hic video. Aldinam scripturam ἐὰ τἀδ' εὐτυχῆ in textum revocandam censeo, quippe sub qua latere videatur vera lectio. Ad verba τί χαλᾷ μανιῶν conferendus Noster supra 256. Αἰκίζεταί τε, κουδαμῇ χαλᾷ κακῶν. Aristoph. Av. 382. Οἵδε τῆς ὀργῆς χαλᾶν εἴξασιν.

Ver. 1067. Τοὺς προδότας γὰρ μισεῖν ἔμαθον. Τοὺς γὰρ προδότας B. ex emendatione Boethii. Non male.

Ver. 1070. Ἀλλ' οὖν μέμνησθ' ἀγὼ προλέγω. Ita Porsonus ex propria emendatione. Nam libri plerique vel ἄττ' ἐγὼ vel ἅ τ' ἐγὼ habent, unde ἅ γ' ἐγὼ conjecit Parrius. Quae quidem scriptura Porsonianae praestare mihi videtur, propterea quod γε post ἀλλ' οὖν plerumque adhibere solent Attici. Ita Noster paullo ante 1057. Ἀλλ' οὖν ὑμεῖς γ' αἱ πηοσύναις κ. τ. ἑ. Soph. Ant. 84. Ἀλλ' οὖν προμηνύσῃς γε τοῦτο μηδενί. Aj. 535. Ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ 'φύλαξα τοῦτό γ' ἀρκέσαι. Phil. 1305. Ἀλλ' ἆρ' τοσοῦτόν γ' ἴσθι. El. 1035. Ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπίστω γ' οἱ μ' ἀτιμίας ἄγειν.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

FEBRUARY 1811.

No. XXXIV.

ART. I. *Speech of the Right Hon. William Windham, in the House of Commons, May 26, 1809, on Mr Curwen's Bill, 'for 'better securing the Independence and Purity of Parliament, 'by preventing the procuring or obtaining of Seats by corrupt 'Practices.'* 8vo. pp. 43. London, 1810.

We do not often detain our readers with an examination of speeches delivered in Parliament; as, even where there seems ground to rely on their authenticity, the occasional, the popular, and the controversial tone which they naturally assume, seems to render them unfit vehicles for general and comprehensive discussion, and even unfair exponents of the genuine sentiments of their authors. There are various considerations, however, which induce us to make an exception of the little tract now before us.

The subject is the great and perpetually interesting one of Reform—in the broadest and most comprehensive sense which that term can politically bear:—Not parliamentary reform only,—but every species of change, innovation or attempt at improvement, in our political system, that can be brought about intentionally, and by legislative authority. It is nothing less than the general policy of all such attempts, that is discussed in the work before us;—and discussed, not upon the narrow ground of the bill immediately in question, or of any limited or temporary consideration whatever,—but upon general, and often even on abstract principles of moral and political science.

Such are the attractions of the subject;—and, second only to them, are those which are held out by the name and the character of the author. The little piece before us, is not only the work of one of the finest geniuses, and most honourable men that the world ever saw, but it is almost the latest memorial by

which his splendid talents and manly virtues have left themselves to be remembered. The age which has witnessed the eclipse of the antient splendour and independence of Europe, seems also to be that in which the Heroic Race of England is doomed to become extinct and to perish. The mighty minds of Burke and Fox, and Pitt and Nelson, have been withdrawn, in our own times, from the degraded scene of our affairs; and almost the last star in that great constellation set at the death of Mr Windham;—a death which has deprived his country of its most perfect model of a Gentleman, and left friends and enemies to deplore that generous and romantic gallantry of feeling, which gave a certain chivalrous elevation to all his views and actions;—those beautiful accomplishments which embellished the whole society in which he lived,—that fine and graceful wit, which fascinated those who were most adverse to his principles, and bound, as with a spell, the very men who were most aware of its seductions,—that high-tempered honour and unsullied purity which were never questioned even by the calumniating zealots of reform, and emerged unspotted even from their monstrous alliance with the creatures of corruption. A better opportunity, we hope, will soon arise, for attempting to delineate the intellectual character of this extraordinary person. But it is not without its use, even at present, to dwell a little upon some of its most singular features;—on the strange opposition which seemed occasionally to subsist between his genius and his opinions—his principles and his prejudices. It is an act, indeed, of essential justice to the public, to endeavour to counteract any errors that may have been spread abroad under the sanction of that respected name;—to prescribe bounds to an admiration, which can only be carried to excess when it confounds his character and his accomplishments with his tenets;—and, above all, to unmask the mean arts of those priests of corruption, who would trick out their idol in his mantle, and shield themselves behind the authority of one, who was not their bitterest enemy only because he could not be persuaded to believe in their iniquities,—who, of all the men that ever lived in the world of politics, viewed public profligacy, and every sort of baseness, with the greatest loathing and abhorrence.

Such are the grounds on which we venture to discuss the tract now before us; containing, we have every reason to believe, from internal evidence, as well as from the various accounts that have reached us, a very accurate report of one of Mr Windham's latest and most celebrated speeches. Indeed, we apprehend, there cannot be any doubt that he corrected it, or, in other words, wrote it almost entirely himself, from recent recollection, assisted by the very scanty notes of the newspaper reporters;—a circumstance

circumstance most fortunate in every respect,—both because we have thereby obtained an authentic specimen of the oratory of so great a speaker, on a subject every way worthy of his powers,—and because we are likewise furnished with a full statement, in the words chosen by himself, of the arguments which the most powerful enemy of reform could urge against it, in the most general form of that important question.

Although it is by no means our intention to discuss at large the bill of Mr Curwen, it is yet necessary, in order to understand this speech, that we should give some little account of the origin and destiny of that celebrated measure. The sale of seats in Parliament, which had long been a matter of universal notoriety,—which Mr Pitt, in the reforming period of his life, had denounced, both in speeches and resolutions, in the most unmeasured terms,—which petitions, from all parts of the empire, had compared to the ordinary transactions of traffic,—had been forced upon public observation, in a more specific form, in the course of some discussions in the House of Commons during the session before the last; for it was then distinctly admitted and avowed, by different parliamentary leaders, and by persons actually in the highest offices, as well as by others who had formerly filled them. Two cabinet ministers were indeed proved to have engaged in some bargains of this description; and neither they nor their friends made any attempts to deny the charge. The matter was treated as if they had been accused of occasionally drinking to excess, or of using certain profane expletives in their conversation,—acts, in themselves, no doubt reprehensible, and one of them even forbidden by the Divine law, as well as punishable by our own; but yet, so commonly practised by persons of a certain rank, and generally supposed to be so indifferent to the public welfare, that few men, when accused of them, would think it necessary to make any defence. The individuals in question, therefore, contented themselves with saying nothing; and the House of Commons, without exactly countenancing the practices, and indeed expressing, though very gently, a verbal and decent disapprobation, determined, by its vote, that no one could be punished, or even formally censured, for what everybody knew was constantly going on,—and all who had the means, or the occasion, were understood to have practised.

This decision, however, gave offence to a great many persons of sound constitutional views; and while they regretted that such an apparent sanction should have been extended to acts highly improper in themselves,—and not the less dangerous for being so universal,—they considered the danger to be materially increased, by the open and undisguised shape which it now assumed,—and

thought it clear, that the acts became infinitely more pernicious, when thus avowed and defended. Some legislative provision, therefore, they imagined, was called for, in order at once to declare the criminality of proceedings, upon the precise character of which, the recent decision had thrown, or seemed to throw, so much doubt; and to protect, or restore, the purity of our representation, in so far as it was impaired by transactions of that nature. Mr Curwen's bill, accordingly, was introduced with these views, and met, at first, with the general support of the persons alluded to; for it went directly to the evil complained of, prohibiting the purchase and sale of seats under severe penalties;—rendering it no easy matter to elude the prohibition;—and superadding the oath of the representative, with respect to the mode of his introduction into Parliament,—accompanied by the usual guards against perjury.

The ministers perceived the general favour which this bill was gaining; and were likewise, it may be presumed, alarmed, in no small degree, by the manly and constitutional language which the occasion called forth from the speaker. It was difficult, however, directly to justify the practice in question, when actually brought into discussion; and as it was by no means their intention seriously to declare war against it, they seem to have thought it the most skilful policy merely not to defend, or, at the utmost, to 'hint a blame,'—to discountenance, or rather to show that Parliament did not countenance, the sale of seats,—to leave the matter, in short, as if no one had brought it forward,—to do away the unpleasant recollections of the Session, as connected with this subject, and, by a kind of act of oblivion, to restore things to the state in which they would have remained, had the question never been agitated, and the conduct of the two ministers, much as it might have been known, had never been formally mentioned. Upon this principle, accordingly, those experienced tacticians proceeded. They yielded, at first, to the sense of the House and of the country, and allowed Mr Curwen's bill to proceed. But they did more;—they took rather too kind a part in its progress, and altered it so completely by '*amendments*,' that it was absolutely changed at nursing; and all men marvelled how the real parent continued to own it. Indeed, it was so very a changeling, that he could not find a feature whereby to recognize it; and there were not wanting those who observed, that he seemed so resolved to have a bill of some kind, as not to be very anxious what it was like,—just as antient husbands, who long for heirs, are oftentimes not very curious in ascertaining the pedigree of their children. Be this as it may, the bill, *as amended*, was opposed by almost all its original supporters,—and pushed

through

through by Mr Curwen, with the strenuous assistance of its forefathers of the treasury.

On the merits of this law, as it finally stood, it is not our intention to make any general observation; but there is one objection, which enters too deeply into the principle of all such preliminary enactments, not to be entitled to some share of our attention, even in a general and argumentative discussion; and this is, that, unless very cautiously framed, they run the risk of aggravating, instead of removing, the disorder, and making the King's ministers the sole agents of corruption, and the court party the sole gainers by it,—instead of adding strength to the country, by putting down corruption altogether. To perceive the extent of this hazard, it is only necessary to consider a little how the fact stands. At present, seats are exchanged for various equivalents;—some for money, others for preferment, others for titles. Take away the currency of money in this market, and the seats must either be given away for nothing, or be exchanged for the *other* equivalents—places, honours, &c.; and, as *these* are all in the hands of the ministers, to the ministers must all the seats be sold, which shall not be given away out of mere love and favour. Nor is it possible to prevent this traffic; for it will be forced, by the operation of the law itself, into a shape that must elude all the laws in the statute-book. A nobleman, having the disposal of a borough, can no longer either give his seats to rich men of independent principles, who pay a price, or to the treasury for a certain stipulated reward in jobs, titles, or places; but he can always put in creatures of the court, or creatures of his own, who will vote as the minister directs; and the minister, having his eyes and ears about him, must perceive how much he owes this noble friend; so that he will probably give him what he asks, or rather a part of what he is always asking; and, if he does not, a significant hint may refresh his memory. No statute can reach such an understanding; and thus the rigorous prevention of sale will only throw so many more votes into the hands of government. A few seats, hitherto sold to opposition members, may be given to the same persons for nothing; but, whoever used to derive a revenue from this traffic, which he cannot, or will not, be content to sacrifice, must either go to the treasury with his wares, or, if he is too independent to do such a thing, he must dispose of his borough-interest, (which, arising from property, must be saleable, in spite of any law that can be made touching elections), and the purchaser will then drive the bargain with government. In short, government will be the only merchant, none other having any of the coin which goes in this market; and, of course, will enjoy a monopoly.

We confess, that this view of the subject appears to deserve great attention. Indeed, we are not aware how the original measure can be defended against such an argument. It was repeatedly urged, and with much ability, even when the bill had received so many alterations that its inefficacy was more to be apprehended than any mischief it could create; and a motion was archly made, and even pressed to a division, for altering the title of the act, and calling it 'An act for the better securing the power of the Crown in the Commons House of Parliament, by vesting in the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury the monopoly of seats in the said House.' Nor were the worthy persons, who introduced the bill, insensible to the force of such considerations. They admitted the measure to be exceptionable, if it was to stand single; but they offered it as part of a system of laws for restoring the purity of elections: and having, in the first instance, prohibited the sale of seats by borough-patrons, they proposed afterwards to take steps for more effectually preventing the sale of votes at elections, and even to limit the numbers of rotten boroughs, by a general parliamentary reform. To us, we will own, such an explanation is by no means a satisfactory answer. For we desire to see the Parliament reformed, chiefly, if not entirely, that a barrier may be raised against the overgrown power of the Crown; and, to begin a set of measures leading to such a reform, with one which goes directly to increase the power of the Crown, seems to us altogether absurd and preposterous. Nay, though it may be intended to follow it up with other measures of an opposite complexion, still the evil done by the first step is certain, while the remedy may never be administered. The measure for increasing the power of the Crown is sure to be carried,—the subsequent plans are very likely to be rejected; so that the reformer will most probably find himself caught in a trap, as it were, in rather a whimsical situation; and not the less whimsical, that the trap had been of his own making, though his enemies may have helped him to lay the bait.

Such seems to have been the more rational view of the measure introduced by Mr Curwen, and now modelled, in an unprecedented manner, by the King's ministers. But it was by no means upon grounds like this, that Mr Wilberforce, the most powerful antagonist in all its stages, opposed it. He boldly denied the whole assumptions, whether in point of fact or of principle, on which its advocates proceeded. Without stopping for a moment to inquire, whether the bill would augment or restrain the power of the Crown,—without throwing away one thought upon the question of its efficacy or futility,—he denied that its objects were justifiable,—maintained, that the practices which it struck at, were neither

neither criminal nor improper,—and then urged his general and unqualified objections against every thing which related to parliamentary reform. To him, it would have been no reason for rejecting the bill, to show that it was nugatory; for the more wide it went of its mark, it was in his eyes the more harmless. Neither was it any argument in its favour, to prove that seats were sold 'like stalls in a cattle-market,' to use the language of the reformers; for he held, that there was no earthly reason why they should not. Nor, in arguing whether they ought or ought not to be so disposed of, would he listen to such topics as we have been touching, and weigh the effects of that traffic upon the independence of Parliament; for he could see nothing corrupt in such bargains. He found no reason for excluding public trusts in general from the market. Men might discharge the duties of them, after obtaining them by purchase, as faithfully, if not quite so ably, as if they took them by a higher title; and at any rate other trusts, of as pure a nature as that of popular representation, being notoriously matter of commerce, he could not discover any pretence for drawing the line here. The patronage of seats, being an influence arising from property, he was for allowing it to be disposed of like the other fruits of property; and then came the sweeping argument, that the constitution is good enough—the House of Commons sufficiently well adapted to its objects; and that, as there is little or no temptation to change its structure, so, there is a positive risk in seeking unknown results, by trying new experiments upon it. Such were the grounds on which Mr Windham, in perfect consistency, it must be admitted, with his whole political creed, opposed the measure in question; and such, in a few words, is the substance of the speech with which we are about to make our readers more minutely acquainted. Even from the preceding short summary of the topics which it embraces, may be perceived how distinctly this speech is marked with his characteristic frankness and boldness,—his fair, open dealing towards his adversaries,—and his utter contempt of consequences, and, among others, of the dangers of misrepresentation,—his carelessness about popular opinion, or rather his distrust, and even dislike of popularity.

Mr Windham sets out with declaring his very decided opinion, that the law in question 'is a measure ill-timed, injudicious, 'founded upon false views, false facts, and false assumptions; cal-'culated to produce no good in the first instance, and liable and 'likely to lead to the most serious mischiefs in future.' He then sets himself about examining the fundamental assumption upon which it rests, that the transactions meant to be prohibited are in themselves corrupt; and he says, 'Let us open the plead-

'ings * by stating the case.' But, instead of doing this, he proceeds to something very different. He *puts a case*; and one so very favourable, that it proves little or nothing either way. He supposes a most respectable person to have acquired great influence in a borough from his property, his connexions there, and the money which he has spent lawfully and honourably,—as in his family expenses,—in purchases of land yielding a small revenue,—in contesting or securing the franchises of the electors; and he imagines this gentleman to offer the minister his influence, at the next election, in favour of a friend of that government, 'with which he has always acted in and out of office,' because he has 'believed them, in his conscience,' the fittest of ministers. He wants nothing for himself; but it is fair that he should receive a certain sum 'towards replacing, in part,' the heavy expenses to which he has been put in the fair and lawful ways above described. The minister, again, has, most fortunately, a young friend, 'a man of most extraordinary promise, with his whole 'mind turned to public business, and likely to become, in time, 'one of the greatest ornaments and supports of the country.' As such, he proposes him to the borough patron; and ventures to engage, that the young man's father will cheerfully 'advance the sum' required. 'All this,' says Mr Windham, 'I am taught to un-'derstand, is grossly corrupt, much in the same way as any act 'of peculation or embezzlement.' And he then tries to find with which of the three parties the corrupt or criminal intention rests, whether with the minister, the seller, or the buyer. With the first, however, no blame can lye, except in as far as the others are guilty. He only acts as the go-between, and brings them together. He can only be criminal, in so far as they meet for some improper purpose: he therefore asks wherein *their* guilt consists?

Now, we do think that he has *put his case*—with great skill no doubt, but with the skill of an advocate. He has chosen it so, and thrown in such a crowd of circumstances—some essentially varying it from the case in hand, all of them tending to mislead us in favour of the transaction—that it is pretty clear we cannot safely decide the question on his showing. He has taken an instance which may happen once in a hundred times; and the other ninety and nine may be so very bad, as to justify a general inference as to the class to which the whole hundred belong, and, of consequence, so very bad as to call for a general prohibition,

* Where a technical allusion is intended, the speaker or writer should be somewhat more accurate. 'Opening the pleadings,' is certainly like any thing rather than stating the case.

hibition, without considering this one rare instance, or making any exception in its favour. With but a very small share of the ingenuity that distinguished that superior person, cases might be put so plausibly, as to shake the very foundations of morality, and undermine the whole system of positive law, provided only that we agree to take those cases for the whole scaffolding, as it were, of our reasonings, and not go beyond their limits. Let us try.

A candidate meets one of his electors, who tells him that their political opinions coincide; that he believes him, in his conscience, to be the fittest man in the world to represent the borough; that he is therefore ready to give his voice for him. But, really, he has paid a high price for the house which gives him a vote; the expenses of repairs are heavy; and he has, at the moment, no less than three lawsuits arising out of the purchase; and so, towards in part replacing the sums thus expended, he requests the worthy candidate will assist him with so many pounds; to which he accedes. All this sounds very innocent; yet it is an *act of Bribery*, subjecting both parties to severe penalties, and justly reprobated by right-thinking men, however frequently it may be practised. It belongs to the same class with another and more ordinary case, which every man of honour feels to be a disgraceful transaction, viz. the open sale of a vote for money to the highest bidder, whatever be his character, and however dangerous his principles in the voter's eyes.

There is scarcely a crime, indeed, which might not be palliated by the invention of such cases as we have been considering: but the moralist and the legislator can look only to the general result, and to the majority of cases; and censure and punish, not only the most offending one, but also the stray stork which chances to be found in evil company. We must, then, in the outset, recollect, that to the same class with the case put by Mr Windham, belongs the other case of a base-born, sordid Jew, devoid of all principle but that of seeking his own gains, who, having a somewhat longer head than his brethren, as he has acquired a heavier purse, disdains to confine himself to the petty gains of usury, or of clipping and sweating the currency of the realm, but launches out into wholesale borough speculations, and, by every species of corruption to which money drawn from the lowest sources can lead the way, obtains an influence over so many elections, that he can, by selling half his seats, replace his cash with a handsome profit, and barter the rest for jobs, contracts, knighthood, or the peerage itself. The supporters of Mr Curwen's bill had evidently as good a right to suppose such a case, as their adversaries had to put the one more creditable to human nature. We much fear, the fact

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bore them better out; but, if they were warranted in putting it, there is an end of the argument; and as all men must desire to see so vile a practice, and one so hurtful to the community, effectually checked, the only possible objection to the bill which is framed with this view, must be found in some such argument as we have formerly stated, to prove that mischiefs of a still worse nature than those complained of would arise from it, and that, until other reforms shall be effected, this would be a change for the worse.

Mr Windham proceeds to defend the sale of public trusts; and this he does by instances. He mentions the seats in the parliaments of Paris, where, he contends, as many just and sound judgments were delivered, and as great a number of the best lawyers formed as in the courts of this country, filled as they are with judges who never purchased their ermine. The church, the army, and certain law-offices in this country, are quoted with a similar view: and he thus continues—

'We have still, therefore, to look for the ground on which either the buyer or the seller, in such a transaction as that above stated, is to be represented as being a man morally corrupt. In fact, if their proceeding is corrupt, it will be difficult, or, as I should say, utterly impossible, to stop there, and not to go on and declare corrupt the very influence itself, by which they are enabled to carry into effect this corrupt bargain. If the buying and selling be corrupt, it can only be so for reasons, which will make it corrupt to have the commodity which is capable of being so bought and sold. This is the true seat of the grievance, as, it must be confessed to be, the true place in which to apply the remedy. So long as there are persons in a situation to say, I can make an offer of a seat in Parliament, so long will there be persons to treat with them for that object, and so long will means be found, for commuting in some way or other the influence so possessed, for considerations valuable to the possessor. The only effectual way will be to get rid of the influence altogether. To make it penal for any one to have such goods in his possession. This the honourable mover may be assured is the use that will be made of his measure (nay it is the just and legitimate use) by those, who do not scruple now to oppose it, because they like to argue the question both ways, to be ready for either event; and may think, possibly, that more is to be gained by procuring the rejection of it, and by the ground thereby laid for raising a clamour against Parliament, than they can hope for from the argument and the authority which it will furnish, towards subverting the greater part of the influence, which property is now allowed to retain.

'I know how prompt the answer to this will be, and how triumphantly I shall be told, that no two things can be more remote from each other, than the influence of property,—the just, wholesome, legitimate influence of property, and the sale of seats.—But let us

us recollect that in the present business, we are arguing throughout upon *principle*, and that it is of the nature of *principle*, to unite things the most various and opposite in their individual forms and circumstances. It is not a question, how far things may be distinguished; but how far those, which are naturally distinguished, may be assimilated and made one. Those who can make no distinction between an offence against the bribery laws, by giving money to a particular voter, and the sale of a seat, can hardly be expected to distinguish between the sale of a seat, and such a use of influence as will give them the seat to sell.

'I am as well aware as another, that there is much influence which, though ultimately to be traced to property, is so remote from its primary source, has been so changed in the gradations which it has passed through, has been so improved by successive graftings, as to retain little or nothing of its original character.—of the harshness and acerbity of the parent stock. The case is the same as with that passion in our nature, which, though too gross to be named, is often the source of every thing most delicate and sentimental; which, as the poet describes,

——through some certain strainers well refin'd
Is gentle love, and charms all woman-kind.

All, in these instances, that property may have done, is to have given to virtue the means of acting, and the opportunity of displaying itself; to have furnished the instrument without which its energies must have been useless, and to have erected the stage without which it would have remained unknown. I am under no apprehensions for the fate of influence of this sort. My honourable friend and others, notwithstanding the operation of this bill, will be at full liberty, I trust, to lay out their thousands in acts of beneficence and bounty, in building bridges, or endowing hospitals, in relieving the wants or advancing the fortunes of the indigent and meritorious. They may still enjoy, together with all the heartfelt satisfaction, all the influence which will naturally arise from property so employed—

Him portion'd maids, apprentic'd orphans blest,
The young who labour, and the old who rest.

'But is this the only way in which property exerts its powers? Is it always taken in this finer form of the extract or essence? is it never exhibited in the substance? It is here that the comparison will begin, and that the question will be asked; which the advocates of this bill, who do not mean it to extend to the abolition of the influence of property, will do well to be prepared to answer; How, if the sale of a seat or any commutation of services connected with such an object be gross corruption, can we tolerate the influence which property gives, in biassing the minds of those who are to give their votes? How a landlord, for instance, should have any more influence over his own tenants, than over those of another man? How a large manufacturer should be able to bring to the poll more of his own workmen, than of those employed in the service of his neighbour?

neighbour? How an opulent man of any description, finding his fortune in a borough town, should be able to talk of his influence among the smaller tradesmen; or be at liberty to hint to his baker or his butcher, that, laying out every week such a sum with them, as he does, he expects that they should oblige him by giving a vote to his friend, Mr Such-a-One, at the next election? If all this is not corrupt, upon the principles on which we are now arguing, I know not what is. What has money spent with tradesmen, or work given to manufacturers, or farms let to tenants, to do with the independent exercise of their right, and the conscientious discharge of their duty, in the election of a member to serve them in Parliament? A fine idea truly, that their decision in the choice of a representative is to be influenced by the consideration of what is best for their separate and private interest! or that persons, the advocates of purity, and who will hear of nothing but strict principle, should attempt to distinguish between the influence which engages a man's vote by the offer of a sum of money, and that which forbids the refusal of it, under the penalty of loss of custom or loss of work, or of the possession of that on which his wife and family must depend for their bread? I shall be curious to hear in what manner, not the advocates of this bill, but the advocates for the principles on which this bill is enforced, will defend themselves against these questions: and be able to show, that while it is gross corruption, gross moral depravity, in any one who possesses such influence, to connect his own interest with the use of it, even though he should not use it improperly, it is perfectly innocent to create that influence by the means just described? Or, on the other hand, if such means are not lawful, how the influence of property is to continue, such as it has at all times subsisted in practice, and been at all times considered as lawfully subsisting? It is indifferent to me, which side of the alternative they take; but let them be well aware that such is the alternative to which they will be reduced; and that if they contend generally, as is now done, that such and such things are corrupt, because they admit the consideration of interest in matters which ought to be exclusively decided on principles of duty, it is in vain for them hereafter to contend that any man has a right to influence his tenants, or tradesmen, or workmen, by any other means at least than those by which he may equally influence the tenants, tradesmen, or workmen of any other person; that is to say, by his talents or by his virtues, by the services which he may *have* done, and the gratitude he may *have* inspired.

'When I look therefore to the moral qualities of these acts, as independent of and antecedent to positive law, I am at a loss to find what it is, either on the score of principle or of authority, that determines them to be corrupt, or that enables us, if they are corrupt, to exempt from the same sentence of corruption nine tenths of the influence, which has hitherto been supposed to be attached, and legitimately attached, to property, and which, for aught that at pre-

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sent appears, there is no intention of taking away.' *Speech*, p. 7—11.

We have given this long extract, both because it contains an admirable specimen of Mr Windham's unrivalled style in speaking, and because it offers at once to our view the whole gist of his argument. Our answer is very short. We condemn the abuses which throw the nomination of seats into the hands of borough-patrons; and we think that the most important and beneficial of all reforms would be that which should prevent the exercise of this power. To us, therefore, and to those who think with us upon the question of reform, it is no sort of argument for the sale of seats, to contend that such a transference is no worse than the possession of the property transferred; and to remind us, that he who objects to men selling their influence, must be against their having it to sell. We *are* against their having it *to sell*: and, as to what is here considered as the *necessary* influence of property over elections, we should, for want of better language, refer to a part of the very passage above quoted, for a description of the legitimate, harmless, and even beneficial use of property, even as connected with elections; and for tracing the line which separates this from the employment of property, directly to purchase parliamentary influence. Some there are, no doubt, who would lament any influence which wealth may give in elections; and who would only desist from attempts to prevent it altogether, from knowing their impossibility. To them, the arguments of Mr Windham must come with still less weight: but almost all men will admit, that *some* line is to be drawn;—that the influence allowed to be conferred by property should be confined to that which is essential to its use and enjoyment;—and that penalties should be opposed, when it is directly applied to the purchase of votes, perhaps the only case in which the law can interfere vindictively, without introducing far greater evils than those which it seeks to remedy.

To those who are already familiar with the facts and the reasonings that bear upon this great question, these brief suggestions will probably be sufficient; but there are many to whom the subject will require a little more explanation; and for whose use, at all events, the argument must be a little more opened up and expanded.

If men were perfectly wise and virtuous, they would stand in no need either of government or of representatives; and, therefore, if they do need them, it is quite certain that their choice will not be influenced by considerations of duty or wisdom alone. We may assume it as an axiom, therefore, however the purists may be scandalized, that, even in political elections, some other feelings

feelings will necessarily have play; and that passions, and prejudices, and personal interests, will always interfere, to a greater or a less extent, with the higher dictates of patriotism and philanthropy. Of these sinister motives, individual interest, of course, is the strongest and most steady; and wealth, being its most common and appropriate object, it is natural to expect that the possession of property must bestow some political influence. The question, therefore, is, whether this influence can ever be safe or tolerable—and whether it be possible to mark the limits at which it becomes so pernicious as to justify legislative coercion. Now, we are so far from thinking, with Mr Windham, that there is no room for any distinction in this matter, that we are inclined, on the whole, to be of opinion, that what we would term the natural and inevitable influence of property in elections, is not only safe, but salutary; while its artificial and corrupt influence is among the most pernicious and reprehensible of all political abuses.

The natural influence of property is that which results spontaneously from its ordinary use and expenditure, in the ways specified by Mr Windham, in the passage already cited. That a man who spends a large income in the place of his residence—who subscribes handsomely for building bridges, hospitals, and assembly-rooms, and generally to all works of public charity or accommodation in the neighbourhood—and who, moreover, keeps the best table for the gentry, and has the largest accounts with the tradesmen—will, without thinking or caring about the matter, acquire more influence, and find more people ready to oblige him, than a poorer man, of equal virtue and talents—is a fact, which we are as little inclined to deplore, as to call in question. Neither does it cost us any pang to reflect, that, if such a man was desirous of representing the borough in which he resided, or of having it represented by his son or his brother, or some dear and intimate friend, his recommendation would go much farther with the electors than a respectable certificate of the extraordinary worth and abilities of the opposite candidate.

Such an influence as this, it would evidently be quite absurd for any legislature to think of interdicting, or even for any reformer to attempt to put down. In the *first* place, because it is founded in the very nature of men and of human affairs, and could not possibly be prevented, or considerably weakened, by any thing short of an universal regeneration; *secondly*, because, though originating from property, it does by no means imply, either the baseness of venality, or the guilt of corruption; but rests infinitely more upon feelings of vanity, and social instinctive sympathy, than upon any consciousness of dependence, or paltry

paltry expectation of personal emolument; and, *thirdly*, because, taking men as they actually are, this mixed feeling is, upon the whole, both a safer and a better feeling than the greater part of those, to the influence of which they would be abandoned, if this could be destroyed. If the question were, always, whether a man of wealth and family, or a man of sense and virtue, should have the greatest influence, it would no doubt be desirable that the preponderance should be given to merit. But this is by no means the true state of the contest:—and, when the question is between the influence of property and the influence of intriguing ambition and turbulent popularity, we own that we are glad to find the former most frequently prevalent. In ordinary life, and in common affairs, this natural and indirect influence of property is vast and infallible; and nothing can conduce so surely to the stability and excellence of a political constitution, as to make it rest upon the general principles that regulate the conduct of the better part of the individuals who live under it, and to attach them to their government by the same feelings which ensure their affection or submission in their private capacity. There could be no security, in short, either for property, or for any thing else, in a country where the possession of property did not bestow some political influence.

This, then, is the natural influence of property; which we would not only tolerate, but encourage. We must now endeavour to explain that corrupt or artificial influence, which we conceive it to be our duty by all means to resist and repress. Under this name, we would comprehend all wilful and direct employment of property to purchase or obtain political power, in whatever form the transaction might be embodied: but, with reference to the more common cases, we shall exemplify only in the instances of purchasing votes by bribery, or holding the property of those votes distinct from any other property, and selling and transferring them for a price, like any other marketable commodity. All such practices are stigmatized, in common language and in common feelings, as corrupt and discreditable; and the slightest reflection upon their principles and their consequences, will show, that while they tend to debase the character of all who are concerned in them, they lead directly to the subversion of all that is valuable in a representative system of government. That they may, in some cases, be combined with that indirect and legitimate influence of property of which we have just been speaking, and, in others, be insidiously engrafted upon it, it is impossible to deny; but that they are clearly distinguishable from the genuine fruits of that influence, both in their moral character and their political effects, we conceive

to be equally indisputable. And, in answer to all Mr Windham's ingenious sophistry, as to the identity of *principle* in all the cases in question, we shall only oppose his own sound observations, in a subsequent page, as to the extreme folly and unfairness of classing human actions under one *moral* denomination, because they may be brought under one verbal or metaphysical description.

'There are laws, I believe,' says Mr Windham, 'to restrain the retail sale of spirits. Should we think that a man argued very wisely or conclusively, with much fairness of representation, or much knowledge of the principles of legislation, who should harangue at the door of an alehouse (the only place however fit for such a discourse) against the justice of laws, which could punish a publican for selling a dram to a poor wretch, who wanted it perhaps to solace him under the effects of cold and hunger, to whom it must stand in the place of food and raiment; while the same law did not scruple to permit the sale of these spirits by wholesale on the part of the rich merchant or still more opulent planter? and should take occasion from thence to ask (exactly in the style of my honourable friend) if such was the punishment for selling a dram or gill, what did they deserve who sold these spirits by whole puncheons and ship-loads? *The answer is*, that these acts do not stand to each other in the relation of more or less, but are perfectly disparate and dissimilar; are productive of different consequences; are to be regulated by different provisions; are so widely separated in character, as that the one may be an object of national encouragement, a source of public wealth and benefit, while the other can produce nothing but mischief, and is a practice requiring to be restrained by penal statute.' *Speech*, p. 12, 13.

Such is the most general and abstract view which, we think, need be taken of this interesting question.—But, with a view to the particular points in discussion, it is necessary that we should also consider it, for a moment, with reference to the actual state of the fact, and the practice in this country. Upon the subject of direct bribery to individual voters, it cannot be necessary to say any thing; the law and the feeling of all mankind have marked that practice with reprobation: and even Mr Windham, in the wantonness of his controversial scepticism, does not pretend to say, that the law or the feeling is erroneous, or that it would not be better that both should, if possible, be made still stronger than they are.

Setting this aside, however, the great practical evils that are suffered to result from the influence of property in the elections of this country, are, 1st, that the representation of certain boroughs is entirely, necessarily and perpetually, at the disposal of certain families, so as to be familiarly considered as a part of

their rightful property; and, 2dly, that certain other boroughs are held and managed by corrupt agents and jobbers, for the express purpose of being sold for a price in ready money, either through the intervention of the treasury, or directly to the candidate. That both these are evils and deformities in our system of representation, we readily admit; though by no means to the same extent, or produced by the operation of the same causes.

With regard to the boroughs that are permanently in possession of certain great proprietors, these are, for the most part, such small or decayed boroughs, as have fallen, almost insensibly, under their controul, in consequence of the extension of their possessions, and the decline of the population. Considered in this light, it does not appear that they can, with any propriety, be regarded either as scenes of criminal corruption, or as examples of the reprehensible influence of property. If a place which still retains the right of sending members to parliament, comes to be entirely depopulated, like Old Sarum, it is impossible to suppose that the nomination of its members should vest in any one, but the *proprietor* of the spot to which the right is attached: and, even where the decay is less complete than in this instance, still, if any great family has gradually acquired the greater part of the property from which the right of voting is derived, it is equally impossible to hold that there is any thing corrupt or reprehensible in its availing itself of this influence. Cases of this sort, therefore, we are inclined to consider as cases of the fair influence of property; and though we admit them to be both contradictory to the general scheme of the constitution, and subversive of some of its most important principles, we think they are to be regarded as flaws and irregularities brought on by time and the course of events, rather than as abuses introduced by the vices and corruptions of men. The remedy would be, to take the right of election from all places so small and insignificant as to have become, in a great measure, the property of an individual—not to rail at the individual who avails himself of the influence *inseparable* from such property—or to dream of restraining him in its exercise, by unjust penalties and impossible regulations.

The great evil, however, is in the other description of boroughs—those that are held by agents or jobbers, by a very different tenure from that of great proprietors and benefactors, and are regularly disposed of by them, at every election, for a price paid down, either through the mediation of the ministry, or without any such mediation. In the former case, they obtain the significant appellation of 'Treasury boroughs;' in the latter, they are described merely as venal or rotten. For the sake

of the more innocent part of our readers, it is necessary to explain, in one sentence, the mechanism and organization of this disgraceful traffic.

The source of it is laid almost entirely in the smaller and more inconsiderable boroughs, containing from 150 to 400 or 500 voters,—places such as are scattered so plentifully over Cornwall and Devon—too large to have become the property of any family or individual—and far too small and insignificant to contain any available portion of popular spirit or opulent independence. In every place of this description, it has, for a considerable time back, been the practice for some judicious borough-agent to settle himself,—an animal, for the most part, of the attorney *genus*, and of that class most remarkable for activity, and for a conscience singularly unsusceptible of scruples. By the judicious employment of a little capital, he soon acquires the controul of a considerable number of votes; and, by heading and fomenting local jealousies and quarrels—by cajoling, soliciting, promising, and actually bribing—he finally gets the command of a very considerable part of the electors, along with a pretty accurate knowledge of the dispositions and vulnerable points of those who are not entirely at his devotion.

When things are in this train, he may proceed to open his negotiations with the treasury. This is done, in the first instance, as we understand, with much decency and decorum. The attorney represents, that, by long residence, and the expenditure of much money, he has acquired considerable influence in such and such a borough; that he and his friends are exceedingly well affected to his Majesty's government, and would be very happy to exert themselves in behalf of any candidate who was fortunate enough to possess the confidence of his servants: but that, in order to secure his election, two things are necessary; first, the instant payment of a small sum of money—from 3000l. to 4000l.—in order to indemnify him for the heavy expense incurred in establishing his influence; and, 2dly, the promise of making him the organ and distributor of all the local and petty patronage which the government may exercise in that district, and of listening favourably to his recommendations in behalf of their supporters in the burgh. The minister makes a gracious answer to this overture; pledges himself for the patronage; and soon finds a candidate who is willing to advance the money. When the matter is thus far managed, the agent returns to his borough,—distributes a part of the money among the worser part of the electors, without the knowledge of the candidate, and secures a great many more by promises of little offices for themselves, and of appointments or promotion for their children and relations, in the excise, the church, the army or the navy. A further sum is expended in importing

and feeding electors; and the member is returned, untainted with any act of direct bribery to his conſtituents; but entirely upon an intereſt that is, in all its ſtages, equally corrupt and unworthy.

What we have now repreſented, is a kind of theoretical ſketch of the firſt transformation of a ſmall borough into a treaſury borough,—an occaſion on which there is much leſs gain to the agent, and more direct bribery among the electors, than is likely to occur after it has once decidedly aſſumed this character. The ſkill and opportunities of the agent improve, of courſe, as his experience increaſes; and, if the miniſter keep his word tolerably as to the article of patronage, it is often found practicable to carry on matters by that means alone, and to diſpoſe of the place by the help of this influence, joined to good management and old connexion, without any actual advance of money, except to a few who are unuſually profligate, or unuſually needy.

It thus appears, that Treaſury boroughs are boroughs that are ſold by uſurping and intriguing agents, partly for money paid over by the candidate, and partly for offices and patronage corruptly promiſed and diſtributed by miniſters. The gainers are — the miniſters, who ſecure a ſeat to a creature of their own, by a moderate abuſe of patronage — the member, who obtains his ſeat for a much ſmaller ſum than if the whole price had been to be paid in ready money—the agent, who pockets a part of the money actually paid, and becomes a perſon of conſequence, as the local organ of miniſterial influence —and the corrupt electors, who get cash or offices for their ſubſerviency to the laudable views of theſe ſeveral perſons:—the only loſers being the honeſt electors, who are virtually deprived of their franchiſes,—and *the country* and *the conſtitution*, which ſuffer, to an alarming and incalculable extent, by the general debaſement of political principle, and the enormous addition that is thus made to the enormous influence of the Crown.

We have ſtated the ſimpleſt and moſt elementary caſe of boroughmonging,—both becauſe almoſt all the others are founded upon the ſame baſis, and becauſe, in point of fact, by far the greater number of caſes are very nearly of this very deſcription. The variations are, that the ſeat is ſometimes ſold to oppoſition candidates, who, having no patronage to offer, for the moſt part pay higher in ready money; and that the great wealth and conſequence that reſults to the agent, have unfortunately redeemed a part of the diſgrace that ſhould attach to his vocation, and not only drawn perſons, individually reſpectable, into the traffic, but have induced ſome of thoſe, who held their influence by the fair tenure of property, to participate in his unlawful gains.

But, even without entering into theſe conſiderations, we think

we may now venture to aſk, whether it be poſſible for any man to ſhut his eyes upon the individual infamy and the public hazard that are involved in theſe proceedings, or for one moment to confound them, even in his imagination, with the innocent and ſalutary influence that is inſeparable from the poſſeſſion and expenditure of large property? The difference between them, is not leſs than between the influence which youth and manly beauty, aided by acts of generoſity and proofs of honourable attachment, may attain over an object of affection, and the controul that may be acquired by the arts of a hateful procureſs, and by her transferred to an object of natural diſguſt and averſion. The one is founded upon principles which, if they are not the moſt lofty or infallible, are ſtill among the moſt amiable that belong to our imperfect nature, and leads to conſequences eminently favourable to the harmony and ſtability of our ſocial inſtitutions; while the other can only be obtained by working with the baſeſt inſtruments on the baſeſt of our paſſions, and tends directly to ſap the foundations of private honour and public freedom, and to diſſolve the kindly cement by which nature herſelf has knit ſociety together in the bonds of human ſympathy, and mutual dependence. To ſay that both ſorts of influence are derived from property, and are therefore to be conſidered as identical, is a ſophiſm ſcarcely more dignified or ingenious, than that which would confound the occupations of the highwayman and the honourable merchant, becauſe the object of both was gain; and which ſhould aſſume the philoſophical principle, that all voluntary actions are dictated by a view to ultimate gratification, in order to prove that there was no diſtinction between vice and virtue; and that the felon, who was led to execution amidſt the execrations of an indignant multitude, was truly as meritorious as the patriot, to whom his grateful country decreed unenvied honours for its deliverance from tyranny. The truth is, that there is nothing more dangerous than theſe metaphyſical inquiries into the ultimate conſtituents of merit or delinquency; and that, in every thing that is connected with practice, and eſpecially with public conduct, no wiſe man will ever employ ſuch an analytical proceſs to counteract the plain intimations of conſcience and common ſenſe, unleſs for the purpoſe of confounding an antagoniſt, or perplexing a diſcuſſion, to the natural reſult of which he is unfriendly on other principles.

But if the practices to which we are alluding, be clearly baſe and unworthy in the eyes of all upright and honourable men, and moſt pregnant with public danger in the eyes of all thinking and intelligent men, it muſt appear ſtill more ſtrange to find them defended on the ſcore of their antiquity, than on that of their ſuppoſed affinity to practices that are held to be innocent. Yet the

the old cry of Innovation! has been raiſed, with more than uſual vehemence, againſt thoſe who offer the moſt cautious hints for their correction; and even Mr Windham has not diſdained to ſeek ſome aid to his argument from a miſapplication of the ſorry common-places about the antiquity and beauty of our conſtitution, and the hazard of meddling at all with that under which we have ſo long enjoyed ſo much glory and happineſs. Of the many good anſwers that may be made to all arguments of this character, we ſhall content ourſelves with one, which ſeems ſufficiently concluſive and ſimple.

The abuſes, of which we complain, are *not* old, but recent; and thoſe who ſeek to correct them, are not innovating upon the conſtitution, but ſeeking to prevent innovation. The practice of jobbing in boroughs was ſcarcely known at all in the beginning of the laſt century; and was not ſyſtematized, nor carried to any very formidable extent, till within the laſt forty years. At all events, it moſt certainly was not in the contemplation of thoſe by whom the frame of our conſtitution was laid; and it is confeſſedly a perverſion and abuſe of a ſyſtem, deviſed and eſtabliſhed for very oppoſite purpoſes. Let any man aſk himſelf, whether ſuch a ſcheme of repreſentation, as is now actually in practice in this country, can be ſuppoſed to have been intended by thoſe who laid the foundations of our free conſtitution, or reared upon them the proud fabric of our liberties? Or let him aſk himſelf, whether, if we were now deviſing a ſyſtem of repreſentation for ſuch a country as England, there is any human being who would recommend the adoption of the ſyſtem that is practically eſtabliſhed among us at this moment,—a ſyſtem under which fifty or ſixty members ſhould be returned by twenty or thirty paltry and beggarly hamlets, dignified with the name of boroughs; while twenty or thirty great and opulent towns had no repreſentation:—and where upwards of a hundred more publicly bought their ſeats, partly by a promiſe of indiſcriminate ſupport to the miniſter, and partly by a ſum paid down to perſons who had no natural influence over the electors, and controuled them notoriouſly, either by direct bribery, or as the agents of miniſterial corruption? If it be clear, however, that ſuch a ſtate of things is indefenſible, it is ſtill clearer that it is not the ſtate of things which is required by the true principles of the conſtitution; that, in point of fact, it neither did nor could exiſt at the time when that conſtitution was eſtabliſhed; and that its correction would be no innovation on that conſtitution, but a beneficial reſtoration of it, both in principle and in practice. If ſome of the main pillars of our manſion have been thrown down, is it a dangerous innovation to rear them up again? If the roof has grown too heavy for the building, by re-

cent and injudicious superstructures, is it an innovation, if we strengthen the supports upon which it depends? If the waste of time, and the elements, have crumbled away a part of the foundation, does it show a disregard to the safety of the whole pile, if we widen the basis upon which it rests, and endeavour to place it upon deeper and firmer materials? If the rats have eaten a way into the stores and the cellars; or if knavish servants have opened private and unauthorized communications in the lower parts of the fabric, does it indeed indicate a disposition to impair the comfort and security of the abode, that we are anxious to stop up those holes, and to build across those new and suspicious approaches?—Is it not obvious, in short, in all such cases, that the only true innovators are Guilt and Time; and that they who seek to repair what time has wasted, and to restore what guilt has destroyed, are still more unequivocally the enemies of innovation, than of abuse? Those who are most aware of the importance of reform, are also most aware of the hazards of any theoretical or untried change; and, while they strictly confine their efforts to the *restitution* of what all admit to have been in the original plan of our representation, and to have formed a most essential part of that plan, may reasonably hope, whatever other charges they may encounter, to escape that of a love of innovation.

There is another topic, on which Mr Windham has dwelt at very great length, which appears to us to bear even less on the merits of the question, than this of the antiquity of our constitution. The abuses and corruptions which Mr Curwen aimed at correcting, ought not, he says, to be charged to the account of ministers or members of Parliament alone. The greater part of them will originate and end with the people themselves,—are suggested by their baseness and self-interest, and terminate in their corrupt gain, with very little voluntary sin, and very little advantage of any sort to ministers or candidates. Now, though it is impossible to forget what Mr Windham has himself said, of the disgraceful abuses of patronage committed by men in power, for their own individual emolument, * yet we are inclined, upon the whole,

* 'With respect to the abuse of patronage, one of those by which the interests of countries will in reality most suffer, I perfectly agree, that it is likewise one, of which the government, properly so called, that is to say, persons in the highest offices, are as likely to be guilty, and, from their opportunities, more likely to be guilty, than any others. Nothing can exceed the greediness, the selfishness, the insatiable voracity, the profligate disregard of all claims from merit as services, that we often see in persons in high official stations, when providing

whole, to admit the truth of this statement. It is, what we have always thought it our duty, to point out to the notice of those who can see no guilt but in the envied possessors of dignity and power; and forms, indeed, the very basis of the answer we have repeatedly attempted to give to those Utopian or factious reformers, whose intemperance has done more injury to the cause of reform, than all the sophistry and all the corruption of their opponents. But, though we admit the premises of Mr Windham's argument, we must utterly deny his conclusions. Though we admit, that a part of the people is venal and corrupt, as well as its rulers, we really cannot see that we have admitted any thing in defence of venality and corruption;—nor can we imagine, how that melancholy and most humiliating fact, can help in the least to make out, that corruption is not an immoral and pernicious practice;—not a *malum in se*, as Mr Windham has been pleased to assert; nor even a practice which it would be just and expedient, if it were practicable, to repress and abolish. The only just inference from the fact is, that ministers and members of Parliament are not the only guilty persons in the nation;—and that all remedies are likely to be insufficient, which are not capable of being applied through the whole range of the malady. It may be a very good retort from the gentlemen within doors to the gentlemen without;—and when they are reproached with not having clean hands, it may be very natural for them to ask a sight of those of their accusers. But is this any answer at all to those, who insist upon the infamy and the dangers of corruption in both quarters? Or, is the evil really supposed to be less formidable, because it appears to be very widely extended, and to be the fair subject, not only of reproach, but of recrimination? The seat of the malady, and its extent, may indeed vary our opinion as to the nature of the remedy which ought to be administered; but the knowledge, that it has pervaded more vital parts than one, certainly should not lead us to think that no remedy whatever is needed,—or to consider the symptoms as too slight to require any particular attention.

But, though we differ thus radically from Mr Windham in our estimate of the nature and magnitude of this evil, we have already said, that we are disposed to concur with him in disapproving of the measure which was lately proposed for their correction. The bill of Mr Curwen, and all bills that aim only at repressing the ultimate traffic for seats, by pains and penalties to be imposed

providing for themselves, their relations or dependants. I am as little disposed as any one to defend them in this conduct. Let it be reprobated in terms as harsh as any one pleases, and much more so than it commonly is.' *Speech*, p. 28.

on those immediately concerned in the transaction, appears to us to begin at the wrong end,—and to aim at repressing a result which may be regarded as necessary, so long as the causes which led to it are allowed to subsist in undiminished vigour. It is like trying to save a valley from being flooded, by building a paltry dam across the gathered torrents that flow into it. The only effect is, that they will make their way, by a more destructive channel, to worse devastation. The true policy would have been, to drain the feeding rills at their fountains, or to provide another vent for the stream, before it had reached the declivity by which the flat is commanded. While the spirit of corruption is unchecked, and even fostered in the bosom of the country, the interdiction of the common market will only throw the trade into the hands of the more profligate and daring,—or give a monopoly to the privileged and protected dealings of administration; and the evil will in both ways be aggravated, instead of being relieved. To make our own system of cure intelligible, it is necessary for us to explain, in a very general way, in what we conceive the evils of this corruption chiefly to consist.

It would be easy to enumerate many, of a pretty formidable description; but, for our present purpose, they may be summed up under two main divisions. In the first place, the weakening and depravation of that public principle, and general concern for right and liberty, upon which all political freedom must ultimately depend; and, 2dly, the vast increase of the power of the crown, by the means which this organized system of corruption affords, for bringing the whole weight of its enormous patronage to bear upon the body of the legislature.

The first of these is the grand, radical, and parent evil; from which the second, and a thousand others of less note, are legitimately descended:—but the second is the most formidable of all its existing progeny, and may be regarded as the worst and most dangerous of the fruits which it has yet brought to maturity. The vast and alarming extent of this influence, and its actual effects upon the legislature, and indeed upon all the higher classes of society, we have endeavoured, on a former occasion, to explain;* and earnestly entreat all who do not bear the state of the fact very clearly in their remembrance, to look back to the detail by which we have there supported our opinion, as to the enormous increase of that influence, and of the dangers to which it gives birth. An influence it is, we are firmly persuaded, that has increased sevenfold during the present reign, in the actual amount of the patronage, and other means of seduction, in the disposal of which it consists,—and

* Vol. XVI. p. 197, &c.

and seventy-and-seven fold in the art of applying those means, and in the power which they have obtained from the circumstances and habits of a great part of the community:—an influence, which is not only undermining the foundations of our constitutional liberty, but rendering the government itself, and the characters of public men contemptible in the eyes of all who are either above or below the sphere of its operations; and thus preparing the materials of a dreadful explosion, and paving the way for that ominous union of improvidence, corruption, timidity and actual establishment, on the one hand, and of talents, turbulence, honest enthusiasm and physical strength, on the other, which have so recently covered the face of Europe with the ruins of its antient governments.

Every plan of reform, therefore, which is calculated to meet the evils from which we actually suffer, should have for its objects, as it appears to us; first, to diminish and restrain the influence of the Crown; and then to foster and encourage the spirit and the love of liberty among the great body of the people. It should be calculated, like the prescription of a wise physician, in the first place, to relieve the most urgent and alarming of the symptoms by which the patient is oppressed or endangered; and then to eradicate and counteract the general morbid tendency or habit, from which it may appear that those and all other indications of disease had taken their origin. The influence of the Crown, is the distressing symptom of our present malady; and its operation on the legislature, its most alarming and characteristic peculiarity. This, therefore, we must endeavour in the first place to obviate and relieve; and apply ourselves afterwards to remove the unhealthy diathesis which will otherwise threaten the return of this, or of some other analogous symptom.

We have indicated, on a former occasion, the first and most important steps which we think should be taken to remove a part of the pressure of this influence from the legislative assembly, by a resolute and peremptory exclusion of a great variety of subordinate placemen, and minor officers of the government, who are now allowed to sit in that body. The bartering of such offices for regular attendance and unfailing support, is one of the most direct and dangerous of the corruptions that are carried on by the immediate servants of the sovereign; and, at the same time, is of such a kind, as hardly to be reached by any penal or prohibitory enactment; and, in fact, would only be encouraged by such a bill as that which is introduced by Sir Curwen. The obvious and effectual remedy, therefore, is to make the holders of such offices incapable of sitting or voting; and thus either cutting off entirely this whole branch of unlawful traffic, or at least curtailing its

profits to an incredible degree, by forcing it into a far more unsafe and circuitous channel.

The next step is,—to endeavour to reduce the actual amount of the influence itself, by abolishing all sinecure and unnecessary places and offices—introducing and enforcing a system of rigid and jealous economy—and throwing a part, at least, of the patronage, which is now vested in the crown, into detached and inconsiderable bodies of electors.

After that, it may perhaps be found practicable really to render corruption more difficult—by multiplying the numbers, and raising the qualifications of voters—by taking away the right of election from decayed, inconsiderable, and *rotten* boroughs, and bestowing it on great towns, possessing various and divided wealth. But, though the increased number of voters will make it more difficult to bribe them, and their greater opulence render them less liable to be bribed; still, we confess that the chief benefit which we expect from any provisions of this sort, is the security which we think they will afford for the improvement, maintenance, and propagation of a free spirit among the people—a feeling of political right, and of individual interest, among so great a number of persons, as will make it not only *intractable*, but *unsafe*, to invade their liberties, or trespass upon their privileges. It is never to be forgotten, that the great and ultimate barrier against corruption, oppression, and arbitrary power, must always be raised on public opinion—and on opinion so valued and so asserted, as to point resolutely to *resistance*, if it be once insulted, or set at defiance. In order to have this public opinion, however, either sufficiently strong, or sufficiently enlightened, to afford such a security, it is quite necessary that a very large body of the people be taught to set a value upon the rights which it is qualified to protect,—that their reason, their moral principles, their pride, and habitual feelings, should all be engaged on the side of their political independence,—that their attention should be frequently directed to their rights and their duties, as citizens of a free state,—and their eyes, ears, hearts and affections, familiarized with the spectacles, and themes, and occasions, that remind them of those rights and duties. In a commercial country like England, the pursuit of wealth, or of personal comfort, is apt to engross the whole care of the body of the people; and, if property be tolerably secured by law, and a vigilant police repress actual outrage and disorder, they are likely enough to fall into a general forgetfulness of their political rights, and even to regard as burdensome those political functions, without the due exercise of which the whole frame of our liberties would soon dissolve, and fall to pieces. It is of infinite and incalculable importance, therefore, to spread, as widely as possible, among the people,

people, the feelings and the love of their political bleſſings—to exerciſe them unceaſingly in the evolutions of a free conſtitution—and to train them to thoſe ſentiments of pride, and jealouſy, and ſelf-eſteem, which ariſe naturally from their experience of their own value and importance in the great order of ſociety, and upon which alone the fabric of a free government can ever be ſafely erected.

We indicate all theſe things very briefly; both becauſe we cannot now afford room for a more full expoſition of them, and becauſe it is not our intention to exhauſt this great ſubject on the preſent occaſion, but rather to place before our readers a few of the leading principles upon which we ſhall think it our duty to expatiate at other opportunities. We cannot, however, bring even theſe preliminary and miſcellaneous obſervations to a cloſe, without taking ſome notice of a topic which ſeems peculiarly in favour with the reaſoning enemies of reform; and to which we cannot reply, without developing, in a more ſtriking manner than we have yet done, the nature of our apprehenſions from the influence of the crown, and of our expectations of good from the increaſed ſpirit and intelligence of the people.

The argument to which we allude, proceeds upon the conceſſion, that the influence of the crown has increaſed very greatly within the laſt fifty years; and conſiſts almoſt entirely in the aſſertion, that this increaſe, great as it undoubtedly is, yet has not kept pace with the general increaſe which has taken place, in the ſame period, in the wealth, weight and influence, of the people; ſo that, in point of fact, the power of the crown, although *abſolutely* greater, is *proportionally* leſs than it was at the commencement of the preſent reign; and ought to be augmented, rather than diminiſhed, if our object be to preſerve the antient balance of the conſtitution. We muſt do Mr Windham the juſtice to ſay, that he does not make uſe of this argument; but it forms the grand reſerve of Mr Roſe's battle; and, we think, is more frequently and triumphantly brought forward than any other, by thoſe who affect to juſtify abuſes by argumentation.

The firſt anſwer we make to it, conſiſts in denying the fact upon which it proceeds, at leaſt in the ſenſe in which it muſt be aſſerted, in order to afford any ſhadow of colour to the concluſion. There is, undoubtedly, far more wealth in the country than there was fifty years ago; but there is not more independence;—there are not more men whoſe incomes exceed what they conceive to be their neceſſary expenditure;—not nearly ſo many who conſider themſelves as nearly rich enough, and who would therefore look on themſelves as without apology for doing any thing againſt their duty or their opinion, for the ſake of profit to themſelves: On the

the contrary, it is notorious, and not to be disputed, that our luxury, and habits of expense, have increased considerably faster than the riches by which they were suggested—that men, in general, have now far less to spare than they had when their incomes were smaller—and that, if our condition may, in one sense, be said to be a condition of opulence, it is, still more indisputably, a condition of needy opulence. It is perfectly plain, however, that it is not the absolute amount of wealth which exists in a nation, that can ever contribute to render it politically independent of patronage, or impregnable to the persuasive voice of a munificent and discerning ruler, but the general state of content and satisfaction which results from its wealth being proportioned to its occasions of expense. It neither is, accordingly, nor ever was, among the poor, but among the expensive and extravagant, that corruption looks for her surest and most profitable game; nor can her influence ever be anywhere so great, as in a country where almost all those to whom she will think it most important to address herself, are straitened for money, and eager for preferment—dissatisfied with their condition as to fortune—and, whatever may be the amount of their possessions, practically needy, and impatient of their embarrassments. This is the case with the greater part even of those who actually possess the riches for which this country is so distinguished: but the effect of their prosperity has been, to draw a far greater proportion of the people within the sphere of ambition—to diffuse those habits of expense which give corruption her chief hold and purchase, among multitudes who are spectators only of the splendour in which they cannot participate, and are infected with the cravings and aspirations of the objects of their envy, even before they come to be placed in their circumstances. Such needy adventurers are constantly generated by the rapid progress of wealth and luxury; and are sure to seek and court that corruption which is obliged to seek and court, though with too great a probability of success, those whose condition they miscalculate, and labour to attain. Such a state of things, therefore, is far more favourable to the exercise of the corrupt influence of government, than a state of greater poverty and moderation; and the same limited means of seduction will go infinitely farther among a people in the one situation than in the other. The same temptations that were repelled by the simple poverty of Fabricius, would, in all probability, have bought half the golden satraps of the Persian monarch, or swayed the counsels of wealthy and venal Rome, in the splendid days of Catiline and Cæsar.

This, therefore, is our first answer; and it is so complete, we think, as not to require any other, for the mere purpose of confutation. But the argument is founded upon so strange and so dangerous

gerous a misapprehension of the true state of the case, that we think it our duty to unfold the whole fallacy upon which it proceeds, and to show what very opposite consequences are really to be drawn from the circumstances that have been so imperfectly conceived, or so perversely viewed, by those who contend for increasing the patronage of the sovereign as a balance to the increasing consequence of the people.

There is a foundation, in fact, for some part of this proposition; but a foundation that has been strangely misunderstood by those who have sought to build upon it so revolting a conclusion. The people *has* increased in consequence, in power, and in political importance. Over all Europe, we verily believe, that they are everywhere growing too strong for their governments; and that, if these governments are to be preserved, *some* measures must be taken to accommodate them to this great change in the condition and interior structure of society. But this increase of consequence is not owing to their having grown richer; and still less is it to be provided against, by increasing the means of corruption in the hands of their rulers. This requires, and really deserves, a little more explanation.

All political societies may be considered as divided into three great classes or orders. In the first place, the governors, or those who are employed, or hope to be employed by the governors,—and who therefore either have, or expect to have, profit or advantage of some sort from the government. In the second place, those who are in opposition to the government, who feel the burdens and restraints which it imposes, are jealous of the honours and emoluments it enjoys or distributes, and grudge the expense and submission which it requires, under an apprehension, that the good it accomplishes is not worth so great a sacrifice. And, thirdly and finally, those who may be counted for nothing in all political arrangements—who are ignorant, indifferent, and quiescent—who submit to all things without grumbling or satisfaction—and are contented to consider the existing institutions as a part of the natural order to which it is their duty to accommodate themselves.

In rude and early ages, this last division includes by far the greater part of the people: but, as society advances, and intellect begins to develop itself, a greater and a greater proportion is withdrawn from it, and joined to the two other divisions. These drafts, however, are not made indiscriminately, or in equal numbers to the two remaining orders; but tend to throw a preponderating weight, either into the scale of the government, or into that of its opponents, according to the character of that government, and the nature of the circumstances by which they have

have been roufed from their neutrality. The diffufion of knowledge, the improvements of education, and the gradual defcent and expanfion of thofe maxims of individual or political wifdom that are fucceffively eftablifhed by reflexion and experience, neceffarily raife up more and more of the mafs of the population from that ftate of brutifh acquiefcence and incurious ignorance in which they originally flumbered. They begin to feel their relation to the government under which they live; and, guided by thofe feelings, and the analogies of their private intereits and affections, they begin to form, or to borrow, *opinions* upon the merit or demerit of the inftitutions and adminiftration, to the effects of which they are fubjected; and to conceive *fentiments* either hoftile or friendly to fuch inftitutions and adminiftration. If the government be mild and equitable—if its undertakings are profperous, its impofitions eafy, and its patronage impartial—the greater part of thofe who are thus fucceffively awakened into a ftate of rational and political capacity, will be enrolled among its fupporters, and ftrengthen it againft the factious, ambitious, and difappointed perfons, who alone will be found in oppofition to it. But if, on the other hand, this difclofure of intellectual and political fenfibility occur at a period when the government is capricious or oppreffive—when its plans are diftrous—its exactions burdenfome—its tone repulfive—and its diftribution of favours moft corrupt and unjuft;—it will infallibly happen, that the greater part of thofe who are thus called into political exiftence, will take part againft it, and be difpofed to exert themfelves for its correction, or utter fubverfion.

The laft fuppofition, we think, is that which has been realized in the hiftory of Europe for the laft thirty years: and when we fay that the people has almoft every where grown too ftrong for their rulers, we mean only to fay, that, in that period, there has been a prodigious development in the underftanding and intelligence of the great mafs of the population; and that this makes them much lefs willing to fubmit to the folly and corruption of moft of their antient governments. The old inftinctive feelings of loyalty and implicit obedience, have pretty generally given way to fhrewd calculations as to their own intereits, their own powers, and the rights which arife out of thefe powers. They fee now, pretty quickly, both the weakneffes and the vices of their rulers; and, having learned to refer their own fufferings or privations, with confiderable fagacity, to their blunders and injuftice, they begin tacitly to inquire, what right they have to a fovereignty, of which they make fo bad a ufe,—and how they would protect themfelves, if all who hate and defpife them were to unite to take it from them. Sentiments of this fort, we are well aflured,

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have been prevalent over all the enlightened parts of Europe for the laſt thirty years, and are every day gaining ſtrength and popularity. Kings and nobles, and miniſters and agents of government, are no longer looked upon with veneration and awe,—but rather with a mixture of contempt and jealouſy. Their errors and vices are canvaſſed, among all ranks of perſons, with extreme freedom and ſeverity. The corruptions by which they ſeek to fortify themſelves, are regarded with indignation and vindictive abhorrence; and the excuſes, with which they palliate them, with diſguſt and deriſion. Their deceptions are almoſt univerſally ſeen through; and their incapacity detected and deſpiſed by an unprecedented portion of the whole population which they govern.

It is in this ſenſe, as we conceive it, that the people throughout civilized Europe have grown too ſtrong for their rulers; and that *ſome* alteration in the balance or adminiſtration of their governments, has become neceſſary for their preſervation. They have become too ſtrong,—not in wealth,—but in *intellect*, activity, and available numbers; and the tranquillity of their governments has been endangered, not from their want of pecuniary influence, but from their want of moral reſpectability and intellectual vigour.

Such is the true ſtate of the evil; and the cure, according to the Engliſh opponents of reform, is to increaſe the patronage of the crown! The remote and original cauſe of the danger, is the improved intelligence, and more perfect intercourſe of the people,—a cauſe which it is not lawful to wiſh removed, and which, at any rate, the propoſed remedy has no tendency to remove. The immediate and proximate cauſe, is the corruption of the government; and the cure that is ſeriouſly recommended, is to increaſe that corruption!—to add to the weight of the burdens under which the people is ſinking,—and to multiply the examples of partiality, profuſion and profligacy, by which they are revolted!

An abſurdity ſo extravagant, however, could not have ſuggeſted itſelf, even to the perſons by whom it has been ſo triumphantly recommended, unleſs it had been palliated by ſome colour of plauſibility; and their error (which really does not ſeem very unnatural for men of their deſcription) ſeems to have conſiſted merely in ſuppoſing that *all* thoſe who were diſcontented in the country, were diſappointed candidates for place and profit; and that the whole clamour which had been raiſed againſt the misgovernment of the modern world, originated in a violent deſire to participate in the emoluments of that misgovernment. Upon this ſuppoſition, it will immediately be ſeen, that their remedy was moſt judiciouſly deviſed.—All the diſcontent was among thoſe who wanted to be bribed—all the clamour among

mong those who were impatient for preferment. Increase the patronage of the Crown therefore—make more sinecures, more jobs, more nominal and real posts of emolument and honour,—and you will allay the discontent, and still the clamour, which are now 'frighting our isle from her propriety!'

This, to be sure, is very plausible and ingenious—as well as highly creditable to the honour of the nation, and the moral *experience* of its contrivers. But the fact unfortunately is quite different. There are *two* sets of persons to be managed and appeased; and the misfortune is, that what would gratify the one, will only exasperate the discontents of the other. The one wants unmerited honours, and unearned emoluments—a further abuse of patronage—a more shameful misapplication of the means of the nation. The other wants a correction of abuses—an abridgement of patronage—a diminution of the public burdens—a more just distribution of its trusts, dignities and rewards. This last party is by far the strongest, and the most formidable; for it is daily recruited out of the mass of the population, over which reason is daily extending her dominion; and depends, for its ultimate success, upon nothing less than the irresistible progress of intelligence—of a true and enlightened sense of interest—and a feeling of inherent right united to undoubted power. It is difficult, then, to doubt of its ultimate triumph; and it must appear to be infinitely rash to think of opposing its progress, by measures which are directly calculated to add to its strength. By increasing the patronage or influence of the crown, a few more venal spirits may be attracted, by the precarious tie of a dishonest interest, to withstand all attempts at reform, and to clamour in behalf of all existing practices and institutions. But, for every worthless auxiliary that is thus recruited for the defence of established abuses, is it not evident that there will be a thousand new enemies called forth by the additional abuse exemplified in the new patronage that is created, and the new scene of corruption that is exhibited, in exchanging this patronage for this dishonourable support?—For a nation to endeavour to strengthen itself against the attempts of reformers by a deliberate augmentation of its corruptions, is not more politic, than for a spendthrift to think of relieving himself of his debts by borrowing at usurious interest to pay what is demanded, and thus increasing the burden which he affects to be throwing off.

The only formidable discontent, in short, that now subsists in the country, is that of those who are *reasonably discontented*; and the only part of the people whose growing strength really looks menacingly on the government, is that which has been alienated by its corruptions, and enabled, by its own improving intelligence,

telligence, to unmask its deceptions, and to discover the secret of its selfishness and incapacity. The great object of its jealousy, is the enormous influence of the crown, and the monstrous abuses of patronage to which that influence gives occasion. It is, therefore, of all infatuations the wildest and most desperate, to hold out that the progress of this discontent makes it proper to give the crown more influence, and that it can only be effectually conciliated, by putting more patronage in the way of abuse.

In stating the evils and dangers of corruption and profligacy in a government, we must always keep it in view, that such a system can never be *universally* palatable, even among the basest and most depraved people of which history has preserved any memorial. If this were otherwise indeed—if a whole nation were utterly and entirely venal and corrupt, and each willing to wait his time of dishonourable promotion, things might go on with sufficient smoothness at least; and as such a nation would not be worth mending, on the one hand, so there would, in fact, be much less need, on the other, for that untoward operation. The supposition, however, is obviously impossible; and, in such a country at least as England, it may perhaps be truly stated, as the most alarming consequence of corruption, that, if allowed to go on without any effectual check, it will infallibly generate such a spirit of discontent, as necessarily to bring on some dreadful convulsion, and overturn the very foundations of the constitution. It is thus fraught with a *double* evil to a country enjoying a free government. In the first place, it gradually corrodes and destroys almost all that is free or valuable in its constitution; and, secondly, it ensures its ultimate subversion by the tremendous crash of an insurrection or revolution. It first makes the government oppressive and intolerable; and then it oversets it altogether by a necessary, but dreadful calamity.

These two evils may appear to be opposite to each other; and it is certain, that, though brought on by the same course of conduct, they cannot be inflicted by the same set of persons. Those who are the slaves and the ministers of corruption, cannot be those who crush it, with a visiting vengeance, under the ruins of the social order; and it is in forgetting that there are two sets of persons to be conciliated in all such questions, that the portentous fallacy which we are considering mainly consists. The government may be very corrupt, and a very considerable part of the nation may be debased and venal, while there is still spirit and virtue enough left, when the measure of provocation is full, to inflict a signal and sanguinary vengeance, and utterly to

overthrow the fabric which has been defiled by this traffic of iniquity. And there may be great spirit, and strength, and capacity of heroic resentment in a nation, which will yet allow its institutions to be perverted, its legislature to be polluted, and the leading part of its population to be corrupted, before it be roused to that desperate effort, in which its peace and happiness are sure to suffer along with the guilt which brings down the thunder. In such an age of the world as the present, however, it may be looked upon as absolutely certain, that if the guilt be persisted in, the vengeance will follow; and that all *reasonable* discontent will accumulate and gain strength, as reason and experience advance; till, at the last, it works its own reparation, and sweeps the offence from the earth with the force and the fury of a whirlwind.

In such a view of the moral destiny of nations, there is something elevating as well as terrible. Yet, the terror preponderates, for those who are to witness the catastrophe: and all reason, as well as all humanity, urges us to use every effort to avoid the crisis and the shock, by a timely reformation, and an earnest and sincere attempt to conciliate the hostile elements of our society, by mutual concession and indulgence.—It is for this reason, chiefly, that we feel such extreme solicitude for a legislative reform of our system of representation,—in some degree as a pledge of the willingness of the government to admit of reform where it is requisite; but chiefly, no doubt, as in itself most likely to stay the flood of venality and corruption,—to reclaim a part of those who had begun to yield to its seductions,—and to reconcile those to the government and constitution of their country, who had begun to look upon it with a mingled feeling of contempt, hostility and despair. That such a reform as we have contemplated, in the earlier part of these observations, would go far to produce those happy effects, we think must appear evident to all who agree with us as to the nature and origin of the evils from which we now suffer. One of its chief advantages, however, will consist in its relieving and abating the spirit of discontent which is generated by the spectacle of our present corruptions, both by giving it scope and vent, and by the vast facilities it must afford to its labours of regeneration. By the extension of the elective franchise, many of those who are most hostile to the existing system, because, under it, they are excluded from all share of power or political importance, will have a part assigned them, both more safe and more active, than murmuring, or meditating vengeance against such a scheme of exclusion. The influence of such men will be usefully exerted in exciting a popular spirit, and in expos-

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ing the base and dishonest practices that may still interfere with the freedom of election. By some alteration in the borough qualifications, the body of electors in general will be invested with a more respectable character, and feel a greater jealousy of every thing that may tend to degrade or dishonour them: but, above all, the exclusion of a great body of placemen from the legislature, by cutting off a great part of the minister's most profitable harvest of corruption, will force his party also to have recourse to more honourable means of popularity, and to appeal to principles that must ultimately promote the cause of independence.

By the introduction, in short, of a system of reform, even more moderate and cautious than that which we have ventured to indicate, we think that a wholesome and legitimate play will be given to those principles of opposition to corruption, monopoly and abuse, which, by the denial of all reform, are in danger of being fomented into a decided spirit of hostility to the government and the institutions of the country. Instead of brooding, in sullen and helpless silence, over the vices and errors which are ripening into intolerable evil, and seeing, with a stern and vindictive joy, wrong accumulated to wrong, and corruption heaped up to corruption, it will be continually interfering, with active and successful zeal, to correct, restrain and deter. Instead of being the avenger of our murdered liberties, it will be their living protector; and the censor, not the executioner, of the constitution. It will not descend, only at long intervals, like the Avatar of the Indian mythology, to expiate, with terrible vengeance, a long series of consummated crimes; but, like the Providence of a better faith, will keep watch perpetually over the actions of corrigible men, and bring them back from their aberrations, by merciful chastisement, timely admonition, and the blessed experience of purer principles of action.

Such, according to our conviction of the fact, is the true state of the case as to the increasing weight and consequence of the people; and such the nature of the policy which we think this change in the structure of our society calls upon us to adopt. The people are grown strong in intellect, resolution, and mutual reliance,—quick in the detection of the abuses by which they are wronged, and confident in the powers by which they may be compelled ultimately to seek their redress. Against *this* strength, it is something more wild than madness, and more contemptible than folly, to think of arraying an additional phalanx of abuses, and drawing out a wider range of corruptions. In *that* contest, the issue cannot be doubtful, nor the conflict long; and, deplorable as the victory will be, which is gained over order, as well as

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over guilt, the blame will rest heaviest upon those whose offences first provoked, what may very probably turn out a sanguinary and an unjustifiable vengeance.

The conclusions, then, which we would draw from the facts that have been relied on by the enemies of reform, are indeed of a very opposite description; and the course which is pointed out by these new circumstances in our situation, appears to us no less obvious, than it is safe and promising. If the people have risen into greater consequence, let them have greater power. If a greater proportion of our population be now capable and desirous of exercising the functions of free citizens, let a greater number be admitted to the exercise of these functions. If the quantity of mind and of will, that must now be represented in our legislature, be prodigiously increased since the frame of that legislature was adjusted, let its basis be widened, so as to rest on all that intellect and will. If there be a new power and energy generated in the nation, for the due application of which, there is no contrivance in the original plan of the constitution, let it flow into those channels through which all similar powers were ordained to act by the principles of that plan. The power itself you can neither repress nor annihilate; and, if it be not assimilated to the system of the constitution, you seem to be aware that it will overwhelm and destroy it. To set up against it the power of influence and corruption, is to set up that by which its strength is recruited, and its safe application rendered infinitely more difficult: it is to defend your establishments, by loading them with a weight which of itself makes them totter under its pressure, and, at the same time, affords a safe and inviting approach to the assailant.

In our own case, too, nothing fortunately is easier, than to reduce this growing power of the people within the legitimate bounds and cantonments of the constitution; and nothing more obvious, than that, when so legalized and provided for, it can tend only to the exaltation and improvement of our condition, and must add strength and stability to the throne, as well as to the other branches of the legislature. It seems a strange doctrine to be held by any one in this land, and, above all, by the chief votaries and advocates of royal power, that its legal security consists in its means of corruption, or can be endangered by the utmost freedom and intelligence in the body of the people, and the utmost purity and popularity of our elections—so long as the powers and privileges of the three branches of the legislature are kept unconfounded and entire. The only use of influence, in the hands of the government, is to soften the exercise of its legitimate power, and to prevent the shock of a naked collision between the prerogative

tive and the controlling principles of the constitution. But the prerogative itself is the measure and the ultimate support of the legal authority; and a government by influence, is necessarily the government of a faction which has made itself illegally independent both of the sovereign and of the people. Under an arbitrary government, where the powers of the monarch are confessedly unjust and oppressive, and are claimed, and openly asserted, not as the instruments of public benefit, but as the means of individual gratification, such a jealousy of popular independence is sufficiently intelligible: but, in a government like ours, where all the powers of the Crown are universally acknowledged to exist for the good of the people, it is evidently quite extravagant to fear, that any increase of union and intelligence—any growing love of freedom and justice in the people—should endanger, or should fail to confirm, all these powers and prerogatives.

We have not left ourselves room to enter more at large into this interesting question; but we feel perfectly assured, and ready to maintain, that, as the institution of a limited, hereditary monarchy, must always appear the wisest and most reasonable of all human institutions, and that to which increasing reflection and experience will infallibly attach men more and more as the world advances; so, the prerogatives of such a monarch will always be safer and more inviolate, the more the sentiment of liberty, and the love of their political rights, is diffused and encouraged among his people. A legitimate sovereign, in short, who reigns by the fair exercise of his prerogative, can have no enemies among the lovers of regulated freedom; and the hostility of such men—by far the most terrible of all internal hostility—can only be directed towards him, when his throne is enveloped, by treacherous advisers, with the hosts of corruption; and disguised, for their ends, in the borrowed colours of tyranny.

We now close these loose and miscellaneous observations; in which it has been our object rather to obviate the general prejudices which stand in the way of a practical reform, than to unfold the details of any scheme which may be proposed for its accomplishment;—rather to combat *the spirit* by which the most common objections to that great measure are suggested, than to dissect and refute the objections themselves, in a regular and systematical argument.—In looking back upon what we have written, we confess we do not see any thing to which the appellation, either of Jacobin or of Utopian, can be applied; and, while we conceive it to be of the utmost importance that the fundamental and preliminary views which we have here ventured to take of these great questions, should be rendered familiar to the understandings of all who may be called on to take any part, however

humble, in public life, we willingly renew our pledge, never to lose sight of this interesting topic; and never to remit our endeavours to direct the attention of the public to a subject in which they are more interested than in any other, and on which, if they think at all, it is scarcely possible that they should either think wrong, or fail to realize what they have deliberately approved.

Art. II. *Letters of the Marquise du Deffand to the Honourable Horace Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, from the Year 1766 to the Year 1780. To which are added, Letters of Mad. du Deffand to Voltaire.* Published from the Originals at Strawberry Hill. 4 vol. 8vo. London, Longman, &c. 1810.

We have recently had occasion to speak a good deal of Mad. du Deffand, and the circle of wits and beaux-esprits with which the variety of her talents and the charms of her conversation, in spite of age and blindness, continued for so long a period to surround her. The part of her epistolary correspondence which now lies under our review, consisted chiefly of letters addressed to her from friends, among whom she had the happiness to reckon several of the most distinguished persons in Europe. The letters now before us are her own, and are most of them addressed to the late Lord Orford, one of her most regular and constant correspondents, and the person to whom, in the latter part of her life at least, she appears to have been most sincerely attached. To him she bequeathed, at her death, the whole of her manuscripts, papers, letters and books of every kind, with a permission to the Prince of Beauvau, one of her executors, to take a copy of any of the papers he might desire, before they were sent to England.

It is probably to this permission that we owe the three volumes of Mad. du Deffand's correspondence which have just been added to the originals of about six of which are now in the possession of the editor of these letters, having been among the papers dispersed at Strawberry Hill. No publication, therefore, can come before the public in a shape more authentic, and more decisive of its authenticity, than that which is now before us.

In another respect, also, the circumstances of this publication are greatly in its favour. The editor having left no room to doubt the text, or throw light on the persons and incidents to which it refers. This was highly necessary, and at the same time, of no inconsiderable difficulty. The society of Mad. du Deffand consisted of a great variety of persons, who,

who, though conspicuous and well known at the time when they lived, yet to us foreigners, at the distance of forty years, must, many of them, require to be introduced with some historical detail. In this respect, the editor has anticipated the wishes of the reader, and has furnished him, very concisely and clearly, with all the information he can desire, concerning the persons and events that are passing before him. This undertaking was in fact more arduous than at first appears; requiring qualifications which neither editors nor authors are always in possession of; as it could be executed by no person who had not lived in the best society both of France and England, and was not well acquainted with the history and manners of the fashionable world in both countries. One might have looked long in vain for one possessing these requisites among the grave and learned bodies from which the ranks of scholiasts and commentators are usually recruited.

A preface by the editor, and a life of Mad. du Deffand, serve to prepare the reader for what he is to expect in the letters, and to make him somewhat acquainted with the person of the author.

In the first of these, we are given to understand,

—'that public events and public characters are less dwelt upon in the following letters than might have been expected; and that they are, therefore, sometimes rendered less generally interesting than such a long-continued correspondence would naturally have been between two persons so justly distinguished, in their several countries, for wit, liveliness, quickness of observation, good taste, and knowledge of the world. Both too, living in intimacy with the most celebrated characters of that world, at Paris and London.

'Without wishing to be the panegyrist either of the writer or the person addressed, a few words are due to both their characters, in explanation of what has just been mentioned.—Mr. Walpole was writing in a language not his own; his style, though (as Mad. du Deffand repeatedly allows) full of energy and life, was likewise full of inaccuracies as to French phraseology and arrangement; and he felt that he was not always aware of the force of his words, or the construction which might be put upon his phrases: he was convinced too (and indeed it was a well known fact) that, in the latter part of the reign of Louis XV, all English letters from and to persons whose names were known in the world, were opened at the Post-office at Paris; and, before they were allowed to reach the place of their destination, were often (though containing only private anecdote) sent to Versailles, to amuse the inferiors, or feed the malice of the worthless profligates of both sexes, who, during the latter years of his life, composed the intimate society of Louis XV. On this circumstance Mr. Walpole was repeatedly reminding his correspondent, and on this account regarding, not only his own pen, but hers

whenever it was happily deviating into character, anecdote, or opinion.

'To this must be added, that one of the principal features, and it must be called (when carried to such excess) one of the principal weaknesses of Mr Walpole's character, was a fear of ridicule—a fear which, like most others, often leads to greater danger than that which it seeks to avoid. At the commencement of Mr Walpole's acquaintance with Mad. du Deffand he was near fifty, and she above seventy years of age, and entirely blind. She had already long passed the first epoch in the life of a Frenchwoman, that of gallantry, and had as long been established as a *bel-esprit*: and it is to be remembered that in the antirevolutionary world of Paris these epochas in life were as determined, and as strictly observed, as the changes of dress on a particular day of the different seasons; and that a woman endeavouring to attract lovers after she had ceased to be *galante*, would have been not less ridiculous than her wearing velvet when all the rest of the world were in *demi-saisons*. Mad. du Deffand, therefore, old and blind, had no more idea of attaching Mr Walpole to her as a lover, than she had of the possibility of any one suspecting her of such an intention; and indulged her lively feelings, and the violent fancy she had taken for his conversation and character, in every expression of admiration and attachment, which she really felt, and which she never supposed capable of misinterpretation. By himself they were not misinterpreted; but he seems to have had ever before his eyes a very unnecessary dread of their being so by others—a fear lest Mad. du Deffand's extreme partiality and high opinion should expose him to suspicions of entertaining the same opinion of himself, or of its leading her to some extravagant mark of attachment; and all this, he persuaded himself, was to be exposed in their letters to all the clerks of the Post-office at Paris, and all the idlers at Versailles.

'This accounts for the ungracious language in which he often replied to the importunities of her anxious affection; a language so foreign to his heart, and so contrary to his own habits in friendship. This too accounts for his constantly repressing on her part all effusions of sentiment, all disquisitions on the human heart, and all communications of its vexations, weaknesses, and pains. She frequently, and with much reason, laments the shackles which Mr Walpole imposed on their correspondence, and is aware that they often reduce her letters to a dry enumeration of insignificant facts, complaints of misapprehended sentiments, and repetitions of the few subjects on which she was allowed to touch with impunity. These repetitions the Editor has endeavoured to suppress as much as was thought compatible with the preservation of the original character of the Letters and of their Writer.' *Preface*, p. vii—xi.

But after all the warning here given, and the apology made, the reader will be a little astonished at the warmth with which the old lady frequently addresses Mr Walpole; he will at least

scrum

seem to recognize the language of a sentiment more tender than that of friendship, and will smile at the formal and repulsive seriousness with which the latter reproves the former for her indiscretions, and her *emportemens romanesques.*

A life of Mad. du Deffand, which follows the Preface, is extremely well written, and abounds with excellent remarks. Her character appears to be drawn with great justness and discrimination.

'It would be superfluous, and indeed impossible, to trace the beginning of Mad. du Deffand's acquaintance with the series of distinguished persons who frequented her society, and courted her correspondence.

'All the letters addressed to her prove how much both the one and the other were sought, by those from whom such a distinction would be the most flattering; and all her own letters prove how unavailing the applause of friends, the flattery of wits, and the homage of the world, to the real comfort and happiness of life, to that enviable situation of mind—

——— "*Quod se sibi reddat amicum*
"*Quod purè tranquillet.*"

This Mad. du Deffand seems never to have known. Courted as she was, to the last moment of a protracted life, by all the great, the gay, and the distinguished, both of her own country and those of every other, whom business or pleasure led to Paris, she might naturally be supposed to enjoy the most agreeable existence that her age, sex, and infirmity could admit: yet, we see Mad. du Deffand devoured by that ennui which she considers as the most insupportable ill of the human mind, and which her whole life seems to have been consumed in an ineffectual effort to avoid.

'We see her repeatedly complaining of existence as an irremediable evil, and yet owning her repugnance to quit it. We see her by turns dissatisfied with all her friends, and for ever doubting the reality of friendship; though eagerly seeking its support, exacting its attentions, and indeed, on her own part, fulfilling its duties. We see her yet more constantly discontented with herself than others—"Si je ne fais pas cas des autres, j'en fais encore moins de moi."—"J'ai plus de peine en vérité à me supporter, que je n'en ai à supporter les autres." Much of this ennui must certainly be attributed to her blindness, which making her entirely dependant upon others for every species of occupation and amusement, converted society and conversation, from an indulgence and a luxury, into an absolute necessary of life; but much too must fairly attach to her character; to the habits of a mind naturally lively and acute, uncorrected by any real education, unsustained by any real religious principles, and consequently unenlightened by any of those great and benevolent views of human nature, which assure superior minds of the existence both of virtue and friendship, while it leads them to tolerate deviations from the one, and to forgive neglects in the other; because

because they consider the human character, in spite of all its vices and all its follies, as the work of an infinitely benevolent Being, in which, as in all his creation, benevolence must necessarily predominate.

'Of herself, her talents, and endowments, she seems to have entertained a very humble opinion, and she owns all the faults and weaknesses of her mind with a sincerity, a regret, and an absence of all affectation, which certainly formed the principal charm of her character, and indicated its capability of becoming much superior to what it ever really was. Mr Walpole, in a manuscript note upon her character, drawn by herself, and published in this collection, says—"Her severity to herself was not occasional or affected modesty. She constantly thought and spoke unfavourably of her own amusing parts; and knowing no language but her own, and never having taken any studious pains (though she had read a vast deal) to improve herself, she fancied that she was more ignorant than many others. But the vivacity and strength of her mind, her prodigious quickness, her conception, as just as it was clear, her natural power of reasoning, her wit, the simplicity of her eloquence, her scorn of whatever was false or affected, and her long acquaintance with and knowledge of the world, her intercourse with the brightest geniuses of the age, and of that best age (at least such as remained), raised her to a level with them." *Life*, p. lv—lvi.

The letters are strongly impressed with the character of their author. They are written with great liveliness and force; with a considerable share of wit, and in a style perfectly natural and unaffected. In this last quality, indeed, which forms one of their principal charms, we do not know that they are outdone by any epistolary writings, either of ancient or of modern times. Where they treat of character, they are often severe and satirical in an extreme degree: they show deep and penetrating observation; and are evidently the work of one who had little indulgence to give; who had a pleasure in dwelling on blemishes and imperfections; and was by no means disposed to gloss them over, even in a friend. There is one defence, however, which may be fairly made for Mad. du Deffand, as stated in the passage already quoted from her life, that she was more severe and unforgiving to herself, than to any other person; and never inveighed with such bitterness against any one's errors as her own. In many of her letters, she does nothing but complain of her own wretchedness; a wretchedness that does not arise from misfortunes that had befallen her—from loss of friends—from the evils that wring the heart, and overwhelm it with sorrow. From these last, the structure of her mind probably furnished her with a sufficient defence: the great misfortune she complains of, is that of having been born. It is not from indolence or passion, but from the want of both, that her

her sufferings are derived; it is from ENNUI, one of the sorest of human evils, and the more painful that it has so little power to awake the sympathy of others. Yet her declamations on this unpromising topic have so much force and vivacity, and so much apparent truth, that the monotony of the subject is wonderfully relieved. The effect is beyond expectation; and you wonder at the interest with which you listen to her account of her sleepless nights,—of her tiresome days,—of her want of rest in the one, and her want of occupation in the other.

Though the letters generally relate either to her own feelings, or the private occurrences of the day, they touch occasionally on matters of public concern. Her remarks on the death of Lally are very characteristic. That unfortunate man is now admitted to have suffered for a crime of which he was falsely accused, and of which there never was such evidence as could justify the sentence which thirty-five judges pronounced against him. His execution was attended with circumstances of horror, which ought to have excited compassion for the sufferer, and indignation against the government, even in the minds of those who believed him guilty. They are, however, related and commented on very coolly by Mad. du Deffand.

'Lally fut exécuté avant hier, vendredi, à cinq heures du soir; le Roi avoit accordé à sa famille qu'il le seroit à la nuit: il fit plusieurs tentatives pour se tuer; la premiere fut un coup qu'il se donna à deux doigts au dessous du cœur avec la moitié d'un compas qu'il avoit caché dans la doublure de sa redingote; la seconde en voulant avaler un petit instrument de fer que les uns disent avoir été fait exprès, et d'autres que ce n'étoit qu'un cure-dent; enfin la crainte qu'il ne trouvât quelque moyen de finir avant l'exécution et de perdre une telle occasion pour l'exemple, détermina à envoyer à Choisy, représenter au Roi cet inconvénient. Il ordonna qu'on avançât l'exécution, et comme on eut peur aussi qu'il n'avalât sa langue, on lui mit un baillon. Il est mort comme un enragé; il devoit être conduit à l'échafaud dans un carosse noir, mais comme il n'arriva pas à tems (l'heure étant avancée) on le mit dans un tombereau; il a reçu deux coups; le peuple battoit des mains pendant l'exécution. On a jugé hier trois autres officiers, Cadeville, [illegible] et Pouilly; le premier a été blâmé, les deux autres hors de cour & de procès. Le public étoit [illegible] que Lally n'obtînt [illegible], ou qu'on ne commuât sa peine; il vouloit son supplice, et on a été content de tout ce qui l'a rendu plus ignominieux; [illegible], des menotes, du baillon; ce dernier a rassuré le confesseur [illegible] craignoit d'être mordu. Il y a quelques personnes qui sont [illegible], mais en petit nombre; c'étoit un grand tripot, et de plus, il étoit fort désagréable.' I. p. 26, 27. [illegible] a note, and is written with the right feeling and spirit of an Englishman.

'Ah

' Ah Madame, Madame, quelles horreurs me racontez vous là! Qu'on ne dise jamais que les Anglois sont durs et féroces—véritablement ce sont les François qui le sont. Oui, oui, vous êtes des sauvages, des Iroquois, vous autres. On a bien massacré des gens chez nous, mais a-t-on jamais vû battre des mains pendant qu'on mettoit à mort un pauvre malheureux, un officier général, qui avoit langui pendant deux ans en prison? un homme, enfin, si sensible à l'honneur, qu'il n'avoit pas voulu se sauver! si touché de la disgrace qu'il cherche à avaler les grilles de sa prison plutôt que de se voir exposé à l'ignominie publique; et c'est exactement cette honnête pudeur qui fait qu'on le traine dans un tombereau, et qu'on lui met un baillon à la bouche comme au dernier des scélérats. Mon Dieu! que je suis aise d'avoir quitté Paris avant cette horrible scene! ' I. p. 27.

How dearly has the French government since paid for the lessons of atrocity which it gave to a populace, already too well disposed to reduce them into practice!

The letters, when they do not merely record the unhappiness of the writer, nor her attachment to her friend, contain some amusing details of the incidents in the fashionable world at Paris; the little anecdotes and gossipings, as we may call them, of that great metropolis. We select the following as a curious specimen, and one which, we hope, this country will be long unable to match.

' Elle est d'environ huit jours, le Roi, après souper, va chez Mad. Victoire; il appelle, un garçon de la chambre, lui donne une lettre, en lui disant: Jacques, portez cette lettre au Duc de Choiseul, * et qu'il la remette tout à l'heure à l'Evêque d'Orléans; Jacques va chez M. de Choiseul, on lui dit qu'il est chez M. de Penthievre, il y va; M. de Choiseul est averti, reçoit la lettre, trouve sous sa main, Cadet premier laquais de Mad. de Choiseul, il lui ordonne d'aller chercher partout l'Evêque, de lui venir promptement dire où il est; Cadet, au bout d'une heure et demie, revient, dit qu'il a d'abord été chez Monseigneur, qu'il a frappé de toutes ses forces à la porte, que personne n'a repondu, qu'il a été par toute la ville sans trouver ni rien apprendre de Monseigneur. Le Duc prend le parti d'aller à l'appartement du dit Evêque, il monte cent vingt-huit marches, et donne de si furieux coups à la porte, qu'un ou deux domestiques s'éveillent, et viennent ouvrir en chemises. Où est l'Evêque?.....Il est dans son lit depuis dix heures du soir.. ....Ouvrez-moi sa porte.....L'Evêque s'éveille.....Qu'est ce qui est là?.....C'est moi, c'est une lettre du Roi.....Une lettre du Roi! eh, mon Dieu! quelle heure est il?.....Deux heures, et prend la lettre. Je ne puis lire sans lunettes.....Où sont-elles?.....Dans mes culottes. Le ministre va les chercher, et pendant ce tems-là ils se disoient: Qu'est-ce que peut contenir cette lettre? L'Archevêque de Paris est-il mort subitement?

* The prime minister.

subitement? Quelque Evêque s'est-il pendu? Ils n'étoient ni l'un ni l'autre sans inquiétudes. L'Evêque prend la lettre; le ministre offre de la lire; l'Evêque croit plus prudent de la lire d'abord; il n'en peut venir à bout, et la rend au ministre qui lut ces mots: " *Monseigneur l'Evêque d'Orleans, mes filles ont envie d'avoir du* * *co-* " *tignac, elles veulent de très-petites boîtes; envoyez-en; si vous n'en* " *avez pas, je vous prie.....* " Dans cet endroit de la lettre il y avoit une chaise à porteur dessinée: au-dessous de la chaise, " *d'en-* " *voyer sur-le-champ dans votre ville épiscopale en chercher, et que ce* " *soit de très-petites boîtes; sur ce Monsieur l'Evêque d'Orléans, Dieu* " *vous ait en sa sainte garde.* *Signé* LOUIS. " Et puis plus bas, en postscriptum: " *La chaise à porteur ne signifie* " *rien, elle étoit dessinée par mes filles sur cette feuille que j'ai trouvée* " *sous ma main.* "

' Vous jugez de l'étonnement des deux ministres; on fit partir sur-le-champ un courrier; le cotignac arriva le lendemain:—on ne s'en soucioit plus. ' I. p. 179–182.

Sometimes very ſerious ſubjects are treated of by the two friends. Mad. du Deffand was ſceptical on many points of religious belief; and, though ſhe ſometimes treats of theſe ſubjects with too much levity, her reflections on them occaſionally aſſume a tone more ſuitable to their importance. Her incredulity was probably owing to the cauſes which the author of her life has mentioned. It appears from the following appeal to Mr Walpole, to have been involuntary,—to have ariſen partly from an education of which ſhe often complains, and perhaps from the want of that temper and feeling which, whatever ſhare in the matter we aſcribe to reaſon, muſt be ſuppoſed to lay the firſt foundations of religious belief.

' Dites-moi, pourquoi, détestant la vie, je redoute la mort; rien ne m'indique que tout ne finira pas avec moi; au contraire je m'aperçois du délabrement de mon esprit ainsi que de celui de mon corps. Tout ce qu'on dit pour ou contre ne me fait nulle impression. Je n'écoute que moi, et je ne trouve que doute et qu'obscurité. *Croyez*, dit-on, *c'est le plus sûr;* mais comment croit-on ce que l'on ne comprend pas? Ce que l'on ne comprend pas peut exister sans doute, aussi je ne le nie pas; je suis comme un sourd et un aveugle né; il y a des sons, des couleurs, il en convient; mais sait-il de quoi il convient; s'il suffit de ne point nier, à la bonne heure, mais cela ne suffit pas.—Comment peut-on se decider entre un commencement et une éternité, entre le plein et le vide; aucun de mes sens ne peut me l'apprendre; que peut-on apprendre sans eux? Cependant si je ne crois pas ce qu'il faut croire, je suis menacée d'être mille et mille fois plus malheureuse après ma mort que je ne le suis pendant ma vie. A quoi se déterminer, et est-il possible de se déterminer?

* Marmalade of quinces.

terminer ? je vous le demande à vous qui avez un caractère si vrai que vous devez par sympathie trouver la vérité si elle est trouvable.' I. 312, 313.

The answer of Mr Walpole, which we have in a note, is very general; but, no doubt, contains the principle on which the difficulties of his friend were to be resolved.

'Et c'est à moi que vous vous adressez pour résoudre vos doutes! Je crois fermement à un Dieu tout puissant, tout juste, tout plein de miséricorde et de bonté. Je suis persuadé que l'esprit de bienveillance et de bienfaisance est l'offrande la moins indigne de lui être presentée.' *Note*, vol. I. p. 313.

The passage that follows may serve to give an idea of the ordinary style of these letters, where there is nothing very peculiar either in the thoughts or the incidents. Her forcible and unaffected manner is always the same.

'Sachez, je vous prie une fois pour toutes, que vous me faites infiniment trop d'honneur quand vous prétendez que je dois penser comme vous; vous avez infiniment plus de lumière, plus de fermeté, de courage, de constance, de talent, de ressource, que moi, qui suis foible, incertaine, portée à la mélancholie, ayant besoin d'appui, ne connoissant plus de plaisir que celui de la conversation; la société m'est devenue nécessaire, c'est le plus grand besoin de ma vie; et vous voulez qu'il me soit aussi indifférent qu'à vous de vivre avec des gens faux ou sinceres. N'est-il pas insupportable de n'entendre jamais la vérité? Cela ne vous fait rien à vous, vous n'observez que pour vous moquer, vous ne tenez a rien, vous vous passez de tout; enfin, enfin, rien ne vous est nécessaire; le ciel en soit béni, vous êtes heureux, non pas à ma maniere, mais à la vôtre, qui vaut cent fois mieux.

'Tout le bien que vous m'avez dit de M. de Liancourt m'a donné envie de le connoître; on me l'a emmené; il est infiniment content de vous, il m'a très-bien raconté votre fête, il vous trouve très-aimable, il se loue beaucoup de vos attentions, de votre politesse; je l'ai trouvé fort naturel, fort simple; je ne sais d'où vient il passe ici pour un sot; j'ai plus de foi à vos jugemens qu'à ceux de mes compatriotes. Venons à la grand'maman. *

'Je suis ravie qu'elle soit à Chanteloup, et qu'elle n'ait aucun rôle à jouer. J'aurois bien des choses à vous dire, mais la discrétion que je professe m'impose silence. Je trouverai peut-être quelque occasion, et j'en profiterai. Je passai hier la soirée avec les deux Maréchales, je les verrai encore ce soir. Voilà les personnes qu'il faut voir pour étudier le monde, et le bien connoître. Oh! que la grand'maman est peu faite pour ce monde-là, et qu'elle est bien à Chanteloup, avec son abbé, son petit oncle, ses moutons, ses manufactures, ses paysans, ses curés, ses chanoines, quoiqu'il y ait entre ces

* Dutchess of Choiseul.

ces deux derniers de grandes divisions sur qui aura le pas à la procession de demain. L'Abbé me fait un journal de tout ce qui se passe, il vous divertiroit ; notre correspondance est assez agréable, et fort gaie.' I. p. 316—318.

The opinions which an author entertains of his own works, and of their comparative merit, is always an object of curiosity. In a letter to Mad. du Deffand, Mr Walpole speaks thus of the Castle of Otranto.

'On a donc traduit mon Château d'Otrante ; c'étoit apparemment pour me donner un ridicule ; à la bonne heure—tenez-vous au parti de n'en point parler ; laissez aller les critiques ; elles ne me fâcheront point ; je ne l'ai point écrit pour ce siècle-ci, qui ne veut que de la *raison froide*. Je vous avoue, ma Petite, et vous m'en trouverez plus foi que jamais, que de tous mes ouvrages c'est l'unique où je me suis plu ; j'ai laissé courir mon imagination ; les visions et les passions m'échauffoient. Je l'ai fait au dépit des régles, des critiques, et des philosophes ; et il me semble qu'il n'en vaille que mieux. Je suis même persuadé que dans quelque tems d'ici, quand le goût reprendra sa place, que la philosophie occupe, mon pauvre Château trouvera des admirateurs : il en a actuellement chez nous ; j'en viens de donner la troisième édition. Ce que je viens de dire n'est pas pour mandier votre suffrage ; je vous ai constamment dit que vous ne l'aimeriez pas : vos visions sont d'un genre différent. Je ne suis pas tout à fait fâché qu'on ait donné la seconde préface ; cependant la première répond mieux à la fiction ; j'ai voulu qu'elle passât pour ancienne, et presque tout le monde en fut la dupe. Je ne cherche pas querelle avec Voltaire, mais je dirai jusqu'à la mort, que notre Shakespear est mille piques au-dessus.' I. p. 130, 131.

It would appear from this, that Mr Walpole was not satisfied with the reception which the Castle of Otranto met with ; that he blamed for it *the raison froide* of the present time ; and looked forward to an age of purer taste, when it would meet with the approbation it deserved. For our part, we suspect this to be one of the illusive, but safe predictions, which, though never verified, can never disappoint the author. The art of exciting surprise and horror, which forms the merit of the Castle of Otranto, has been carried so much further by succeeding authors, and that too without the ponderous machinery to which Mr Walpole has had recourse, that the lustre of his work has been in a great measure eclipsed. The merit of originality and invention may belong to the Castle of Otranto ; but the original that is outdone by the copies, can live only in the history of letters.

In the preceding quotation, we have Mr Walpole's opinion of the comparative merit of Shakespeare and Voltaire ; two authors so unlike, that one should hardly think of bringing their merits into competition. We know, however, that, as a critic, Voltaire was unjust

unjust to Shakespeare; and, on the other hand, we may fairly admit, that Walpole was no less unjust to Voltaire. He allowed him little merit as a dramatic writer; but was chiefly offended with him for his pretensions to philosophy. Mad. du Deffand, who was all this while in correspondence with both, was desirous of adjusting their difference of sentiments, and reconciling them with one another. Mr Walpole would not submit to this: he still continued to inveigh occasionally against Voltaire,—to make light of his poetical merit, and to treat of his philosophy as mere affectation; as, indeed, he seems to have done that of D'Alembert, and the other French Academicians. In all this, we must say, that we see nothing but prejudice or affectation; and that, in what respects philosophy, the right of Mr Walpole to judge is far more questionable than that of Voltaire to execute. As a philosophical historian, Voltaire must always be placed in the first rank; and, of all who belong to that class, from Tacitus to Gibbon inclusive, there is perhaps but ONE AUTHOR who deserves to be placed above him. The composition, however, of this species of history, was probably not a work on which the author of the *Historical Doubts*, &c. was disposed to set a great value. The knowledge of anecdote, of particular facts, and of things remarkable only for having escaped the attention of others, seems to have been the principal objects at which Mr Walpole aimed. He is known to have said of himself, that, from a very early period, he could never bring his mind to attend to any book that was not full of proper names; and this early determination of his thoughts, he used to assign as the reason why the united skill of *Saunderson* and *Trevigar* could never make him acquainted with the elements of geometry. In the department of the accurate sciences, Voltaire, if not original, is still to be regarded as a writer whose views are enlarged, just and philosophical. His *Philosophie de Newton* is a popular, but by no means a superficial treatise: It is remarkable for the luminous and general views which it contains, and particularly for a correct and logical statement of the evidence on which the theory of gravitation is founded. The man who could do all this, and who was a wit, a scholar, and a poet at the same time, was not, as Mr Walpole insinuates, going out of his line when he *meddled with philosophy*. He was indeed giving an instance of variety and extent of talent, of which he remains yet, and probably will long remain, a solitary example in the world. We mean not to justify the eccentricities, the inconsistencies, and, as we fear, even the meannesses, that may be detected in the conduct and character of this extraordinary man; but we must again repeat, that, for extent and variety of genius, he is quite unrivalled; and that, to hold an opposite opi-

nion, is the strongest proof of ignorance or prejudice. The former cannot be attributed to Mr Walpole.

But to return to Mad. du Deffand.—Her letters have certainly the merit of exhibiting all the thoughts of a woman of great wit, talent and whim, just as they came across her mind. The dislikes and antipathies to which she was naturally subject, seem to have been called forth, in an extraordinary degree, by the factions into which the fashionable and literary world of Paris was at that time divided. The Society of Philosophers and Wits, at the house of the Prince of Conti, was peculiarly obnoxious.

'Vous me faites un grand plaisir de m'apprendre que David Hume va en Ecosse, je suis bien aise que vous ne soyez plus a portée de le voir, et moi ravie de l'assurance de ne le revoir jamais. Vous me demanderez ce qu'il m'a fait? Il m'a déplut. Haïssant les Idoles (the society just mentioned) je déteste leurs prêtres et leurs adorateurs. Pour d'Idoles, vous n'en verrez pas chez moi; vous y pourrez voir quelquefois de leurs adorateurs, mais qui sont plus hypocrites que dévots; leur culte est extérieure; les pratiques, les cérémonies de cette religion sont des soupers, des musiques, des opéras, des comédies, &c. Cela convient à bien des gens; pour moi tout cela m'est devenu en horreur, je ne me plais que dans mon tonneau en compagnie de quatre ou cinq personnes avec qui je cause.' I. p. 331, 332.

We of this country, who have hardly been accustomed to hear more of the talents than of the good humour and agreeable manners of David Hume, will seek no stronger proof of prejudice and caprice, than an expression of satisfaction at the thoughts of never seeing him again.

The President Henault is one of the persons of whom mention is often made in these letters, though less frequently, perhaps, than might have been expected, considering that he had been the lover of Mad. du Deffand in her youth, and her friend afterwards. He is chiefly known, with us, by the *Abrégé Chronologique*, of which he is the author; but, in his lifetime, he had other claims to celebrity. Voltaire addresses him,

Henault, fameux par vos soupers
Et votre Chronologie, &c.

We have met with an anecdote of Mad. du Deffand and the President, in a small volume printed at Paris, but never published. The story is said to be perfectly authentic; and the *moral* of it is so good, that we cannot refuse it a place.—'They were both complaining, one day, of the continual interruptions which they met with from the society in which they lived. "How happy would one be," said the Marquise, "to have a whole day to ourselves!" They agreed to try whether this was not possible; and

at last found a small apartment in the Tuilleries, belonging to a friend, which was unoccupied, and where they proposed to meet. They arrived, accordingly, in separate conveyances, about eleven in the forenoon; appointed their carriages to return at twelve at night; and ordered dinner from a *traiteur*. The morning was passed entirely to the satisfaction of both, in the effusions of love and friendship. "If every day," said the one to the other, "were to be like this, life would be too short." Dinner came; and, before four o'clock, sentiment had given place to gaiety and wit. About six, the Marquise looked at the clock. "They play Athalie to-night," said she, "and the new actress is to make her appearance."—"I confess," said the President, "that, if I were not here, I should regret not seeing her."—"Take care, President," said the Marquise; "what you say is really an expression of regret; if you had been as happy as you profess to be, you would not have thought of the possibility of being at the representation of Athalie." The President vindicated himself; and ended with saying, "Is it for you to complain, when you was the first to look at the clock, and to remark that Athalie was acted to-night? There is no clock for those who are happy." The dispute grew warm; they became more and more out of humour with one another; and, by seven, they wished most earnestly to separate. That was impossible. "Ah!" said the Marquise, "I cannot stay here till twelve o'clock.—Five hours longer! what a punishment!" There was a skreen in the room; the Marquise seated herself behind it, and left the rest of the room to the President. The President, piqued at this, takes a pen, and writes a note full of reproaches, and throws it over the skreen. The Marquise picks up the note, goes in search of pen, ink and paper, and writes an answer in the sharpest terms. At last, twelve o'clock arrived; and each hurried off separately, fully resolved never to try the same experiment again.'

The period to which these letters relate, was many years, as may be supposed, subsequent to that of the preceding adventure; and the President was now changed from a lover to a friend. The friendship however was, it would seem, more apparent than real. Though Mad. du Deffand sometimes speaks of him, it is never with much interest; and she gives the account of his death with singular indifference. It may be true, as she hints, that she had not much reason to believe in the sincerity of his attachment; yet the memory of that which had once existed, should have called forth some feeling of sorrow at the moment of everlasting separation. This is her notice of the catastrophe.

'Le Président mourut hier à sept heures du matin; je l'avois jugé

à l'agonie dès le Mercredi ; il n'avoit ce jour-là, ni n'a eu depuis ni souffrances ni connoissance ; jamais fin n'a été plus douce ; il s'est éteint. Mad. de Jonsac en a paru d'une douleur extrême ; la mienne est plus modérée, j'avois tant de preuves de son peu d'amitié, que je crois n'avoir perdu qu'une connoissance ; cependant, comme cette connoissance étoit fort ancienne, et que tout le monde nous croyoit intimes (excepté peu de personnes qui savent quelques-uns des sujets dont j'avois à me plaindre), je reçois des complimens de toute part,' &c. II. p. 109, 110.

Though her attachment to Mr Walpole cannot be questioned, nor his friendship for her, yet both appear to have been subject to considerable vicissitudes; and it may be doubted, whether, if shut up together for a whole day, the result would not have been similar to that which we have just related. The cause of these occasional remissions in the warmth of their friendship, seems generally to originate with Mr Walpole. Sometimes he appears to be quite unreasonable ; and it is impossible not to take part with Mad. du Deffand.

An English gentleman, after being at Paris, and becoming acquainted with Mad. du Deffand, had said that he was himself in love with her, but that she was in love with Mr Walpole. This coming to the ears of Mr Walpole, drew from him the most violent invectives. He makes very severe remarks ; and does not soften the truth, by his manner of conveying it.

' Vous mesurez l'amitié, la probité, l'esprit, enfin tout, sur le plus, ou le moins d'hommages qu'on vous rend. Voilà ce qui détermine vos suffrages et vos jugemens, qui varient d'un ordinaire à l'autre. Défaites-vous, ou au moins faites semblant de vous défaire, de cette toise personnelle ; et croyez qu'on peut avoir un bon cœur sans être toujours dans votre cabinet. Je vous l'ai souvent dit, vous êtes exigeante au-delà de toute croyance ; vous voudriez qu'on n'existât que pour vous ; vous empoisonnez vos jours par des soupçons et des défiances, et vous rebutez vos amis en leur faisant éprouver l'impossibilité de vous contenter.' II. p. 45.

Sometimes he appears to have treated her with still more severity ; and the overtures for reconciliation constantly came on her side. It is but justice, at the same time, to remark, on the part of Mr Walpole, a very unequivocal proof of generosity and friendship. When the Abbé Terray entered on the office of controller-general, he began with a reduction of all pensions ; which would have diminished the income of Mad. du Deffand, already hardly suited to her condition, by a very considerable sum. Mr Walpole immediately proposed to settle on her an annuity equal to the amount ; entreating her, with all the warmth of real and unaffected friendship, to accept of his offer. She agreed to it : and

the acceptance, as well as the offer, are in terms that do credit to both. The success, however, of a memorial which she had already presented to the King, rendered the execution of Mr Walpole's design unnecessary.

One of the most pleasing pictures which these volumes any where present, is that of the life which the Duke and Dutchess of Choiseul led in their retirement at Chanteloup, when the Duke was deprived of office, and exiled from Paris. Mad. du Deffand, who had always lived in terms of great intimacy with them, and who was related to the Dutchess, was too high-minded to be deterred from showing her attachment to friends, whose disgrace was the effect, not of their own demerit, but of the intrigues of their enemies. She describes them both as extremely amiable, particularly the Dutchess, whom she usually calls by the name of *grande maman*, as she does the Duke by that of *grand papa*. In a letter from Chanteloup, she says,

'La vie qu'on mène me convient fort; on déjeûne à une heure, y va qui veut, on reste après dans le salon tant et si peu qu'on veut; sur les cinq ou six heures chasse ou promenade, on soupe à huit heures, et l'on se couche à toutes sortes d'heures, aussi tard et d'aussi bonne heure qu'on veut; on joue à toutes sortes de jeux, on jouit d'une grande liberté, on fait très bonne chère, je suis logée le plus commodément du monde.' (II. 515.) And again—

'Je voudrois que vous pussiez avoir une assez bonne lunette pour voir ce qui se passe ici; je ne revenois point d'étonnement de la paix qui y règne, elle est dans tous les propos, dans toutes les actions, et certainement dans l'âme; tout le monde est d'accord, chacun fait ce qu'il veut, chacun dit ce qu'il pense, on ne s'observe point, on ne se contraint point, et tout est dans le plus parfait unisson; le grand-papa est étonnant, il a trouvé en lui tous les goûts qui pouvoient remplacer les occupations, il semble qu'il n'ait jamais fait d'autre étude que de faire valoir sa terre, il fait bâtir des fermes; il défriche des terreins, il achète des troupeaux dans cette saison pour les revendre au commencement de l'hiver, quand ils auront engraissé les terres, et qu'il aura vendu leurs laines. Je suis intimement persuadée qu'il ne regrette rien, et qu'il est parfaitement heureux; je suis ravie d'en avoir jugé par moi-même, je n'aurois jamais cru tout ce qu'on m'en auroit dit. Ne croyez point que dans ce récit il y ait de l'engouement ni de l'enthousiasme, c'est la pure vérité. Je me suis fort plu ici, j'y ai mené une vie fort douce, mais cela n'a pas empêché qu'il n'y ait eu bien des moments où je ne me sois trouvée très-déplacée, et que votre silence ne m'ait causé bien du chagrin; mais tout prend fin.' II. 551, 552.

The Abbé Barthelemi, the great friend of the Duke and Dutchess of Choiseul, (and who has introduced them into the Voyage d'Anacharsis, under the names of *Arsame* and *Phedime*), was

was of this party, and is mentioned here with great respect, though he does not appear to have been at first a favourite.

Mad. du Deffand had, however, undertaken the journey contrary to the advice of Mr Walpole, who was averse to it, for reasons that do not appear. We have here another proof of the severity with which he sometimes treated her. She hastened back from Chanteloup to Paris, just that she might receive letters from him. The letter which she did receive, is not given; but we may judge of it from the beginning of her reply.

'Votre plume est de fer trempé dans le fiel. Bon Dieu! quelle lettre? Jamais il n'y en eut de plus piquante, de plus sèche et de plus rude; j'ai été bien payée de l'impatience que j'avois de la recevoir.

'J'arrivai hier à cinq heures du soir, me portant à merveille, sans être fatiguée du voyage, dans la plus grande joie de me retrouver chez moi, dans le plus grand contentement de mon séjour à Chanteloup, dans l'espérance de trouver de vos nouvelles et que votre lettre mettroit le comble a ma satisfaction; ah! mon Dieu, que j'ai été surprise: elle a produit un effet tout contraire, tout mon bonheur a été détruit, un instant m'a fait plus de mal que les cinq semaines ne m'avoient fait de bien.' II. [illegible].

One cannot but blame the conduct of Mr Walpole, for thus, from mere humour, marring the enjoyment of a friend sincerely attached to him, and having so few resources, except those of her own mind.

Though the Dutchess of Choiseul is mentioned above, and in many other passages, with unqualified praise, she is sometimes represented as less perfect, as having sacrificed feeling and nature to dignity and correctness. Mad. du Deffand once said to her, 'You *know* that you love me, but you do not *feel* it.' In the same spirit, she remarks—

'Toutes ses vertus lui tiennent lieu de sentiment, elle n'a pas un défaut, et à force de s'être corrigée, de s'être domptée, elle s'est faite ce qu'elle est en dépit de la nature dont elle ne suit plus aucun mouvement. Sa sœur est tout le contraire. l'une est respectée, l'autre est recherchée. Je trouve que la grand'maman a beaucoup plus d'esprit et l'autre plus d'agrément; et de tout ce qu'on rencontre, on ne trouve rien auquel on puisse s'attacher.' (III. [illegible].) And again—

'La grand'maman est la vertu personifiée. La vertu a étouffé en elle la nature; je ne sais si elle en est plus heureuse, mais elle en est certainement moins gaie et moins naturelle.' III. [illegible].

The opinions of Mad. du Deffand were often the impressions of the moment; and, when severe, would sometimes give place to more favourable views. We have seen how angry she was with Mr Hume for being so much in the society at the Prince of

Conti's, and for being a worshipper, as she termed it, of the Idol set up in that temple, the Comtesse de Bouflers. She nevertheless mentions the letter which Mr Hume wrote to that lady a few days before his death, with great and deserved eulogy.

'L'Idole me donna à lire, avant-hier, une lettre de M. Hume, à l'occasion de la mort du Prince; il lui disoit adieu, comme n'ayant plus que quelques jours à vivre; cette lettre m'a paru de la plus grande beauté, je lui en ai demandé une copie et je l'aurai.' III. 187.

The editor has very properly subjoined this letter in the notes, or rather a translation of it into French, probably by Mad. de Bouflers. Mr Hume always wrote in English: By means of a person who read the letter in Mr Hume's handwriting, and also received a copy of it from Mad. de Bouflers, transcribed by herself, we are enabled to give it in the original.

'*Edinburgh, 20th of August*, 1776.

'Though I am certainly within a few weeks, dear Madam, and 'perhaps within a few days, of my own death, I could not forbear 'being struck with the death of the Prince of Conti,—so great a loss 'in every particular. My reflections carried me immediately to 'your situation in this melancholy incident. What a difference 'to you in your whole plan of life! Pray write me some particulars, but in such terms that you need not care, in case of my 'decease, into whose hands your letter may fall.

'My distemper is a diarrhæa, or disorder in my bowels, which 'has been gradually undermining me these two years, but, within 'these six months, has been visibly hastening me to my end. 'I see death approach gradually, without anxiety or regret. I 'salute you, with great affection and regard, for the last time.

'D. H.'

Mr Hume died on the 25th of August, just five days after the date of this letter.

In other instances, Mad. du Deffand's prejudices seem never to have been removed. She had an avowed dislike to the Philosophers, the Economists, Encyclopedists, &c. This seems to have begun about the time of her breach with D'Alembert on account of his attachment to Mademoiselle L'Espinasse; an attachment, of which we may now fairly say, that the object was by no means worthy. In these dislikes, she was probably confirmed by the opinions of Mr Walpole, whose prejudices, in this respect, coincided exactly with her own. It was probably on account of his connexion with the Philosophers, that she had so great a dislike to Turgot, and railed with such virulence against all the measures pursued by the administration

nistration in which he had a part. Speaking of that administration, she says, it is impossible that Turgot should not fall: he does not know what he is doing. Maurepas is weakness itself. 'On dit (she adds in another place) de nos trois ministres; le Turgot ne doute de rien; le Malesherbes doute de tout; et le Maurepas se moque de tout; et chacun pense qu'un tel gouvernement ne peut subsister.' She afterwards exults in the fall of this ministry: And of Turgot, in particular, she says—

'Enfin, excepté les Economistes et les Encyclopédistes, tout le monde convient que c'est un fou, et aussi extravagament et présomptueux qu'il est possible de l'être; on est trop heureux d'en être défait.' III. 155.

The editor, we must remark, enters a protest against all this misrepresentation; and, with great candour and liberality, takes the part of a much injured man, who, neither from his cotemporaries, nor those who have yet succeeded, has met with all the credit to which he is entitled.

'Those' (it is said in a note) 'who wish to have a just idea of this really great patriot and enlightened statesman, of whom Mad. du Deffand had conceived such entirely false opinions, will do well to consult his life, by M. de Condorcet, which contains not only the events of his short and virtuous life, but a development of his plans, his principles, and his ways of thinking, both as a statesman, a philosopher, and a metaphysician.' III. 107.

On this head, Mr Walpole was not of the same opinion with Mad. du Deffand: he seems to have had a just estimation of Turgot; and it is in combating his opinion, that she launches out against the former in the passage just quoted, and in a long invective that ends with the words, 'En voilà assez sur ce sot animal.' (p. 156.) This is the strongest example of prejudice, and of an entire mistake of character, that we have met with in these letters. The editor very well remarks, in a note, that it is much to be regretted, that Mad. du Deffand should here so entirely forfeit her right to the title which Voltaire had conferred on her, of *l'Aveugle Clairvoyante*.

It is somewhat remarkable, that, in a letter to Voltaire in 1774, she speaks of Turgot with much more respect, and seems to have hopes of his success as a minister. Was this flattery to Voltaire, or fear of him? She knew that he approved of Turgot.

In another instance, the *Aveugle Clairvoyante* has been much deceived; but the error admits of a better apology than the preceding. Speaking of Mr Fox, she says,

'Je ne sais pas bien encore comment je trouve le Fox. Il a sans doute beaucoup d'esprit, et surtout beaucoup de talens; je ne sais si sa tête est bien rangée et si toutes ses idées sont bien justes; il me

semble qu'il est toujours dans une sorte d'ivresse, et je crains qu'il ne soit bien malheureux quand cette façon d'être cessera, et qu'il verra qu'il est le seul auteur de tous ses malheurs ; il seroit alors bien à plaindre s'il avoit une tête Françoise ; mais je ne connois point les têtes Anglaises, elles sont si différentes des nôtres, que si j'en voulois juger, ce seroit comme si je voulois juger des couleurs.' III. p. 167.

Again, she says of him,

'Je l'ai beaucoup vu, mais nous nous sommes toujours contrariés : nos façons de penser sont très-différentes. Il a beaucoup d'esprit, j'en conviens : mais c'est un genre d'esprit dénué de toute espèce de bon sens. Je n'en ai pas assez dans ce moment-ci pour le définir.'

This was in 1777, when Mr Fox was twenty-nine years of age, and it could have been complimentary for more than mere ability. It is however known, that dissipation, and the love of pleasure, threw a veil over the first period of his life; through which, though his great talents were certainly to be perceived, the soundness of his judgment, the steadiness and rectitude of his principles, might not be so clearly discerned. It was, accordingly, only of these last, that Mad. du Deffand doubted; she acknowledged the first, but does not appear to have suspected them to be of the high order to which they actually belonged. For one part of her remark she appears to us to deserve credit:—'il seroit alors bien à plaindre, s'il avoit un tête Françoise : mais je ne connois point les têtes Anglaises : elles sont si différentes des nôtres, que si j'en voulois juger, ce seroit comme si je voulois juger des couleurs.' The truth is, that in France, or in any country where there were neither struggles of ambition to animate, nor views of patriotism to inspire, Mr Fox, after the fever of enjoyment was at an end, might have sunk into a lethargy of indolence and apathy ; and the world might have remained as ignorant of his energy, judgment, and exalted character, as the lady was on whose writings we are now commenting.

On another occasion, Mad. du Deffand acknowledges, that she knew not what to think of the English : the passage is very lively, and exhibits in her best manner.

'M. Selwyn prend-il ma défense, ou bien est-il ennuyé ? Oh ! les Anglois ! les Anglois ! bien étonnée, on se doit jamais prétendre à les connoître : ils ne se ressemblent en rien à tout ce qu'on a vu ; chaque individu est un original, il n'y en a pas deux de même modèle, nous sommes parvenus à tout le contraire ; chez nous tous ceux du même état se ressemblent, qui voit un capucin, les voit tous, un Magistrat, tous les gens de robe, ainsi que tous les autres, tout

tout est faux air chez nous, prétentions, jusques même aux maladies; tout le monde aujourd'hui a des maux de nerfs, tout le monde admire les lettres du Roi de Prusse à d'Alembert, on ne cesse de vanter sa sensibilité; je suis peut-être la seule à n'en être point touchée, à m'en moquer et à trouver qu'il n'est qu'un rhéteur, et même un fat dans ses prétentions de bel esprit et d'homme sensible.' III. p. 211, 212.

In general, however, she was much pleased with the English; and, of some of the young men whom she had then occasion to see, has given characters that have been fully verified.

'Ce petit Eliot' (the present Lord Minto) 'est tout à fait aimable, il a beaucoup d'esprit, il sent encore un peu l'école, mais c'est qu'il est modeste, et qu'il est la contre-partie de Charles Fox; la sorte de timidité qu'il a encore sied bien à son âge, surtout quand elle n'empêche pas qu'on ne démêle le bon sens et l'esprit.' III. p. 195.

The fourth volume, which we must now pass over with great rapidity, is mostly occupied with the letters to Voltaire. The first twenty-seven pages contain the remainder of those addressed to Mr Walpole; the last of them is in August 1780, and was written after Mad. du Deffand was taken ill of the disorder of which she died. Her letters to Voltaire begin as early as 1759, and are continued to 1770. They run, many of them, on matters of taste; others are complaints of her suffering from ennui, and the tædium of life; inquiries about the books which she ought to read; and arguments with Voltaire against the zeal with which he made war on the prejudices of the world, and strove to propagate his own opinions. We may believe that Voltaire entertained a very high respect for the abilities of the person from whom he could admit contradiction on these subjects. We give the following as a specimen of one of her best letters of this sort.

'J'entends par le peuple le plus grand nombre des hommes. La cour en est pleine, d'ainsi que la ville, et les champs. Si vous ôtez à ces sortes de gens leur préjugés, que leur restera-t-il? C'est leur ressource dans leur malheur (et c'est en quoi je voudrois leur ressembler); c'est leur bride, et leur frein dans leur conduite, et c'est ce qui doit faire désirer qu'on ne les éclaire pas; et puis pourroit-on les éclairer? Toute personne qui parvenue à l'âge de raison n'est pas choquée des absurdités, et n'entrevoit pas la vérité, ne se laissera jamais instruire ni persuader. Qu'est-ce que la foi? c'est de croire fermement ce que l'on ne comprend pas. Il faut laisser le don du ciel à qui il l'a accordé. Voilà en gros ce que je pense; si je causois avec vous, je me flatte que vous ne penseriez pas que je préférasse les charlatans, aux bons médecins. Je serai toujours ravie de recevoir

recevoir de vous des instructions et des recettes ; donnez-m'en contre l'ennui, voilà de quoi j'ai besoin. La recherche de la vérité est pour vous la médecine universelle ; elle l'est pour moi aussi, non dans le même sens qu'elle est pour vous ; vous croyez l'avoir trouvée, et moi, je crois qu'elle est introuvable ; vous voulez faire entendre que vous êtes persuadé de certaines opinions que l'on avoit avant Moïse, et que lui n'avoit point, ou du moins qu'il n'a pas transmises. De ce que des peuples ont eu cette opinion la rend-elle plus claire et plus vraisemblable ? Qu'importe qu'elle soit vraie ? Si elle l'étoit, seroit-ce une consolation ? J'en doute fort. Ce n'en seroit pas une du moins, pour ceux qui croient qu'il n'y a qu'un malheur, celui d'être né.' IV. p. 82, 83.

After the letters to Voltaire, follow some characters, or portraits ; a fashionable amusement at that time in Paris. The portrait of the Dutchess of Boufflers is an excellent specimen of her powers in this species of composition.

'Madame la Duchesse de Boufflers est belle sans avoir l'air de s'en douter, sa physionomie est vive et piquante, son regard exprime tous les mouvemens de son âme ; il n'est pas besoin qu'elle dise ce qu'elle pense, on le devine aisément, pour peu qu'on l'observe.

'Ses gestes ont tant de grâces, ils sont si naturels, et si parfaitement d'accord avec ce qu'elle dit, qu'il est difficile de n'être pas entraîné à penser, et à sentir comme elle.

'Elle domine partout où elle se trouve, et elle fait toujours la sorte d'impression qu'elle veut faire ; elle use de ces avantages presque à la manière de Dieu, elle nous laisse croire que nous avons notre libre arbitre, tandis qu'elle nous détermine, et qu'elle fait ainsi que lui des élus, et des réprouvés du haut de sa toute-puissance ; aussi, ceux qu'elle punit de ne la point aimer pourroient lui dire : vous l'auriez été, si vous aviez voulu l'être.

'Elle est pénétrante à faire trembler, la plus petite prétention, la plus légère affectation, un ton, un geste qui ne seront pas exactement naturels, sont sentis et jugés par elle à la dernière rigueur ; la finesse de son esprit, la délicatesse de son goût ne lui laissent rien échapper ; ces qualités qui sont si rares, et qui devroient être si agréables, sont cependant bien dangereuses quand elles ne sont pas accompagnées d'un peu d'indulgence, ou de beaucoup de prudence.

'Les hommes ne nous aiment point par le mérite qu'ils trouvent en nous, mais par celui que nous leur trouvons.

'Madame de Boufflers en général est plus crainte qu'aimée ; elle le sait, et elle ne daigne pas désarmer ses ennemis par des ménagemens, qui seroient trop contraires à la vérité, et à l'impétuosité de son caractère.

'Elle se console par la justice que lui rendent ceux qui la connoissent plus particulierement et par les sentimens qu'elle leur inspire.

'Elle

'Elle a beaucoup d'esprit et de gaieté; elle est constante dans ses engagemens, fidèle à ses amis, vraie, discrète, serviable, généreuse; enfin, si elle étoit moins clairvoyante, ou si les hommes étoient moins ridicules, ils la trouveroient parfaite.' IV. p. 288, 289.

But we must now take leave of Mad. du Deffand; which, however, we cannot do, without saying, that, in our opinion, her correspondence makes a valuable addition to the mass, not very considerable as yet, of printed letters, perfectly natural and unaffected, and visibly never meant for publication. The editor deserves well of the public on this account; and, still more, on account of the judicious and enlightened observations with which the text is illustrated.

ART. III. *The Hindu Pantheon.* By Edward Moor, F. R. S. Member of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and of the Literary Society of Bombay. 4to. London. Johnson. 1810.

THE work before us, we think, on the whole, an amusing one; and, if the subject were popular, might possibly become a popular one. That, however, is not likely soon to be the case. Our reasons for thinking so, are, like Mr Vellum's, manifold. But, lest our readers should be in as great a hurry as the gentleman to whom he was speaking, we shall not give them quite so many as six. Some, however, they shall have. First, then, the few gentlemen qualified to throw light on the obscure subject of Hindu mythology, have not been pleased to communicate their ideas to the public; secondly, others, not so qualified, have been pleased to communicate theirs; thirdly, of the chosen few first mentioned, some have been pleased to publish extremely crude and hasty conjectures, and afterwards to retract them as hastily, with circumstances but little calculated to inspire confidence; lastly, and perhaps this reason might have sufficed, nobody here cares at all about the matter.

Although it makes no figure in the minister's budget, the temporary suspension of pursuits purely literary, may be considered in the light of a war-tax, actually levied upon that portion of the community which can best afford to pay taxes. In the same manner, nearly, as a certain portion of the national capital is annually diverted from the channels into which it would otherwise have flowed, to supply the vacuum at the Exchequer, ('namque est in rebus inane'); so, a certain portion of floating intellect, usually expended in digging into antiquities, clearing away histo-

rical

rical doubts, and roving hypotheses, which seldom attain maturity, is now transferred to the consideration of the evanescent politics of the day. Without the operation of the sinking fund, expert calculators might determine, in what year, according to the present rate of progressive taxation the national capital would be completely absorbed by the public debt; so, we presume, might it be ascertained, within some approximation to accuracy, how long the war must last, in order to reduce our literature to political pamphlets and parliamentary reports.

Situated as we are, indeed, we really consider a judicious limitation of our enlightened inquisitiveness about Hindu antiquities, and similar topics, as extremely salutary and reasonable. For, to bring the matter at once to a practical issue, Would an accurate translation of the Vedas, in the least curb the ambition of Buonaparte? What effect could the most profound commentary on the Vedas have, in procuring for the nation a wise, a strong, and an energetic ministry? Would the price of candles be sensibly reduced, by the most luminous disquisition on the Hindu Triad? If the French intercept our teas and muslins and carry them into the Mauritius, will the ladies thank us for importing an old-fashioned assortment of antediluvian metaphysics? We protest, that all this appears to us perfectly conclusive. Nay, we cannot even conjecture what argument Brahmā himself could use at the Alien-office, to prevent his being ordered to quit the country, within a month after the conclusion of peace,—or at least until the resumption of cash payments by the Bank.

We wish, however, that those who think it unnecessary to understand Hindu mythology, would also think it unnecessary to write upon it; for we cannot yet consider it as entirely demonstrated, that the value of an Hypothesis is in the inverse ratio of the knowledge of the subject, discovered by the propounder. We have sometimes even been inclined to doubt, whether it might not be very possible to write tolerably on a subject, and yet to possess, at bottom, some portion of information concerning it. If these lines shall not appear too paradoxical, we recommend them, and the perusal of Mr Moor's book, to all who may be disposed to descant on the mythology of the Hindus, at the manifest peril of not being read.

Mr Moor says, that 'during an intercourse of many years with natives of India of almost every description, I often, in conversation on interesting topics, found myself at a loss in comprehending certain terms and allusions, and in seeking what I required; and frequently experienced the utility of pictures and visible objects, in directing me in both. Hence I began to collect pictures

pictures and images, which, in the progress of years, without being particularly valuable as a selection, have accumulated to a considerable extent.

'Conceiving that the possession of such objects may be of similar use in guiding the inquirer to sources of information that might not otherwise offer, and be agreeable, at the same time, to those in search of amusement chiefly, I have caused many of those subjects to be accurately copied, and engraved by hands eminent in their respective lines.'

We have great pleasure in recording our testimony to the beauty and merit of these engravings. Whether approaching to elegance, disfigured by the rude hand of an unskilful artist, or mutilated by time and accident, the plates convey an accurate idea of the originals. In some, the enchanting grace, and elegant contour of the Hindu female form, are well delineated. But the great proportion consists of the household gods, the *Isti Devas* of the lower classes. They exhibit their humble efforts to propitiate the God of the universe, by sacrifices suited to the feeble means of the votary. Such rude emblems were venerated by the progenitors of those who conquered the world; when,

'Jupiter augusta vix turris stetbat in urbe;
Inque Jovis dextrâ fictile fulmen erat.'

The use of images by the Hindus, for the purpose of heightening devotion, is at least as old as the Puránas; and it is remarkable, that, notwithstanding this circumstance, so little progress has been made in the arts of sculpture and painting. They may, perhaps, be admitted to equal the remains of Egyptian sculpture which have reached us; but are still infinitely inferior, in those particulars, to most nations, amongst whom religion has called in the assistance of the fine arts. We think it probable, that the progress of sculpture and painting was checked in Egypt, by the same causes which have retarded it in Hindustan. The length, breadth, form and colour of every limb or feature, of each of their mythological personages, —their dress, air and attitude, are imperiously prescribed to the Hindu artist, by the works which he considers as sacred. We recollect, in particular, that the *Matsya Purána* exhibits a very full code of laws for the guidance of the artist. Mr Moor could easily have procured a translation of this from his learned friend Dr Wilkins; and if the work shall attain a second edition, we would recommend it as a valuable, curious and appropriate addition to his present series of engravings. The most copious treatise, however, on this subject that we have met with, is comprised in a work in the Imperial library at Paris, entitled *Hagasiras*; but the manuscript did not specify from what purána it was extracted. We subjoin an extract from it.

"Iswara"

" Iswara " (Osiris, or Bacchus).

' Let the arms, shoulders and thighs of Iswara be brawny and muscular; his colour that of the beams of the crescent which decorates his brow; his long hair must be knotted in many convolutions; his shoulders covered by a tyger's skin; his ten arms ornamented with bracelets of snakes; pendents hang from his ears; his face bright, and exquisitely beautiful; a sword, a club, a trident, and other weapons, are perceived in his hands. When he appears in the character of the vanquisher of Tripura, during the conflagration of the city, he has sixteen arms, of which one wields the unerring Pināca. When the moon of Vaïsākha ushers in his feast, he is depicted as dancing amidst a crowd of sportive nymphs and satyrs, to the sound of instruments touched by celestial musicians. In the character of Yogheswara, his aspect must be terrific.' Here follow the different proportions of his limbs and features in those four forms.

Mr Moor would certainly have produced an amusing and instructive work, if he had contented himself with subjoining to each engraving, a concise account of the mythological adventures, or of the character represented; with an explanation of the implements and emblems exhibited. But, not satisfied with this merit (which we should have prized highly), he has thought it necessary to fill nearly 450 quarto pages with extracts from the Asiatic Researches; a work of various merit, and unequal claims to confidence. Here we have the accuracy and erudition of Mr Colebrooke, mixed with the often fanciful, but always ingenious conjectures of Major Wilford; and the brilliant, but sometimes uncertain speculations of Sir William Jones.

One defect, which must detract exceedingly from the value of this work, results from the little attention that has been paid to keeping the subjects distinct. In his account of one divinity, the incidental mention of another, leads our author into a digression; and the reader may consider himself as fortunate, if he does not meet with several others in his road, before he returns to the subject of the chapter. The confusion resulting from this circumstance, is fatal to the acquisition of precise ideas, on a subject naturally involved in some perplexity, from the multiplicity and novelty of the characters and attributes.

The unassuming and good-humoured tone of philanthropy which pervades Mr Moor's book, is calculated to disarm the severity of criticism. We cannot, however, so far forget our censorial functions, as to pass unnoticed the numerous errors into which he has fallen, in that part of it which is *original.* The time of our readers would be unprofitably occupied in perusing a list of them. We select a few, merely as a caveat to such of his readers

readers as are not orientalists. In page 187 we learn, that 'Sacra is otherwise called *Sucra.*' Here the god of the firmament, is confounded with the genius of the planet Venus; and a great deal of argument is lost upon it. In page 191 we are informed, that '*Parasurāma*, and *Rāma Chandra*, were contemporaries.' But the wars of Parasurāma, or of the Brāhmans, against the Xetri, occurred in the reign of Mulaca, who sat on the throne of Aysahya, *eight generations* before Rāma Chandra. Mulaca was preserved from the exterminating fury of the conquerors, in the disguise of a female; and hence obtained the name of Nāricavacha, or with feminine armour. Again, 'the word *deval*, or temple, is derived from deva, a god, and haveli, a house.' But 'haveli' is Arabic, and consequently cannot be its origin, which is 'alaya,' a residence, in Sanscrit. Again, 'The dubash (a Persian compound word, though few Dubashis are aware of it), is derived from du, two; and bashi, a language.' Notwithstanding the chastisement here inflicted on them, we hope the Dubashis of Madras will continue to consider the word as Sanscrit; since, most assuredly, bashi has no such signification in Persian. We shall confine ourselves to one more, because it involves an important geographical error. In page 341, our author confounds Duāraca, the capital of Crishna, on the coast of Guzarat, with Drāvira, a kingdom on the coast of Coromandel.

The accommodating nature of polytheism admits and invites the introduction of unknown gods. We know, from indisputable authority, that four of the divinities of Greece were introduced to the banquet of the gods, in times comparatively recent. The worship and the statue of Serapis are said to have been transported from Sinope to Egypt. In a subsequent age, the worship of Egyptian divinities became fashionable at Rome. The longer, therefore, the duration of such superstitions, the greater, it may be supposed, will be the number of their divinities, both foreign and indigenous. The religion of India is probably the most antient of the idolatrous systems; and continues, at this day, the popular belief of many more than fifty millions of human beings. We accordingly find the Indian Olympus more plentifully stocked with inhabitants, than any other goddery on record.

The Hindu mythology has animated all nature. It has peopled the heavens, the air, the earth, and waters, with innumerable tribes of imaginary beings, arrayed in tints borrowed from the fervid imaginations of tropical climes.

'Là pour nous enchanter tout est mis en usage;
Tout prend un corps, une ame, un esprit, un visage.
Chaque vertu devient une divinité:
Minerve est la prudence, et Venus la beauté;

Ce

Ce n'est plus la vapeur qui produit la tempête,
C'est Jupiter armé pour effrayer la terre ;
Un orage terrible aux yeux des matelots,
C'est Neptune en courroux qui gourmande les flots :
Echo n'est plus un son qui dans l'air retentisse,
C'est une nymphe en pleurs, qui se plaint de Narcisse.'

It may perhaps aſſiſt our readers, in arranging ſuch facts as may come to their knowledge connected with this ſubject, to inform them, that the Hindus are divided into two great ſects. That if the firſt be conſidered as the orthodox, Oſiris or Bacchus will be the chief divinity of the Indians, and the whole ſyſtem correſpond with ſuch parts of the Egyptian mythology as have been preſerved to us by Diodorus and Plutarch. On the other hand, if we ſhall adopt the opinions of their opponents, Jupiter will aſſume the ſupremacy, and the Indian doctrines approximate to the popular opinions of the Greeks.

The moſt antient worſhip of which any trace is left in Hindoſtan, is that of Oſiris or Bacchus, whoſe Indian names are Iſwara and Bagheſa. In him, and in the gods of his family or lineage, we recognize the divinities adored by the antient Egyptians. That Oſiris and Bacchus were the ſame divinity, is atteſted by the unanimous ſuffrage of all the writers of antiquity. But the moſt antient Bacchus was not conſidered as the god of wine, a character aſcribed to that divinity in later times. The Egyptians aſſert that Oſiris conquered India; and indeed his expedition to that region is the ſubject of the celebrated epic poem of Nonnus. We by no means contend for the reality of theſe expeditions; but it is an indiſputable fact, that the worſhip of Oſiris, diſtinguiſhed by the ſame attributes and emblems, has continued in India, from the earlieſt ages to the preſent, under the appellation of Iſwara. This, we think, may be completely proved, by a comparative ſurvey of both, before, as patron of the vine, he aſſumed to himſelf a new character.

Oſiris was adored in Egypt, and Bacchus in Greece, under the emblem of the Phallus: it is under the ſame emblem that he is ſtill venerated in Hindoſtan; and Phallus is one of the names of Iſwara in the Dictionary of Amara Singha. The bull was ſacred to him in Egypt. Plutarch informs us, that the Egyptian nations of Greece depict Bacchus with a bull's head and foot, when he is invoked by the women of Elis: they prayed him to deſcend to their relief on the feet of a bull. In India, the bull is the animal on which he always appears mounted; and he is thus repreſented on the top of Mr Moor's plate. Having, out of his Scythian enemy, Vrikadeva, fo mfuſing—which ſeldom is a bull. Plutarch informs us, that 'Nilum patrium ſe tranſmutaſſe' re-

'gionis, ac defluxum Oſiridis nominant.' The Ganges in like manner is fabled, by the Hindus, to flow from the treſſes of Iſwara; hence another of his names, Gangādhara, the ſupporter of the Ganges. We conceive, by the way, that Scaliger and Selden are miſtaken in ſuppoſing that Siris, the Egyptian name of the Nile, is ſynonymous with Oſiris. Siris ſeems, to us, the Sanſcrit word Saras, a river in general, or *the* river, from its imputed ſuperiority. Iſis is the conſort of Oſiris; Isā that of Iſwara. The attributes of the goddeſſes might be ſhown to correſpond as preciſely as thoſe of their lords, were we not deterred from engaging in the diſcuſſion from an apprehenſion of prolixity.

The attendants of Iſwara reſemble, in their frantic demeanour, the furious Bacchants of the god of Naxos. Many tribes of imaginary beings compoſe his train. The Pramatha, whoſe name denotes intoxication; and the Jacchi, from whom he derives the appellation of Jacchēo, or lord of the Jacchi, corrupted into Jacchus, by his Weſtern votaries. It is remarkable that many of the appellations by which the Greeks diſtinguiſh Bacchus, are alſo uſed by the Hindus; but, inſtead of applying them to Bagheſa himſelf, the latter refer them to his ſon, whilſt both nations have their legends to account for them. Thus, the Greeks named Bacchus, Dimeter, having two mothers; the Hindus call Scanda, the ſon of Bagheſa, Divimātri, with the ſame ſignification. Pyrigenes, born from fire; and its equivalent, in Sanſcrit—Agnija, are reſpectively Greek and Indian appellatives of Bacchus, and of Scanda. The title of Thriambus, we are told by Diodorus, was aſſumed by the Greek Deity in his triumph after the conqueſt of India. Tryambo, in like manner, is one of the moſt common appellations of the Indian Bacchus; but we are not aware of its ſignification.

We believe we have done more than was requiſite to prove the identity of the Egyptian, Grecian, and Indian divinity; for our readers will remark, that our proofs do not reſt, in this inſtance, on analogy of *ſounds*, which may undoubtedly be fortuitous, but on that analogy, combined with the unity of the *attributes* denoted by thoſe names, which it is impoſſible ſhould be accidental. We embrace this occaſion to point out a moſt remarkable coincidence between the royal lines of India and of Egypt, which, we believe, has never attracted the attention of the learned, and evidently belongs to this portion of our ſubject.

Arrian, on the authority of Megaſthenes, informs us, that 'diſcedens ex India, Dionyſius rebus ita conſtitutis, regem Indis præfecit Spartembatem, unum ex amicis, rerum Bacchicarum peritiſſimum. Quo mortuo, ad Budyam ejus filium regnum tranſiit, hujus filius Cradevas in regnum ſucceſſit; atque

exinde per multam ætatem, regnum a patribus in filios per manum est traditum.'

Now, let us examine how far this statement is elucidated by the Puranas. The supremacy of antient India was enjoyed by two families, both descended from Menu, the first king, as Menes was of the Egyptians. Ilā, daughter of Menu, is fabled to have married Budha, genius of the planet Mercury, the adopted son of Vrihaspati, priest of Iswara. We have therefore Vrihaspati (evidently the Spartembutis of Megasthenes) rerum Bacchicarum peritissimum, succeeded by his adopted son Budha (the Budya of Arrian), whose son Pururavas, called Cradevas by the Greeks, was the founder of a long dynasty who reigned in the city of Hastinapur.

The sovereigns of Egypt appear, in like manner, to have traced their pedigree through Mercury to Menes. After Osiris, reigned Menes, the Menu of the Indians. His successor is called Athotes, which, as explained by Eratosthenes, signifies Mercurio genitus; he consequently corresponds with the Cradevas of Arrian. Diodorus informs us that Menes, the first king of Egypt, taught the people to respect the gods, and to offer sacrifices. The institutes ascribed to the Indian Menu chiefly relate to the same objects, and establish the unity of character of these legislators of primeval tradition.

Whether there be any, and what degree of, historical truth contained in these passages, can now only be the subject of conjecture. One inference, however, important to all for whom the study of antiquity has any charms, is the perfect coincidence of the Indian and Egyptian traditions relative to the foundation of their monarchical government. Had any particulars been preserved of the history of the descendants of Menes, we might probably have been enabled to ascertain, where the Egyptian and Indian traditions diverge, and branch into separate dynasties. But the early connexion between those nations, of whatever nature it may have been, follows as an indisputable deduction from the facts already exhibited. This, indeed, might appear sufficiciently established before, by that most remarkable of human institutions, the division into casts, which prevailed in both countries. Wherever that is found to have existed, we are entitled to suspect, that the doctrine of the metempsychosis, and the Indian rites, were originally connected with it.

The supremacy of Visnu, or Jupiter, we conceive to have been a dogma introduced into India by conquest, at a subsequent period. The sons of Jove, in Grecian mythology, appear, in the Purānas, under the more decorous character of Avatāra, or incarnations of Visnu, descended upon earth for the achievement of objects important

portant to the welfare of mankind. Such of them as appeared in human form, we consider as undoubtedly historical personages. The worship of the Avatāra is unquestionably long posterior to the great outlines of the Indian system, and decidedly referable to the deification of heroes, who are thus aggregated with imaginary beings. In this light, we consider, 1st, Parasurāma, a Brahman who, at the head of an army composed of his own tribe, conquered India. 2d, Rāma Chandra, king of Ayodhia (Oude), eight reigns later, who carried his arms into Ceylon. This fact, recorded in the Purānas, is confirmed by the traditions of that island. 3d, Hericrisna, whom the Greeks call Hercules, the chief of the Suraseni, mentioned by the historians of Alexander, and born in the city which Ptolemy distinguishes by the name of Madura deorum; he was contemporary with the sovereign of Ayodhia, sixteenth in succession from Rāmachandra. 'Quintus (Hercules) in India, qui Belus dicitur,' says Cicero. Billes is, in fact, a name of Visnu, and signifies lord of the abyss. The legend explanatory of this title, connects the Assyrian, Grecian, and Indian mythology, and is, in itself, a most remarkable one. We may possibly revert to it. 4th, Sākya Singha, king of Ayodhya, commonly called Buddha, or the philosopher, was founder of the sect of Bauddha. He reigned in Ayodhya, the twentieth in succession from his ancestor, who was contemporary with Crisna.

These four Avātara, or incarnations of Visnu, we conceive, may be safely regarded as deified heroes. In the spirit of Grecian mythology, they would be sons of Jupiter. The third and fourth only seem to have been known to the Greeks. Clemens Alexandrinus is the first writer who mentions Buddha. 'Sunt autem ex Indis qui Buttæ præceptis parent, quem propter insignem virtutem ut deum honorarunt.' We must begin, however, with the paternal deities.

We translate a passage from the Purāna, entituled, Brahmā vaïvartica, to demonstrate the identity of character ascribed to Jupiter and Visnu; only premising, that in conformity to the peculiar tenets of its author, Visnu is here styled Crisna; and his goddess, Rādhā.

'Gangā (the Ganges), was originally a nymph of wonderful beauty, who inhabited Paradise. She became enamoured of Crisna, and, concealing her face with her robe, stood immoveable in his presence, her eyes fixed on his radiant countenance. The jealousy of Rhādhā (Juno) was excited. Followed by her innmerable attendants, she repaired to the presence of the god, and seated herself on her throne of gems. The timid Gangā trembled at her aspect, and dissolved with terror. The goddess speaks. "Who is this nymph, Lord of the Universe, who, with half concealed visage, and eyes sparkling with desire, thus gazes on thy sacred person?" This is not

the first time the skies have witnessed the infidelity of their lord. When I detected thee dallying in a grove of sandal with Virajā, the figure of a quadruped concealed thy shame, and she was changed into a river. Still, pursued by thee, she became the mother of the mighty ocean. The same forest was the scene of thy amours with the nymph Sobhā (beauty). Again, thou assumedst the form of an animal. Whilst her spirit fled to the moon, and thou dividedst her body amongst gems, flowers, and black-eyed damsels. The woods of Vrindavan afforded thee a retreat with the shepherdess Prabhā (lustre). On my arrival, her spirit transmigrated to the solar orb; of her body thou madest a distribution; the god of fire obtained a part; and some, as gold, gives brightness to the crowns of the kings of the earth. When I found thee, unexpectedly, on a bed of vernal buds reclined in company with the fair Xamā (patience); alarmed at my voice, thou gatheredst, as they lay dispersed, thy yellow robes, thy lyre, thy necklace of flowers, and thy crest of gems. Thee I forgave; when thou bestowedst a portion of her body on the pious anchoret, a portion on the sick, and a portion on the studious.'

The worship of Crisna has, to a certain degree, superseded that of Visnu himself; and this seems to have been the case at a remote period. Clemens remarks, that 'Strabo apud Indos philosophorum facit duplicem distinctionem, ut essent vel campestres, vel montani; quorum alteri Bacchum (Baghesa); Herculem (Hericrisna) imprimis colebant alteri.' It was most probably in the time of Crisna, that the Vedas assumed their present form, and that the Purānas were composed, of which the works which now bear that name are apparently but abstracts. His deification took place during his own lifetime; and the establishment on the throne of the prince whose party he espoused in the war of the Mahābhārat, and who was the first of his votaries, completed the change in the system of belief, by the admission of Crisna amongst the gods, as an incarnation of Visnu, or son of Jupiter. This event we consider as the conquest of India by Hercules, which Megasthenes has treated as altogether fictitious, although he seems to attach credit to the expedition of Bacchus. We will now endeavour to state, as briefly as is consistent with perspicuity, the principal features of the theogony of the Brahmans, as deduced by them from their sacred works.

One great and incomprehensible Being has alone existed from all eternity. Every thing we behold, and we ourselves, are portions of him. The soul, mind, or intellect, of gods and men, and of all sentient creatures, are detached portions of the Universal Soul, to which at stated periods they are destined to return. But the mind of finite beings is impressed by an uninterrupted series of illusions, which they consider as real, until again united to the great fountain of truth. Of these illusions, the first and

most

most essential is termed Ahangcār, or individuality. By its influence, when detached from its source, the soul becomes ignorant of its own nature, origin and destiny. It considers itself as a separate existence, and no longer a spark of the Divinity, a link of one immeasureable chain, an infinitely small but indispensable portion of one great whole. The divine being above described, is not the object of worship; he is named Brahm, a noun of the neuter gender.

The first created beings were the persons of the Hindu Triad, viz. Brahmā, Visnu, and Iswara. The name of the first is derived from a root signifying to expand: to him was assigned the task of creation. The name of Visnu comes from the root *vis*, which means to penetrate or pervade: the world, after its creation, was entrusted to him to preserve. The word Iswara signifies powerful. His is the power of destruction, or rather, as the Hindus consider it, of renovation, or mutation of form, which implies the destruction of that which precedes. Hence, the phallus, the emblem of production, becomes that of the god of destruction. The Roman poet has distinctly expressed the idea, which led the Indians and Egyptians to assign this apparently incompatible symbol to Iswara.

'Haud igitur penitus pereunt quæcunque videntur:
Quando alia ex alio reficit naturæ, nec ullam
Rem gigni patitur, nisi morte adjutam aliena.'

And again—

'Nam quodcunque suis mutatum finibus exit,
Continuò hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante.'

From his own substance, the Divine Being then formed the goddess Pracriti, or nature. She, under different forms and names, is the consort of the three gods who govern the universe. *1st*, As Saraswati, she is the consort of Brahmā, the patroness of learning, the goddess of eloquence, and the inventress of the lyre. *2d*, As Sri, she is the beloved of Visnu, the goddess of abundance and of fertility. *3d*, As Isā, she is the companion of Iswara, and the vanquisher of the giants. These were the gods (deva) produced by the volition of the Deity. All other beings were produced by Brahmā, after creating the world.

The first rational beings created by Brahma, were the seven Rishi, or patriarchs, and their wives, each of whom had a numerous offspring. They are still seen in the Pleiades, and in the seven bright stars of Ursa Major. They are termed collectively 'Manes,' because they emanated from the mind (mana) of Brahma. In the person of the eighth Rishi, called Daxa, Brahma himself became incarnate. He had a numerous family of daughters, the mothers of the devatā, or benevolent genii, to whom

are entrusted the superintendance of particular parts of nature; and also of the Daïtya, or Titans, malevolent genii, perpetually at war with the former, and employed in counteracting their beneficent designs. The mother of the devatā was Aditi, daughter of Daxa; she produced twelve Aditya, or suns. Their names are those of the sun, during the twelve months; and both Visnu and Iswara, were incarnated as sons of Aditi. The mother of the Titans, was Diti, daughter of Daxa. This is manifestly the origin of Dispater, an appellation of Pluto. When her descendants, become formidable to gods and men by their power and wickedness, Visnu, as preserver of the world, descends upon earth in a mortal form, to repress their enormities. But, coeval with the devata, like them they are fated to continue, until the general dissolution of nature involve both in the same destruction.

The four casts sprung from different parts of Brahma's body. By intermixture, their number is increased. By dispersion to distant regions, unaccompanied by Brahmans, the earth is now replenished with nations ignorant of the Veda, and of the rites prescribed to Menu by Brahma, for the observance of his subjects.

But the vicissitudes of the world are compared to the revolution of a wheel round its axis. Periodical destructions and renovations succeed each other at stated periods. Some are partial, and only sweep off the inhabitants of the earth; others are universal, when the illusions which generate all physical phenomena are dissipated, and the detached portions of the divine essence, which alone we contemplate under forms so infinitely varied, are again united to their source, until the time rolls round for calling new worlds into existence. Then, again, the triad will be reproduced, and the same events recur in the same order.

> 'Fuisse antehac eadem omnia credis,
> Sed periisse hominum torrenti sæcla vapore,
> Aut cecidisse urbeis magno vexamine mundi,
> Aut ex imbribus assiduis exisse rapaceis
> Per terras amneis, atque oppida cooperuisse.'

We have not touched on the doctrine of the metempsychosis, because that is fully explained in the Institutes of Menu. The other dogmata may be epitomized in the following heads—1. The existence of one God, from whom all things proceed, and to whom all must return. 2. A tripartite division of the good principle, for the purposes of creation, preservation and renovation. 3. The necessary existence of an evil principle, occupied in counteracting the benevolent purposes of the first, in their execution by the devata, or subordinate genii, to whom is entrusted the control over the various operations of nature.

We

We now take leave of a study, which, notwithstanding the wonderful elucidations it affords of the primeval traditions of the human race, we have never considered in any other light than as an innocent and rational amusement. Those elucidations are not confined to one people. Hindu mythology illustrates the little that is extant, and suggests some part of what is lost, in that of all the nations of antiquity. The opinions of the celebrated philosophers of Greece, the founders of schools, have reached us in some detail. The system of popular belief, which influenced the mass of the community, has irrecoverably perished. The fragments of Sanconiatho, the Theogony of Hesiod, the Fasti of Ovid, Plutarch's treatise on Osiris and Isis, and some passages of Diodorus the Sicilian, comprise all the information on the subject, derived from ancient writers, that is not purely incidental.

A very superficial view of the system, such as it has reached us, is sufficient to demonstrate that we possess only detached fragments, and that in order to fit it, even for popular belief at Athens or Memphis, explanations must have been afforded, and currently received, that are now wanting. To select one instance only. Could the most superstitious and ignorant of mortals believe, that the father of gods and men, rex coelicolarum, pater omnipotens, opifex mundi, hominum mundique origo, &c. be himself the son of Saturn king of Crete, and of his wife Rhea? The contexture seems so artificial, and the absurdity so manifest, that we are constrained to conclude, that some mystery was revealed by the priests, to reconcile it to the common sense of mankind. The same observation is applicable to Osiris, at whose birth, according to Plutarch, a voice was heard, announcing that the lord of all was come to the world. But, this greatest of the Egyptian divinities, was himself the son of Saturn and Rhea, according to the Greeks, who have not transmitted the Egyptian names of his progenitors, but only those of their Grecian representatives. The Hindu mythology suggests the explanation which this obvious incongruity must have received, before it could become a part of the popular belief.

We have hazarded, perhaps rashly, the assertion, that the mythology of all the civilized nations of antiquity was susceptible of elucidation, from a collation with that of the Hindus. We shall endeavour, however, to justify our position; premising that, of a number of examples which might be furnished, our limits unavoidably confine us to *one* selected from each. To begin with the countries adjacent, let us first consider the facts transmitted to us concerning the religion of ancient Persia.

Zoroaster, the reformer of the Persian religion, unquestion-

ably lived in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, notwithstanding the silence of the Greek historians concerning the remarkable change which had so recently taken place. The system which he professed to reform, was that of Husheng. But, previously to this monarch, a race of princes, whose tenets were the same with those of the Hindus, constituted in Persia the Mahābādian dynasty; concerning whom the author of the Dabistān has collected some wonderfully interesting particulars. Although we consider these traditions to be authentic, yet, as they rest solely on the authority of Mohsan Fāni, we will not have recourse to them in order to prove the analogy between the Indian institutions and those of ancient Persia, before Zeratusht, or Zoroaster. For, by the unanimous consent of all Persian writers, that nation was at one period divided into four casts, similar, in number and occupation, to those of the Hindus. The author of the Dabistan attributes this institution to a prince of the Mahābādian dynasty; and in this, we believe he is correct. All the Persian historians adopt the account given by the poet Firdusi, who ascribes it to Gemshid. Were this the place for such a discussion, we could prove that this division subsisted as late as the time of Darius Hystaspes,—probably until the Macedonian conquest; and that several tribes or nations, mentioned by Herodotus, were in fact casts. It is proper here to mention, that Gemshid is the person whom the Greeks frequently allude to, under the name of Achæmenes. We translate the account of this transaction given by the poet Firdusi, in his Shah Nama.

'He selected from the people a tribe, called Caturians, for the priesthood. He separated them from the rest, and fixed places of worship for them on the mountains. Devotion became their only employment; their station, in the front of the sacred fire. He then selected another cast; whom he called Escarians—lion-hearted; strenuous in fight; the glory of the camp, and of the country. By them was the kingly throne supported; by them, the habitations of man protected. Know, that the Sebaisa were the third cast: Is it possible to contemplate them without emotion? They sow, they labour, and they reap; contentedly they dwell in the humble cottage. In the enjoyment of necessaries, they live remote from control; the sound of reproach lacerates not their ears. The fourth cast was named Hanukhush; constantly active and assiduous. With minds perpetually anxious, they ply mechanical arts.'

The account of Khondemir, the historian, is conformable to that of the poet. We add it—'Gemshid divided the people into four casts. One he commanded to employ themselves in learning; another was taken into the military service; a third he devoted to agriculture and cultivation; to a fourth he assigned

assigned the mechanical arts; and prohibited each from engaging in the occupation allotted to another.'

The word *div*, in modern Persic, signifies a magician. In Sanscrit, it signifies, 1st, a god; and, 2dly, a brahman. From the downfall of the Mahābādian dynasty, or the introduction of the new religion by Husheng, we find the kings of Persia constantly at war with these magicians. The religion of Husheng was probably simple fire worship, without temples or images. But the Divs never lost their influence, and the people remained attached to their idolatrous superstitions. We find, from the Zendavesta, that Zoroaster found the pure religion of Husheng superseded by the magical rites of the Divs, who were in great credit at the court of Darius Hystaspes, and opposed with all their influence the reform he meditated. That these divs were Brahmans, can scarcely be doubted; when we know that the Persian writers, at this day, uniformly speak of the Brahmans as magicians, and of Hindustan as the land of enchantment. This obvious elucidation of Persian history never appears to have occurred to any who have treated of it. But the whole of the Zendavesta tends to confirm the justice of our conclusion. 'Les magiciens (divs),' says M. Anquetil, 'étoient ceux qui honoroient les mauvais genies.' Unquestionably;—and *les mauvais genies* were the Indian gods. The success of Zoroaster, in the expulsion of the divs, was nearly complete. For, Herodotus, who (if we mistake not) was born in the same year that Darius died, gives us, in fact, an enumeration of the objects of Persian adoration, similar to those we collect from the Zendavesta. He only omits to mention, that the rites he describes had been recently introduced, and supplanted a more complex system. Let us examine his account—'Persæ neque statuas, neque templa, neque aras consecrare fas putant.' These circumstances prove the expulsion of the divs. 'Moris habent, editissimis conscensis montibus, Jovi facere sacra, omnem gyrum cœli Jovem appellantes.' Jove is here the Ormuzd of the Zendavesta. 'Soli, lunæque sacrificant, & telluri, igni, aquæ & ventis.'—All these are the objects of adoration in Hindustan; it is the temples, images and altars only, which Zoroaster banished. These, however, were not long absent; although it was not from the Indians, but their western neighbours, that the Persians replaced them. For Strabo informs us, that 'in Cappadocia est maxime Magorum multitudo, qui Pyræthi vocantur; sacra fiunt Anaitidis & Omanis delubris, & Omani statuam in pompa ducitur.' Anaitis was the Persian Venus; and Nahid the name of that planet at this day.

We subjoin some extremely interesting illustrations of antient Persic

Persic history; because, as the subject has never been treated before, in the light in which we view it, our readers will be amused with some remarkable coincidences. Zoroaster Magus, the last reformer of that name, undoubtedly lived in the reign of Darius Hystaspes; but the Greek writers, in general, consider him as of much higher antiquity. We are disposed to think that the word has been erroneously explained by M. Anquetil; that its original signification, like the word 'Buddha,' signified a philosopher; and that it has been applied to several persons in remote ages. Suidas mentions two, of whom neither can be the last reformer of the Magian rites. The first, he says, was the founder of the Magi, and lived 500 years before the war of Troy. He composed four books on natural history and astrology. The second Zoroaster lived under Ninus king of Babylon, and was an astronomer. The existence of the second is attested by Moses of Chorene (whose authority for the traditions of his country we highly estimate)—'Semiramis Zoroastro Mago Medorum principi, Assyriæ Niniviscque præfecturam dedit.' The last reformer appears, then, to have been the third of that name.

The coincidence we are now about to mention, appears to us of a most remarkable and striking nature. The Puranas divide mankind into two classes; 1st, Aria; and, 2dly, Mlechchha. The latter term signifies barbarian. The first denotes those people who conform to the Indian rites and institutions; amongst which, the most remarkable is the division into casts. Now, this division subsisted in Egypt; and we accordingly find Æria one of its most antient names. In the following passages from Stephanus, all the proper names are Sanscrit words; it will be found in his treatise 'D. Urbibus,' under the article Æria. 'Rāmesses frater, Armais, Ægyptus dictus, regnum obtinuit in Ægypto annos 68, regionem a suo nomine Ægyptum, quæ primum Mestrea (Mestrea, it should be), Græcis vero Æria nuncupata est, denominavit.' Here we find Æria, most clearly the Aria of the Puranas, applied to Egypt, where, undoubtedly, the Indian rites, at least the division into casts, was prevalent. But we have proved that the division into casts also subsisted in Persia; and, in the same manner, it also was called Aria. This is the name by which it is mentioned in a Greek inscription on one of the pillars of Persepolis, translated by the able orientalist M. de Sacy. 'Aria,' says Stephanus, 'Persica regio est.' The modern Persians call it Iran, and derive its name from Arāj, a son of Feridun. We believe there can now but little doubt remain of its real origin.

The name of Aria was properly bestowed, in the Hindu sense, on

on the empire of Persia, until the expulsion of the Divs, and the establishment of Ignicolism by Husheng. But let us see whether this legislator himself be totally unknown to the western world. We insert from Suidas the account given by the Greeks, of the first establishment, in Persia, of the worship of fire; to which we shall subjoin a translation of the account of that event, given by the poet Ferdusi, and leave our readers to draw their own conclusions. 'Perseus,' says Suidas, 'Medis quoque victis, nomen regionis mutavit, eamque Persidem appellavit. Edocuit etiam quosdam Persas nefaria Gergonia sacra, quos vocavit Magos. Illis etiam temporibus, globus ignis de cœlo delapsus est, unde Perseus ignem cepit, & illi genti servandum & colendum tradidit, ut de cœlo delatum. Merrhus fuit ejus filius.' The following is a literal translation of the account furnished in the Shah Nama, by the poet Ferdusi, of the origin of ignicolism in Persia. 'One day the king (Husheng) retired to the mountains, accompanied by some of his attendants; something appeared at a distance of enormous magnitude, black, tremendous and glossy. Its two eyes seemed fountains of blood; the smoke which issued from its mouth obscured the air. The prudent Husheng contemplated it circumspectly; he seized a stone, and prepared to assail it. He threw it with the force of a hero, and the serpent no longer annoyed the world. The stone struck upon a rock, and both fell to pieces by the percussion. A brilliant flame sprung from the contact; and thus fire became the production of stone. The king prostrated himself before God, and offered devout supplications, for having thus obtained the sacred fire, for which he erected a sanctuary on that spot. He said, this fire is a divinity; let it be worshipped by all. Night came, the mountain was covered with fire; it was surrounded by the king and his attendants. The event was celebrated by a feast, the name of which became that of the auspicious hero.' The son of Perseus is called Merrhus by Suidas; that of Husheng, *Juhmuras*, by the Persians. Husheng and Perseus, then, both introduced a new religion into Persia, and that the worship of fire; they both founded a dynasty; for, according to Khondemir, Husheng was the first of the Peshdads, or antient monarchs. His whole reign was spent in wars with the divs, as our readers probably conjecture already. The singular, and hitherto unremarked, analogies we have pointed out, have led us farther than we originally intended. We now proceed to consider those suggested by the mythology of other antient nations.

Of that of Phrygia, too little is known to admit of a positive conclusion. It is impossible, however, to read the account of the rites practised at the feast of the Phrygian goddess.

'Ubi

'Ubi symbolum sonat vox, ubi tympana reboant,
Tibicen ubi canit Phryx curvo grave calamo,
Ubi capita Mænades vi jaciunt ederigeræ,
Ubi sacra sancta acutis ululatibus agitant,'

without recognizing the perfect representation of that of the goddess Pracriti, or nature, in India. Like Cybele, she appears mounted on a lion. The drum beaten at her feasts is at this day called Dindyma, and we conceive it to be from this circumstance she derives the appellation of Dindymene; and not from a mountain in Phrygia, probably named from her mysteries being celebrated there. Her priests were named Curetas; and Curta would be the Sanscrit appellation of a person, who had undergone the operation necessary to qualify him for that office. In Cappadocia, we find the same goddess worshipped by one of her most common names in India, Comala. Strabo gives us an interesting account of the magnificence of her temple; her name is derived from the Indian lotos.

The analogy between the Grecian and Hindu mythology has been so copiously indicated by Sir William Jones, and Major Wilford, that we shall altogether wave that discussion, and proceed to less obvious branches of our subjects.

We have already remarked, that the Germans trace their name and origin from Teut, or Tuisco. The following passage in Tacitus is their authority. 'Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum et filium Mannum, originem gentis, conditoresque.' The Indian Menu, founder of the first kingdom, was the offspring of the sun, or Savita. His name is derived from the root man, think; and signifies a thinking being. Man is called mānava, in Sanscrit, a patronymic derived from Menu. The word 'man,' in Gothic and English, has manifestly the same origin. Indeed, the multitude of Gothic terms derived from Sanscrit roots, is so great, as clearly to indicate its remote affiliation; if we adopt the axiom of Mr Tooke, that 'when different languages employ the same, or a similar particle, that language ought to be called the legitimate parent, in which the true meaning of the word can be found in familiar use.'

We now proceed to the mythology of antient Italy, where we discover the god Faunus, whom we shall have no difficulty in presenting to our readers in his Indian costume. Pavan, in Latin Favon-ius, is the god of the wind, the Indian Æolus. The Hindus have assigned regents to each cardinal and intermediate point of the compass. Pavan is the regent of the north-west, and corresponds with Favonius in that particular. But Faunus is obviously a contraction of Favonius, as may easily be proved. And the Indian regent

regent of the wind and of the north-weſt quarter of the globe, to denote his ſwiftneſs, always appears mounted on a ſtag. The following are the directions contained in the Matſya Purāna, for the figure of Pavana. 'Let Pavana be drawn young, clothed in robes of many colours, mounted on a fleet antelope, a ſtandard in his hand, which the wind waves behind him, as he cleaves the air.' But, in ſeveral of the drawings we have ſeen of the regents of the points, Pavan himſelf did not appear; and the north-weſt point was indicated by his antelope or fawn. The Romans believed that Faunus returned to Italy, on the 13th of February, and left it on the 5th December. It may be inferred that the wind during the interval, uſually blew from the eaſt.

It was now our intention to have considered the remarkable analogies preſented by the mythologies of the Egyptians, the Phenicians, and the Aſſyrians; but we have already, we fear, exhauſted the patience of our readers. We will therefore conclude, with one, well calculated to excite attention. Our readers are probably aware that one awful and myſterious monoſyllable compriſes the name of the Hindu Triad. Two vowels A and U typify Brahma and Viſnu. By the rules delivered by the Sanſcrit grammarians to preclude cacophony, theſe coaleſce in O; and M denotes Iſwara, the third perſon of the triad. The myſterious monoſyllable, therefore, carefully concealed from prophane ears, is *Om*. The powers of creation, preſervation and renovation, appear, by the effects produced, to reſide in a ſuperior degree in the ſun, whoſe influence eſſentially determines the various proceſſes of nature. One of the moſt ſacred places of pilgrimage in India, Omcār, was dedicated to this myſterious union.

The Egyptians appear to have poſſeſſed ſome dogmata of a ſimilar nature. In the hymn to the Sun, preſerved to us by Martianus Capella, after enumerating the various names under which this divinity was adored,

'Te Serapim, Nilus; Memphis veneratur Oſirim,' &c.

He adds—

———'cui littera trina,
Conformat ſacrum nomen, cognomen, et omen.'

If the explanation of this paſſage, which we have with great diffidence ventured to ſuggeſt, be not the true one, we cannot readily imagine to what thoſe lines refer.

We have thus ventured to exhibit a rapid ſketch, of what ſuperior erudition, and more extenſive combinations than we can pretend to furniſh, might ſtill effect towards the elucidation of the hiſtory of remote ages. The coincidence of opinions prevalent in thoſe times, naturally ſuggeſts the idea of affinity or intercourſe. But an extenſive intercourſe between diſtant nations, in thoſe early ages, would argue the exiſtence of a ſtate of ſociety, more poliſhed than

than we ſhould be juſtified to admit, by the nature of the evidence on which it is founded. The tranſmiſſion of certain dogmata by colonization, is equally confonant to hiſtory, reaſon, and what we actually know of the facts.

ART. IV. *Observations on the Documents, including the Evidence heard at the Bar, laid before Parliament, on the Subject of the late Expedition to the Scheldt.* 8vo. pp. 160. 1810.

WE take some blame to ourselves, for not having long ago put upon record, in this Journal, a short and readable epitome of this most memorable expedition. Our good intentions have been disappointed oftener than once, by accidents in which our readers can take no interest; but it is better, at all events, that the thing should be done now, than that it should not be done at all. The immediate interest of the subject, to be sure, is gone by; and few readers, perhaps, will now condescend to read five pages, on a topic which would have ensured their eager attention through fifty, eighteen months ago. In other respects, however, the delay is not without its advantages. It acquits us of all factious and personal feelings; and gives our statement a greater chance of making a permanent impression, than if it had been capable of being represented as a mere echo of parliamentary inculpations then actually in dependence, or a device to promote the ruin of a ministry under trial. It is wonderful, too, to consider how feeble and transitory are the moral impressions that result from the most momentous events that are only presented to us in combination with party and personal feelings; and if it be true, that we are every day moved and agitated by many things of which history will disdain to take any cognizance, it is no less true, that we every day witness, without emotion, many things which history will be tempted to reject as incredible; and forget, in a few months, what will excite the horror and disdain of posterity for many future generations. It is for our honour and our profit, however, to anticipate those decisions of posterity; and to try, at least, to place some of the characteristic events of our own times in the cold light of historical record,—disembarrassed from the perplexity of useless details, and separated entirely from the violence of political contention and individual animosity. It is never too late to reap the dear-bought fruits of disastrous experience: and, while the men are yet alive, and moving in the visible front of public life, who planned this lamentable expedition, and supported it by their votes, it cannot be without its use, to lay calmly

ly and dispassionately before the public, one great, finished, and elaborate specimen of the talents by which they are governed,—to appeal to broad, certain, and most important *facts*, for the satisfaction of those who affect a distrust of argument,—and to put in the hands of as many as choose to look at it, a plain, experimental test of the intellectual and moral qualifications of those, to whose wisdom and vigilance their interests have been confided.

In this humble attempt, we shall employ no reasoning, and draw no conclusions; but shall confine ourselves strictly to the simple and concise statement of facts that admit of no dispute, and would be unfit for our purpose if they stood in need of any commentary.

The war between Austria and France began on the 8th of April 1809; the battle of Aspern was fought on the 22d of May, and known here on the 8th of June; the battle of Wagram was fought on the 6th of July. The armistice, which ended in a peace, was agreed upon, the 12th of July: And on the 28th of July, sixteen days after this, the expedition in aid of the Austrian monarchy sailed from this country.

The opinions laid before government respecting the policy and practicability of this expedition, were, those of Sir David Dundas, General Brownrigg, Colonel Gordon, General Hope, and Lieutenant-General Calvert.

The following is the conclusion of Sir David Dundas's opinion.

'The service is one of very great risk, and in which the safe return of the army so employed may be very precarious, from the opposition made, and the length of time consumed, in the operation; which enables the enemy to assemble, in a short time, a great force from every part of the Netherlands, and Holland, and even from Westphalia by the course of the Rhine, as well as from the frontier of France.' *Observations*, p. 11.

In addition to this, Sir David Dundas states, in his evidence,

'That from his knowledge of Antwerp in the year 1794, he was enabled to state, that the citadel was a very considerable one certainly, and would require a siege of some duration to take it; that it could not be entered without a regular siege, unless it was surrendered.'—'It has been surrendered without a siege; but then the enemy was in possession of the country, which was not now the case.' He also adds, that 'If the enemy had 10,000 men in the country, he supposes an army of four times that number would be necessary to besiege it, and to cut off the communication at the same time. He does not think any expedition could have been fitted out with the object of taking Antwerp by a *coup de main*. He could never have given as his opinion, that it could be so taken. It is not usual to employ 40 or 50,000 men, and a train of heavy artillery, for a *coup de main*.' p 26, 27.

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The conclusion of Lieutenant-General Calvert's opinion is as follows.

'It must, however, be remarked, that the city of Antwerp is formidable, and the works of the town itself, such as would demand a regular approach, and a train of artillery, which could not be transported without much time and labour, unless we could secure the navigation of the Scheldt, which could only be assured by the possession of the forts on the left, as well as on the right bank of the river. From the moment our fleet and army appear off Walcheren, the enemy must necessarily be apprised of the object of the enterprize.' Lieutenant-General Calvert concludes by stating, that, having no *data* to go on in respect to the enemy, no 'argument can be entered on that point; but it may be presumed, that, on such an occasion, he would not hesitate immediately to draw all his troops from the fortresses in Holland, the Netherlands, and French Flanders, and from more remote quarters, if he had sufficient time for the purpose.'—

'The service would be arduous; and the troops employed on it must unavoidably be exposed to considerable risk.' p. 13, 14.

And the General's evidence before the Commons, is in these terms.

'General Calvert was first informed of the project about the middle of May. He had been at Antwerp in 1794. 'It was generally stated, that it was *imagined* the enemy's country was very bare of troops at that time. He considered Antwerp a fortress, and the citadel a regular work. He thought it would not be possible, by any means, to have conveyed an army adequate to the siege of Antwerp, with the ordnance requisite from this country, by Sandvliet to Antwerp, without giving the enemy considerable time for preparation. He was never called upon to explain any part of his military opinion, delivered in to the Commander in Chief. He conceived it would be necessary to detach corps to mask Bergen-op-Zoom, and the other fortresses in that neighbourhood, before Antwerp could be invested. He did not think it probable such a fortress as Antwerp could be taken by a *coup de main*; he will not say it was impossible. He conceives a fortress cannot be taken without treachery, without a siege.' In consequence of the knowledge General Calvert possessed of the country, and his conversation with military men,—his opinion was, that Walcheren would fall; but he adds, 'I had great doubts with regard to the ultimate operations, as is expressed in my written opinion.' p. 27, 28.

'Such an operation, (says General Hope) it is evident, would be attended with great risk to the force employed, without, perhaps, any adequate security to the attainment of its object: at the same time, if executed with decision immediately after the occupation of south Beveland, (supposing the enemy unprepared), it might have some chance of success.' p. 17.

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It is observed by Colonel Gordon—'That this attempt would 'be a most desperate enterprize, cannot be doubted; and that, 'in the attempt, whether successful or otherwise, a very large 'proportion of our naval and military means would be put to im-'minent hazard.' (p 19.) And, in his evidence before the House, he states, that, at the time his opinion was asked, no plan of the country, of its defences or its fortifications, was delivered to him. He thinks there can be no doubt, but that, if an army had been sent to besiege Antwerp, it would have been necessary to make great detachments, to cover the different posts in the province of Zealand. No communication took place between Colonel Gordon and Lord Castlereagh on the subject of his military opinion; nor does he recollect to have been asked any questions upon it by his Lordship. The opinions of the Earl of Roslyn, Sir John Hope, or Sir William Erskine, were never asked; though it was universally known, that Sir William had been at Antwerp in 1794, and had thoroughly examined the works on the Scheldt, and in Brabant. None of these officers entertained any hopes of the ultimate success of the expedition. Sir Richard Strachan, consulted by Lord Mulgrave, stated, that he could entertain little prospect of the ultimate success of the expedition, and that nothing more would be done but taking Walcheren. Even Sir Home Popham states, that the expedition ought to sail early in June.

These opinions, all unfavourable, are delivered; and, without further comment or communication, Lord Castlereagh orders Sir David Dundas to hold in readiness, for embarkation, an army of 35,000 infantry, and 1800 cavalry; and similar orders for preparation are given to the navy.

It appears in evidence, that Government were completely ignorant whether ships of war could, or could not, get up above Antwerp. They knew that the expedition had been long expected by the enemy; and they had not a single particle of intelligence respecting the French force in the Low Country. The English fleet might be observed the moment it quitted the Downs; and the French have thirteen fortified towns within one day's march of Antwerp, and twenty-three other fortified towns within two days' march. The roads in the Low Countries are uniformly good; and, in many of the routes to Antwerp, are canals parallel with the roads, for the more easy transport of artillery. Ministers knew also, that a boom had been flung across the Scheldt; and that ships, in going up, must pass five batteries, four forts, and the temporary batteries on the banks.

It appears further, that this expedition had been suggested to Mr Pitt in 1798, to Lord Hobart in 1803, and to Lord Grenville in 1806;

and had been rejected by them all, as desperate and impracticable. When first resolved upon by the present administration, it appeared that the whole disposeable force of the country had been reduced to 15,000 men, by their rash expedition under General Moore. The greatest efforts possible, however, were made; and the expedition which actually left this country, consisted of 34,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, 16 companies of artillery, 300 military artificers, 28 officers of engineers, 2 companies of the staff corps, 39 sail of the line, 36 frigates, besides mortar-vessels and gunboats, amounting to between 400 and 500 pendants,—furnished by government with *one* person acquainted with the navigation of the Scheldt, and with *no* plans of Antwerp, Lillo, or Liefhenshock. 'The Government (says Sir R. Strachan, from whose evidence these facts are taken) could supply us with none; and appeared to be utterly ignorant whether or not ships could get up above Antwerp.'

To conduct this army, constituting a greater land force of English soldiers than the Duke of Marlborough ever had under his command, the person selected was the Earl of Chatham, —a nobleman altogether unknown as an officer, and known only as a civilian for his unsatisfactory conduct of the Admiralty,- from which, on account of the universal complaints against him, he had been removed by his own brother. This commander, indeed, has himself declared in evidence, that he did not know, before he left England, whether the arsenals at Antwerp were commanded by the citadel; nor had he any distinct knowledge where the arsenals were situate. No plan in detail was ever concerted for the attack of Antwerp; nor had he ever seen, or received from Government, any plan of the present state of that town. He was also ignorant of the number of fortified towns within two days' march of Antwerp, and knew little or nothing of the state of the fortresses on the Scheldt before his sailing: he never called for any explanation of their military opinions from the Commander in Chief, General Calvert, General Brownrigg, or Colonel Gordon, though those opinions had been given to him by the Secretary of state. He was never asked by the ministers, after his return, for any account of his proceedings, beyond what was stated in his despatches.—All this appears in the evidence of Lord Chatham himself.

Sir John Pringle, surgeon-general to the English army employed in Zealand in the campaign of 1747, wrote a book upon the diseases of the army, in which, speaking of that campaign, he has this passage.

'In Zealand, the sickness was great among the four battalions which

which had continued there since the beginning of the campaign. These men, partly in camp and partly in cantonments, lay in *South Beveland* and *in the island of Walcheren, two districts of that province;* and, both in the field and quarters, were so very sickly, that at the height of the epidemic, *some of these corps had but* 100 *men fit for duty*, which was less than the seventh part of a complete battalion.'—'The Royals, in particular, at the end of the campaign, had but *four* men that never had been ill.'—'At the end of the campaign, we had in hospitals, exclusive of the wounded, 4000 British, which was something more than a fifth part of our whole number. But it is to be remarked, that *the four Zealand battalions furnished near the half; so that when those corps went into winter quarters, their sick, in proportion to their men fit for duty, were nearly as four to one.*' p. 105, 106.

He then adverts to the known qualities of the air in Zealand, which he describes as most unwholesome. He says also, that the epidemics of this country generally appear the *end of July*, or beginning of August, under the canicular heats, and end when the frost begins. This book is a very well-known book, and may be purchased any where for a few shillings. The expedition sailed on the 28th of July. No medical man was consulted respecting the nature of the climate.

Sir Lucas Pepys, *President of the Medical Board*, was never consulted till six weeks *after* the sailing of the expedition. No particular preparations were made, before the sailing of the expedition, for preventing the fever. Sir Lucas knew that the disorders of Walcheren prevailed in the months of July, August and September; and that the marsh fever is greater in Walcheren than in any part of the world, except Batavia. The disease of the troops is just what he should have expected; and, had the place of their destination been confided to him, he should have recommended extraordinary precautions.

So say also the inspector-general, Mr Knight,—the surgeon-general, Mr Keate,—and the deputy-inspector, Mr Webbe; all perfectly acquainted with the period and nature of the Walcheren fever. None of them were spoken to by ministers on the subject.

In consequence of setting off just as the season for fevers began, and neglecting a proper provision of physicians and medicines, the return of sick was as follows.

On the 13th September, rank and file only,	7626
On the 19th -	8123
21st - -	8684
22d -	8799
23d - -	9046

On the 12th of July, when the expedition was about to ſail, Mr Keate wrote very earneſtly to the war department, imploring that two more hoſpital ſhips ſhould be furniſhed with the neceſſary equipments to receive the ſick of the troops about to ſail from Portſmouth. Lord Caſtlereagh's ſecretary anſwers, that *one* hoſpital ſhip has already been provided; and refuſes the requeſt. On the 17th, Mr Keate writes again, ſtating the great inconvenience and diſtreſs the ſervice is likely to ſuffer from this arrangement. The requeſt is again refuſed; and the fleet, already provided with one pilot, ſails with *one* hoſpital ſhip.

All theſe arrangements fell under the official management of Lord Caſtlereagh, the Secretary for the war department. On the 8th of April, while the expedition was in preparation, but three months before it actually ſailed, the Secretary of State for foreign affairs gave notice, that he would reſign, if Lord Caſtlereagh was not removed from his office. On the 28th of April, the Preſident of the Council, Lord Camden, admitted, that it would be deſireable that Lord Caſtlereagh (ſtill conducting the expedition) ſhould be turned out of office. On the 31ſt of May (Lord Caſtlereagh ſtill going on), the Secretary of State again repreſented his intention of reſigning, if the ſaid Lord was not removed from the conduct of the war;—he, in conſequence, obtained a promiſe that he ſhould be removed. But, with this verdict of incapacity againſt Lord Caſtlereagh,—the Secretary his accuſer, and the Cabinet his condemning jury,—the whole Cabinet permitted him to conduct this moſt important expedition; and, as ſoon as it had failed, revealed the intention they had all along cheriſhed, of turning him out of office. The Secretary for War and Colonies then reſigned,—and ſhot the Secretary for Foreign Affairs through the thigh on Wimbledon Common.

The expedition failed on the 28th of July. The army landed on the 1ſt of Auguſt; and Walcheren capitulated on the 15th.

In the mean time, the French, who were to be taken by ſurprise, had thrown 5000 men into Bergen-op-Zoom on the 3d of August. On the 8th, 3000 men were thrown into Antwerp; and the armed workmen amounted to 6000. On the 10th of August, 25,000 French infantry of the line were at or near Antwerp; and 40,000 men within a day's march. On the 14th, water was let into the ditch of Antwerp; and all the ships of the French line had long before got up above Antwerp. Lord Chatham found this to be the ſituation of affairs on the fall of Flushing; remained in the iſland three weeks longer; and returned to London on the 14th of September.

As far back as the 29th Auguſt, Lord Chatham had written, *that*

that all progress of the army was at an end. On the 9th of September, he writes, that the expense of building the barracks absolutely necessary, and of repairing the defences of the island, would amount to 100,000*l.* On the same day, Sir Eyre Coote writes, that the enemy can assemble, *unmolested,* boats of every description, through the canals of Dunkirk, Ostend, Bruges, and Ghent, as well as from every part of Holland; that if Walcheren is to be retained, the inhabitants, amounting to thirty-seven thousand souls, must be fed from England; but that the defences of the island, in their present state, are defective and untenable: And concludes with observing, that the advantages must indeed be great, to compensate the loss of lives and treasure which the retention must necessarily occasion. At this time, the English army was receiving the infection at the rate of about 800 men in four days.

On the 23d September, Sir Eyre Coote states the progress of the disease to be such, that if it continues three weeks longer, (of which there is every probability), our possession of the island would be most precarious. If Walcheren is to be retained, he presses for reinforcements. On the 6th October, Sir Eyre Coote again writes, that his force, from sickness, has become so trivial, as to make the defence of the island extremely precarious. 'Your 'Lordship must excuse me,' he adds, 'for adverting so fre-'quently to this subject; for I cannot be supposed insensible to 'the critical situation in which I am placed.' He then enumerates all the difficulties which arise to the service. On the 22d October, Sir Eyre Coote states the effective force at Walcheren as reduced to 4000 men. On the 23d October, he calls the serious attention of Government to the critical situation of the island; and on the 27th, he states, that the sick must be abandoned, in the event of the enemy's landing. After writing these letters, without being able to learn whether or not Walcheren was to be retained, he resigns;—and General Donne succeeds him in the command. During all this time, no operation of any kind is undertaken, or appears to have been in contemplation.

'The island,' says General Donne, 'is almost in a defenceless state; and the army so much reduced, as not to be able to cope with the enemy in the field, and only capable of holding Flushing until the enemy can open mortars and rocket batteries.' He calculates that 23,150 men will be necessary for the defence of Walcheren;—while he has but 4000, and the enemy 29,000 close to him. This letter was written about the 27th of October. All this notwithstanding, it is not till the 13th of November that the first order is given for evacuation, and carried

into execution by the 20th of December.—Between the period when it was ascertained that nothing further could be done, and the final evacuation, and pending the duels and deliberations of the ministry, there died 2000, and sickened 12,000 men.

On the 2d of September, Lord Castlereagh receives the report of the deputy inspector of Walcheren Hospitals to Sir Eyre Coote, 'that there is an absolute necessity of sending express for medical aid, and of applying, that a fast-sailing vessel should be 'appointed to bring out the assistance so urgently required.' By the 25th, there was sent one staff surgeon, and five hospital mates; but no wine or bark. Sick on the 23d, 9000. On this day, Sir Eyre writes—

'The deaths are becoming daily more numerous. There is scarcely a sufficiency of healthy men to act as orderlies in the hospitals; *no medical assistance arrived;* the number of medical officers daily decreasing by sickness; *no comforts or wine for the sick; and the prospect of an immediate want of bark,* an article of such indispensable necessity in the prevailing disorder.' p. 114.

The total of the sick and wounded, sent from Walcheren to England, in ninety-seven days, amounted to *twelve thousand eight hundred and sixty-three men*; and, between the 1st of January 1810, and the 1st of June 1810, there were admitted into the hospitals, from the corps which had served at Walcheren, *thirty-six thousand five hundred patients.* This statement was laid before the Lords, in an official return from the military hospitals, and, of course, includes relapses. During the whole of this expedition, administration were earnestly pressed to make a diversion in the north of Germany, in favour of the Austrian court; but this was stated, in their evidence before the Commons, to be impossible, because all the efforts of the government could procure no more than 125,000*l.* in specie; so that an army on the Continent could not be furnished with necessaries for want of cash; whereas, in an insular expedition, they might be furnished with every thing from home, without the intervention of the precious metals.

From these facts, all extracted from the evidence laid before the Houses of Parliament, it appears, that, during that administration, of which Lord Castlereagh and Messrs Perceval and Canning were the most conspicuous members, there failed from this country one of the largest, and most expensive expeditions ever fitted out;—that it did not fail for the purpose of cooperating with our Austrian allies, then struggling, with some chance of success, against France, but for the purpose of destroying certain harbours and basins near our own coast, and injurious to our maritime interests.

tereſts. It appears alſo, that the arrangements and preparations for this expedition were conſigned to Lord Caſtlereagh, whom his colleagues conſidered to be ſo improper a perſon for the office, that they agreed to turn him out as ſoon as the expedition had failed. It ſeems alſo, that the command of this expedition devolved upon a nobleman wholly unknown as a ſoldier, and who had gained no credit by his conduct in the civil offices which he had held. It is proved, that this expedition had been propoſed to three previous adminiſtrations, and rejected by them all, as raſh and impracticable; and that all military and naval authorities were againſt it. It is alſo proved, that the iſland to which the expedition failed, is well known to be one of the moſt unhealthy in the world;—that the ſickly ſeaſon begins juſt as the expedition was despatched, and concludes juſt as it was recalled. It is ſhown, that this duration of the ſickly ſeaſon has been long ſince deſcribed in books, and was perfectly known to medical men; but that no medical men were conſulted; and therefore, no precautions taken, and no proper ſupply of medicines provided:—that, in conſequence, twelve thouſand men fell ſick in the iſland of Walcheren, and thirty-ſix thouſand within ſix months after. It is moreover ſhown, by the ſame evidence, that the French fleet were removed out of our reach before the expedition failed;—that the enemy had an army much ſuperior to our own near Antwerp, before the project of attacking that town was diſcuſſed in our army;—that the armament effected nothing more than the capture of one ill-fortified town in fourteen days;—that two thouſand men died, and ten thouſand caught the infection, during the three months in which the miniſtry were debating whether or not the iſland ſhould be retained;—and that the whole loſs, in lives, from the expedition, may be put at about eight thouſand; and, in money, between two and three millions.

ART. V. *An Inquiry into the Effects produced on the National Currency and Rates of Exchange by the Bank Reſtriction Bill.* By Robert Muſhet.

The High Price of Bullion a Proof of the Depreciation of Bank Notes. By David Ricardo.

Obſervations on the Principles which regulate the Course of the Exchange. By William Blake.

The Queſtion concerning the Depreciation of our Currency ſtated and examined. By William Huskiſſon, Eſq. M. P.

Practical Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee. By Charles Bosanquet.

Reply to Mr Bosanquet's Obervations on the Report of the Bullion Committee. By David Ricardo.

THE two first of these pamphlets deserve particular commendation, for having given a beginning to the interesting discussion which is still going on, with regard to the present extraordinary depreciation of our paper currency. The attention which was drawn to the same important question a few years ago, by the very clear and masterly view of the subject given by Lord King, and the uncommon combination of extensive knowledge of detail with just principles, exhibited in the work of Mr H. Thornton, seems to have had the effect of checking the progress of the evil, though not of entirely removing it. The great subsequent prosperity of our commerce, owing to our peculiarly fortunate situation compared with the rest of Europe, having improved our foreign exchanges, the depreciation of our currency, which still existed in a certain degree, was no longer thought of; and the subject, as might be expected, was allowed to drop.

Within the last two years, however, the progress of depreciation has been so rapid, as to force itself on the attention of all who were in any degree acquainted with its symptoms; and as it is not the practice of the public to resort to advice called forth on temporary occasions when similar occasions recur, Mr Mushet and Mr Ricardo seem to have been fully justified in their endeavours to excite fresh attention to so important a subject by new publications.

Nor are their *endeavours* alone entitled to our commendation: the manner in which they have executed their tasks, deserves a very considerable degree of praise. Mr Mushet has the great merit of stating some very important truths in so clear and simple a manner, as admirably to fit them for admission into the minds of those who are not very familiar with such investigations; while his errors are so inconsiderable, that the reader is in no danger of being led far from the right course. His suggestions respecting a recoinage of silver, and the mode of preserving it from degradation, well deserve the attention of the government. It should also be observed, that the judicious selection of tables subjoined to this publication, give it a very great additional interest, which has not been superseded even by the valuable Appendix to the Report of the Bullion Committee.

Mr Ricardo's pamphlet contains an excellent view of the general principles of circulation, and of the various results which are

are occasioned in different countries by the variations in their respective currencies. He is, in our opinion, particularly entitled to praise for the manner in which he has laid down two most important doctrines,—long known, indeed, and acknowledged by those who have maturely considered these subjects, but not unfrequently overlooked by others.

The first is the grand doctrine, which may be said to be the main hinge on which the principles of circulation, whether consisting of a paper currency, or of the precious metals, must necessarily turn;—the doctrine, that every kind of circulating medium, as well as every other kind of commodity, is necessarily depreciated by excess, and raised in value by deficiency, compared with the demand, without reference either to confidence or intrinsic use. This doctrine follows immediately from the general principles of supply and demand, which are unquestionably the foundation on which the whole superstructure of political economy is built. And if we deny the application of these principles to the currencies of different countries, it will be quite impossible to explain the reason why the wants of some countries do not absolutely exhaust them of the precious metals, and the desireable products of others overload them with bullion;—and why, instead of such a state of things, the precious metals are, on the whole, maintained in such proportions in the different countries of the commercial world, as, in reference to the commodities which form the subjects of their mutual intercourse, to be nearly of the same value in each.

The other doctrine, to which we have alluded, nearly connected with the former, and, from its being less generally known, even more important on the present occasion, is the doctrine, that excess and deficiency of currency are only *relative* terms; that the circulation of a country can never be superabundant, except in relation to other countries; that, as, after the discovery of the American mines, the different countries of Europe absorbed into their circulation three or four times the quantity of gold and silver which they before possessed, so, if the paper currency of one country would pass in another, or if proportional issues were made in all the different countries of the commercial world at the same time, there is no limit to the quantity which might be absorbed, without any such redundancy as would overfill the circulation, and occasion the efflux of the precious metals, though it might be continually occasioning the melting of coin into bullion.

A clear understanding of this doctrine is absolutely necessary, in order to explain what is meant by *excessive* issues of paper; and

and to enable us fully to comprehend the grand distinction, between the wants of the circulation, in order to maintain it on a level with bullion or the currencies of surrounding countries,—and the wants of private merchants, and of the government for the purposes of business, and national expenditure.

These two important doctrines are, in the course of Mr Ricardo's discussion, explained with great clearness and precision; and both he and Mr Mushet appear to us to have completely succeeded in proving the actual depretiation of our currency, and in tracing it to its true cause. They have both also the satisfaction of having seen their main views of the subject, and the remedy which they recommend, sanctioned by a Report, drawn up with great care and ability by a committee of the House of Commons, consisting of some of the best informed men of their time; and founded upon a body of curious evidence, and a set of instructive documents, which would have been utterly beyond the reach of private individuals.

The great fault of Mr Ricardo's performance, is the partial view which he takes of the causes which operate upon the course of Exchange.

Independently of the wearing or the adulteration of the coin, the effects of which are readily intelligible, there are, we conceive, two causes, perfectly distinct in their origin, though nearly similar in their effects, by which the exchange is affected. The first, and the most ordinary, is the varying demand for different sorts of produce arising from the varying desires and necessities of the nations connected with each other by commerce: The second is a comparative redundancy or deficiency of currency, in whatever way it may be occasioned.

If, for instance, in consequence of the sudden adoption of some foreign commodity into general use, or the sudden deficiency of some commodity of home growth, which must be supplied from abroad, the imports of a particular country should exceed its exports, the exchange might be turned greatly against it; and it might be obliged to make some of its payments in bullion, although, previous to the extraordinary imports occasioned by these new desires or new wants, both its bullion and its currency might have been precisely of the same value as those of the country into which they were now flowing.

In this case, it is quite clear, that the exportation of bullion was the *effect of a balance of trade*, originating in causes which may exist without any relation whatever to redundancy or deficiency of currency.

In other cases, a redundancy or deficiency of currency is the exciting

exciting *cause of the balance of trade* and payments, and of the exportation or the importation of bullion.

An efflux or influx of the precious metals, for instance, originating in the first cause, could exist but a very short time, before it would produce a comparative deficiency in one country, and redundancy in the other; and, by the convertibility of bullion into coin, and coin into bullion, a proportional change in the bullion value of their respective currencies.

But the country, with a diminishing quantity of bullion, would evidently soon be limited in its powers of paying with the precious metals, while, at the same time, it would be encouraged to sell by the low bullion prices of its goods, and the foreign demand for them, occasioned by the fall in its bills. On the other hand, the country, with an increasing quantity of bullion, would have its power of purchasing with the precious metals increased, and its encouragement to sell diminished, by the advanced bullion prices of its goods, and the diminished foreign demand for them occasioned by the premium upon its bills. This state of things could not fail to have a speedy effect in changing the direction of the balance of payments, and in restoring that equilibrium of the precious metals, which had been for a time disturbed by the naturally unequal wants and necessities of the countries which trade with each other.

A similar effect would be produced upon the imports and exports, by the discovery of a new mine, or the increased issues of paper, as long as such issues continued to throw coin out of circulation. In these cases, the redundancy or deficiency of currency is the *cause* of an unfavourable or favourable balance of trade, an unfavourable or favourable course of the real exchanges, and the consequent exportation or importation of bullion.

It is of the utmost importance to keep these two distinct causes, which affect the course of exchange, constantly in view; because they sometimes act in conjunction, and sometimes in opposition to each other; and the results produced by their sum, or their difference, cannot of course be accounted for by either the one or the other taken separately. Mr Ricardo, however, instead of directing his attention to both these causes, confines it to only one of them. He attributes a favourable or unfavourable exchange *exclusively* to a redundant or deficient currency, and overlooks the varying desires and wants of different societies, as an original cause of a temporary excess of imports above exports, or exports above imports.

To point out more explicitly the effects of these partial views on the reasoning of Mr Ricardo, we will quote his criticism on a passage

passage in Mr Thornton's work on *Paper credit*, in which the error of his principles appears in a very striking light.

Mr Thornton had stated in substance, that a very unfavourable balance of trade might be occasioned in this country by a bad harvest; that there might be at the same time an unwillingness in the country to which we were indebted, to receive our goods in payment; and that, under these circumstances, the balance due must be paid in part by bullion. On this statement Mr Ricardo observes, that 'Mr Thornton has not explained to us, 'why any unwillingness should exist in the foreign country to 'receive our goods in exchange for their corn; and it would be 'necessary for him to show, that if such an unwillingness were 'to exist, we should agree to indulge it so far, as to part with 'our coin. If we consent to give coin in exchange for goods, 'it must be from choice, not necessity. We should not import 'more goods than we export, unless we had a redundancy of 'currency which it therefore suits us to make a part of our ex-'ports. The exportation of coin is caused by its cheapness; 'and is not the effect, but the cause, of an unfavourable balance. 'We should not export it, if we did not send it to a better mar-'ket; or if we had any commodity which we could export more 'profitably. It is a salutary remedy for a redundant currency; 'and as I have endeavoured to prove that redundancy or excess 'is only a relative term, it follows, that the demand for it abroad 'arises only from the comparative deficiency of the currency of 'the importing country which there causes its superior value.' This reasoning, Mr Ricardo applies equally to the stronger case of the payment of a subsidy to a foreign power.

Now, we would ask, what necessary connexion there is between the wants of a nation for unusual importations of corn, occasioned by a bad harvest, or its desire to transmit a large subsidy to a foreign power occasioned by a treaty to that effect,—and the question of redundant or deficient currencies? Surely, such wants or desires might occur in one of two countries, where, immediately previous to their existence, the precious metals circulated as nearly as possible on a level. And the unwillingness of the country to which the debt is owing, to receive in payment a great quantity of goods, beyond what it is in the habit of giving orders for, and consuming, stands much less in need of explanation, than that a bad harvest, or the necessity of paying a subsidy in one country, should be immediately and invariably accompanied by an unusual demand for muslins, hardware, and colonial produce in some other. We know indeed, that such a demand will to a certain degree exist, owing to the fall in the bills upon the debtor country, and the consequent opportunity of purchasing

ing its commodities at a cheaper rate than usual. But if the debt for the corn or the subsidy be considerable, and require prompt payment, the bills on the debtor country will fall below the price of the transport of the precious metals. A part of the debt will be paid in these metals; and a part by the increased exports of commodities. But, as far as it is paid by the transmission of bullion, this transmission does not merely originate in redundancy of currency. It is not occasioned by its cheapness. It is not, as Mr Ricardo endeavours to persuade us, the cause of the unfavourable balance, instead of the effect. It is not merely a salutary remedy for a redundant currency: But it is owing precisely to the cause mentioned by Mr Thornton—the unwillingness of the creditor nation to receive a great additional quantity of goods not wanted for immediate consumption, without being bribed to it by excessive cheapness; and its willingness to receive bullion—the currency of the commercial world—without any such bribe. It is unquestionably true, as stated by Mr Ricardo, that no nation will pay a debt in the precious metals, if it can do it cheaper by commodities; but the prices of commodities are liable to great depressions from a glut in the market;—whereas the precious metals, on account of their having been constituted, by the universal consent of society, the general medium of exchange, and instrument of commerce, will pay a debt of the largest amount at its nominal estimation, according to the quantity of bullion contained in the respective currencies of the countries in question. And, whatever variations between the quantity of currency and commodities, may be stated to take place subsequent to the commencement of these transactions, it cannot be for a moment doubted, that the cause of them is to be found in the wants and desires of one of the two nations, and not in any original redundancy or deficiency of currency in either of them.

The same kind of error which we have here noticed, pervades other parts of Mr Ricardo's pamphlet, particularly the opening of his subject. He seems to think, that when once the precious metals have been divided among the different countries of the earth, according to their relative wealth and commerce, that each having an equal necessity for the quantity actually in use, no temptation would be offered for their importation or exportation, till either a new mine, or a new bank was opened; or till some marked change had taken place in their relative prosperity.

That the discovery of a new mine, or the opening of a new bank, on which Mr Ricardo lays his principal stress, are most powerful causes of the efflux and influx of bullion, we are most ready to acknowledge; but they certainly are not the sole causes. The wants of different nations with different climates, and different

ferent degrees of fertility, cannot, with any degree of probability, be supposed, in the first instance, *exactly* to balance each other. They are only forced to this kind of level by the absolute impossibility, if they have no mines, of continuing to purchase more than they sell; and the rapid effect which the exportation of even a very moderate quantity of the precious metals has in raising the currency of the exporting, and lowering that of the importing country. But, while this level is, on the whole, maintained, we cannot doubt that the varying wants of these nations frequently subject them to unfavourable or favourable balances of payment, beyond what can be easily settled by bills: and that to settle these, and to carry on the various roundabout foreign trades of consumption, there ever has been, and always will be, a quantity of the precious metals in use destined to perform the same part with regard to the different nations connected with each other by commerce, which the currency of a particular country performs with regard to its distant provinces.

To the pamphlet of Mr Ricardo succeeded, we believe, the able and original observations of Mr Blake, on the principles which regulate the course of exchange; and the public is certainly indebted to him for a very valuable addition to their stock of information on the important subject which now occupies so much of their attention. We wish that we had room to point out to the reader many of the clear and masterly statements contained in this publication; but when we consider the quantity of matter still before us, we are compelled to confine ourselves chiefly to the more invidious task of pointing out what we conceive to be its errors. Mr Blake observes, in his introduction, that 'the computed exchange varies from two causes totally distinct from each other. The first, arising from the abundance or scarcity of bills in the market, is the foundation of what may be called the *real* exchange; which depends upon the payments which a country has to make, compared with those it has to receive, and has no reference to the state of the currency. The second, arising from alterations in the value of the currency, is the foundation of what may be called the *nominal* exchange; which has no reference whatever to the state of debt and credit of the country.' He then proceeds, in three distinct sections, to comment, first, upon the real exchange; secondly, upon the nominal exchange; and, thirdly, upon the computed exchange, or the combined results of both, as they appear in the printed accounts.

In discussing the first branch of his subject, he has entirely avoided the error of Mr Ricardo, and has traced the causes of the

the real exchange to the varying desires and necessities of different nations, which naturally make them sometimes debtors, and sometimes creditors, to the countries with which they deal, although their respective currencies may be in a state of the most perfect equality of value. The great fault which appears in this part of Mr Blake's work, is, that though he has explained certain causes of the real exchange, and their various effects on mercantile transactions, in the clearest and most satisfactory manner, yet, he has omitted to notice one of the principal causes; and, so far, has left his section on the real exchange incomplete.

In proceeding to the discussion of the nominal exchange, he assumes as a postulatum, for the sake of clearness, that the real exchange remains unaltered: he, at the same time, considers an alteration in the total amount of the currency of a country, without a corresponding alteration of the commodities to be circulated by it, as the main cause which, in the present times, affects the nominal exchange; and the cause, therefore, to which he intends to direct his chief attention. He is thus at once led into the grave error of implying, what indeed he distinctly maintains afterwards, that an alteration in the amount of the currency of a country, without a corresponding alteration in its commodities, has no tendency to affect the real exchange, and to cause an exportation or importation of bullion.

We are quite ready to agree with Mr Blake, that the *nominal* exchange, as far as it is *merely nominal*, has no tendency of this kind; but, we are firmly persuaded, with Mr Ricardo, that, as long as there is any quantity of coin to be displaced, and converted into bullion by increased issues of paper, so long will such increased issues continue to raise the bullion, as well as the nominal prices of commodities; that if the bullion prices of commodities be raised, what Mr Blake calls the real prices current will be raised; and the raising of the real prices current cannot fail to discourage the sale of home produce, and encourage the purchase of foreign produce, occasion a discount upon home bills, and a premium on foreign bills, affect unfavourably the real exchange, and terminate in the exportation of bullion.

Connected with this important error, of supposing that the real exchange is not affected by a redundancy or deficiency of currency, is another, which supposes that the bullion trade may be carried on between two countries while their real exchanges are at par. Now, we would ask, in the first place, whether it is readily conceivable that such a difference should exist between the real prices of bullion in two countries connected with each other, as to cover the expenses of transport, and offer a fair profit

profit to the bullion merchant, without affecting the real prices of commodities in such countries. By the real prices of commodities, in the present discussion, Mr Blake explains himself to mean (p. 48) 'the prices at which those commodities would be bought and sold, if no depreciation of currency existed, which, from the convertibility of coin into bullion, and bullion into coin, can be no other than what we should call the bullion prices. But if the bullion prices, or real prices current, were lowered in one of two countries, so as more than to cover the expense of transport, the exports would undoubtedly exceed the imports, and the exchange could no longer remain at par.

Secondly, We would ask, in what manner the bullion merchant pays for the bullion which he imports? It can only be by the purchase and remittance of a foreign bill, or by ordering a bill to be drawn upon him. In either case, funds in goods must have gone out, or must go out, to provide for the payment of these bills; and if a balance of goods had not gone out before, that is, if the exchange had not before been favourable, the additional quantity which must go out to pay for the bullion would at once make the exports exceed the imports, and prevent the exchange from being at par. It appears, therefore, from the very terms of the proposition, that bullion cannot be purchased for importation without an excess of exports, and a consequent favourable exchange. We are aware, indeed, that on the supposition of the exports and imports of the produce of two countries being exactly balanced, and the exchange at par, the fresh competition of a bullion merchant for a bill to pay for the bullion which he wished to import, would rather tend to raise the price of foreign bills, and render the exchange unfavourable; but this only shows that such a competition at such a time could never occur. It is indeed impossible to suppose, with Mr Blake, that the bullion dealer would be the most engaged at the time that the real exchange was at its least deviation from par, (p. 35.), when, in the purchase of a commodity for which there is rarely any very urgent and sudden demand, by waiting till the exchange was decidedly favourable, he could import any quantity that he might want, with so much greater profit. Mr Blake seems to be quite unconscious of the grand difference between bullion and other commodities. The bullion prices of particular commodities may easily vary in such a manner, from plenty or scarcity, as to make it answer to import them when the exchange is at par, or even decidedly unfavourable. But how can the bullion prices of *bullion* experience such variations? The prices of that commodity, which is the general medium of exchange, can properly be said to vary only in reference to the sum of all other commodities; but a variation

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in the sum of all other commodities compared with bullion, cannot take place in any country which has a ready communication with others, without affecting the exchange. To us, therefore, it appears quite clear, that there are really no other variations in the prices at which bullion can be bought and sold for import or export, than those which appear in the exchange.

In our commerce with all those countries which are nearly connected with the mines, and where, in consequence, bullion is comparatively cheap, the real exchange has been almost invariably in our favour; and we believe it may be laid down as a rule that admits of no exception, that, whenever the real exchange with any country is either at par, or unfavourable, it is cheaper to purchase bullion in the home markets than to import it from such country.

To the same error of Mr Blake is to be ascribed his criticism upon Lord King (p. 35.), who has stated, if we recollect, in substance, that the bullion sent to India has a tendency to render our exchanges with Europe favourable. Now, if, from what we have just said, it appears that bullion cannot flow into a country except in consequence of a favourable real exchange; and if any unusual demand for bullion in a particular country must tend to render bullion scarcer and dearer, and, by lowering the real prices of commodities, to encourage an excess of exports above imports, and to render the real exchange favourable, we conceive that Lord King must be right, and Mr Blake's correction unfounded.

We are fearful that the subject of exchanges will not admit of that distinctness and simplicity of division with which Mr Blake has treated it; because it is unquestionable, that one of the most powerful causes of the nominal exchange—a redundancy or deficiency of currency—invariably influences the real exchange, as long as there is any coin that can be converted with advantage into bullion, or any bullion to be converted into coin. All that can be done, as it appears to us, is, to rank among the causes of the real exchange, not only the varying desires and necessities of different nations, but every such alteration in their currencies as tends to affect the bullion prices of commodities. The causes of the nominal exchange will then be all that part of every alteration in the currencies of different countries, which does not affect the bullion prices of commodities; and the computed exchange will of course be the result of both. Notwithstanding the errors in Mr Blake's pamphlet which we have here ventured to point out, and which, if our criticisms be just, are not unimportant, we still think it a very valuable publication, and earnestly recommend it to the attention of our readers, particularly the first and last sections.

Mr Huskisson's pamphlet has been published since the Report of the Committee, and was written, as he intimates, to satisfy the minds of some of his friends, and to support the conclusions which he had formed upon so interesting a question, against the clamours of those who were inimical to the Report. There was not, indeed, much that remained to be done after the publication of the Report itself, and the body of evidence with which it was accompanied. But what Mr Huskisson has done, he has done, on the whole, exceedingly well; and we have little doubt that his authority, as a practical statesman bred in the school of Mr Pitt, will be of essential service to the cause of truth on the present occasion; both by giving a wider circulation to the discussion, and by calming, in some degree, the fears of those who strangely imagine, that the present deranged system of our currency is necessary to the collection of our revenue. We are disposed, therefore, to give Mr Huskisson very great credit, both for the liberal and manly spirit which prompted him to undertake the task, and which pervades the whole performance, and for the general ability with which it is executed; though we think it necessary to begin with some corrections, which appear to us to be material, of his elementary doctrine.

As a very proper and sufficient reason for some explanations relating to the fundamental principles of money, with which Mr Huskisson opens his pamphlet, he intimates, that it is of great importance that the ground should be properly cleared for a discussion of this kind; and that those who engage in it, should be agreed in their first principles. The same reason makes it necessary for us to offer a few remarks on these explanations.

Mr Huskisson, in stating that it is of the very essence of *money* to possess intrinsic value, on account of its being the *common and universal equivalent*, observes, that 'the quality, of being a *common measure*, does not necessarily imply such value, any more than the possession of a foot-rule implies the power of acquiring whatever it enables us to measure.' In this observation, we neither see how the illustration applies, nor are we disposed to acknowledge the truth of the position which it is intended to establish. To us it appears absolutely necessary, that the commodity which measures exchangeable *value*, must itself possess *value* in exchange; in the same manner as a foot-rule, which measures length, must itself possess length. A pound of gold might be said to measure the nominal value, or value in gold, of all the commodities in the country, by stating how many pounds they would exchange for at their market prices:—but it does not follow, that the possessor of a pound of gold, although it has intrinsic value, should be able to acquire *all* the articles of value with which it might be successively compared.

One

One of the moſt important functions of the precious metals, is that of acting as a meaſure of value in exchanges; and if paper, or any other article poſſeſſing little or no intrinſic value, appears ſometimes to uſurp this important function, it is ſolely and excluſively on account of its conſtant reference to the intrinſic value of the precious metals. Nor do we conceive it *poſſible*, that a paper currency could be eſtabliſhed, and perform the part of meaſuring the exchangeable value of commodities, without imminent riſk of the moſt tremendous convulſions of property, if there were not ſome article of intrinſic value in exchange, with which it was conſtantly compared; and which, therefore, and not the paper, would be the real meaſure of value.

We have no great objection to the term, *univerſal equivalent*, which Mr Huſkiſſon conſiders as the quality which moſt preeminently diſtinguiſhes the precious metals from all other commodities; but we doubt whether it advantageouſly ſupplies the place of the term *medium of exchange*, or *inſtrument of commerce*; becauſe it is preciſely on account of their being adopted by the common conſent of ſociety as the general medium of exchange, that they are received as a univerſal equivalent. Were it not for this conſent, it is quite clear, that they would only be accepted as an equivalent for other commodities, of equal exchangeable value, by thoſe who wiſhed to make uſe of them as plate.

Mr Huſkiſſon further ſtates, that paper currency 'is ſo much circulating credit,' that 'whoever buys, gives—whoever ſells, receives—ſuch a quantity of pure gold, as is equivalent to the article bought or ſold:—or, if he gives or receives paper inſtead of money, he gives or receives that which is valuable only as it ſtipulates the payment of a given quantity of gold or ſilver.....that money alone is the univerſal equivalent; paper currency the repreſentative of that money.' This account appears to us exactly to ſuit the ſtate of circulation which is repreſented to have prevailed in Holland before the revolution, ariſing from a Bank of Depoſit; but it does not apply to the ſyſtem of banking, and of paper currency, which has been adopted in this and moſt other countries. In Holland, it was really true, that every Bank credit repreſented a certain weight of coins, or of bullion of a known fineneſs; that no part of thoſe coins or bullion was exported in conſequence of the ſubſtitution of Bank money for bullion; and that, if all the creditors of the Bank required at once what thoſe credits repreſented, the whole of the bullion and coins that had been depoſited would be forthcoming at a moment's notice. But every perſon who is acquainted with the ſyſtem of banking in this country, knows perfectly well, that ſuch a realization could never have taken place here; he knows perfectly well, that the peculiar advantages which we derive from this ſyſtem, depend chiefly upon

the ſubſtitution of a very cheap inſtrument for a very dear one; and that, conſequently, when this ſubſtitution has once taken place, there ſeldom has been, nor ever will be, a ſufficient quantity of coin in the country to realize in the precious metals the whole of its paper currency. It is true, that, in the healthy ſtate of our circulation, Bank notes are, and always ſhould be, exchangeable for coin at the option of the holder; but it is found by experience, that, in all ordinary times, the option of the holder is ſatisfied with a very moderate portion of coin, compared with the whole currency. It is found by experience, that a bank-note is not conſidered as valuable, only becauſe it enables him to obtain a given quantity of the precious metals. The holder is in general ſatisfied, if he feels quite ſure of always obtaining for his note a quantity of commodities *equal in value* to the quantity of the precious metals ſpecified in it. This is, in fact, what, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, he really wants; and what alone, in reference to the whole body of notes in circulation, the country poſſeſſes the means of effecting.

The reaſon why his wants are, for the moſt part, directed to the value, rather than the ſubſtance, of the precious metals, depends upon a quality which peculiarly diſtinguiſhes that commodity, whatever it is, which has once been conſtituted by the common conſent of ſociety the general medium of exchange. This is, that every perſon is a dealer in it; and that men want it moſt frequently, not for its intrinſic uſes, but in order to obtain other commodities for it; in the ſame manner as a dealer in corn, as far as he is only a dealer, wants it, not on account of its intrinſic uſe in ſupporting human creatures, but in order to obtain the neceſſaries, conveniences, and comforts of life in exchange for it. And if ſuch a perſon dealt in pieces of paper marked with buſhels and quarters of corn, provided that, by any proceſs, they could be kept always on a level with the varying market prices of real corn, he would carry on his trade with exactly the ſame advantage to himſelf as he does at preſent. But it is quite clear, that, with regard to corn, no poſſible proceſs could preſerve the level of value here ſuppoſed; and preciſely, becauſe very few, comparatively, are dealers in corn, and the great majority of mankind want it to eat, not to ſell; whereas the very ſimple proceſs of making every bank which iſſues notes, perform its promiſe of paying them in ſpecie, at the option of the holder, under the penalty of complete loſs of credit in caſe of failure, is known to be ſufficient to effect a level of value between bank-notes and the precious metals; and preciſely becauſe, with regard to the precious metals, in their character of a circulating medium, every man is a dealer, and wants them to ſell—not to uſe.

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This is a view of the subject which has not been sufficiently attended to, although it appears to us to afford the only satisfactory explanation of the great quantity of paper which may be substituted for the precious metals, in the common systems of banking. In fact, we believe, that the circumstance of our being chiefly dealers in the medium of exchange, not consumers of it, is the very foundation of all those systems of paper currency, the great advantage of which consists in the substitution of a cheap for a dear instrument of commerce.

It will be observed, that this circumstance does not, in any degree, tend to impeach the necessity of the obligation upon all bankers to pay their notes in specie, whenever they are called upon; as in no other way would it be *possible* so to regulate the quantity of bank notes, as *uniformly* and *certainly* to maintain them of the same value as coin. It is merely a somewhat different, and, in our opinion, a more correct view of what actually takes place in those countries where banking establishments prevail, than that which considers the usual kinds of paper-currency in the light of the bank money of Amsterdam, as representing so much coin or bullion at all times forthcoming, and which affirms, that whoever buys, gives, whoever sells, receives, such a quantity of pure gold or silver as is equivalent to the article bought or sold; when it is perfectly well known that the fact is not, and cannot be so, according to the principle of substitution. The precious metals, therefore, in our opinion, perform a more important part in society, and are more frequently called into action, as a measure of exchangeable value, than as a universal equivalent.

But, notwithstanding the little elementary inaccuracy which has given rise to these observations, we must again repeat, that Mr Huskisson's doctrines appear to us to be on the whole quite sound and satisfactory. Nothing can be clearer, or more convincing, than the statements in proof of the actual depreciation of our currency, from p. 12. to p. 17, to which we particularly refer our readers. If a pound of gold, which being coined, according to the law of the country, into forty-four guineas and a half, must, in an undegraded state of the currency, be equal in value to 46*l.* 14s. 6d., cannot now be purchased for less than 56*l* of our actual currency:—if a *light* guinea, which, by being legally convertible into bullion, represents the value of the currencies of surrounding countries, be worth above 24s. in our currency, while the few heavy guineas which are current, being forced to partake of the degradation of the general currency, are worth only 21s.:—if the only reason why a solitary guinea here and there remains in our circulation, and purchases only the same quantity of goods as a one pound note and a shilling, is, that the law will punish, by fine and imprisonment, every man who dares to sell

his commodity for what it is really worth:—if, by the act of 1774, gold, which for many years had been the practical measure of value in this country, was made the only legal tender for payments above a certain sum; and if no repeal or alteration in this act took place in consequence of the restriction bill in 1797:—if our foreign exchanges have been, for a considerable period, permanently against us, to the amount of between 15 and 20 per cent., which, when the highest expense of transmitting gold was about 7 per cent., could not possibly have happened if gold could have been had in exchange for notes at the Bank and our currency had been of the same value as the currencies of surrounding countries:—if what alone can be meant by the term 'depreciated currency,' is a depreciation below the value of that metal which has long formed the effective legal tender of the realm, or below the currencies of the different nations of the commercial world, which, being always estimated in one or other of the precious metals, can admit only of the slight variations that affect the relative values of gold and silver:——If, we say, these things are so, whatever may be urged in favour of the benefits to be derived from a redundant currency, or the inconvenience of returning to payments in specie, *the fact* of such redundancy, and the propriety of applying the term 'depreciated' to the present state of our currency, appears to us to be placed beyond the possibility of doubt.

In answer to the decisive argument suggested by the high price of gold when compared with our currency, it has been confidently asserted, that this high price is not occasioned by the depreciation of that currency, but by the unusual demand for gold abroad. These assertions, Mr Huskisson considers in a subsequent part of his pamphlet, and denies their having any foundation either in fact or probability. But he does not seem to be sufficiently aware, that, even if they were admitted, they have nothing to do with the *existence* of the depreciation, though they have with its *cause*. And this is a point of view which ought to be by no means omitted in our consideration of the subject.

The precious metals are the currency of the commercial world; and whatever variations may take place in their value, either from a greater or less supply of them from the mines, or a greater or less use of them in commerce, it is clear, that all the nations which have a mutual intercourse with each other, must partake of them. If any have currencies, consisting partly of coin and partly of paper, convertible, at the will of the holder, into coin, it is equally clear, that this paper must partake in all the changes that affect the coin. Let us suppose, now, the case of a more abundant supply from the mines.—An influx of the precious metals

tals would evidently take place, which, for a short time, would sink the market price of bullion below the mint price; but more bullion would be immediately converted into coin, and each bank would find that it might iſſue more of its notes without riſk. The conſequence would be, that the whole of the currency, retaining probably the ſame proportions of paper and coin, would be enlarged; the market price of bullion would quickly be raiſed to the mint price; the exchanges which had been very favourable, would return to their uſual ſtate; and no other effect would be experienced, than a general riſe of prices throughout the commercial world.

On the other hand, in the caſe of a diminiſhed ſupply from the mines, or a greater conſumption of the precious metals in ſome of the principal ſtates of Europe, an immediate demand would be felt in the reſt for bullion to be exported; the market price of bullion would be raiſed for a time above the mint price; the notes of the different banks would return upon them, to be exchanged for coin, which would be ſent abroad. The conſequence would be, that the whole currency, conſiſting ſtill of the ſame proportion of paper to coin, would be diminiſhed in quantity, and raiſed in value; the market price of bullion would ſoon ſink to the mint price; the exchanges, which had been unuſually unfavourable, would be reſtored to their accuſtomed ſtate; and no other effect would be felt, than a general fall of prices throughout the commercial world.

Now, if, in the caſe laſt ſuppoſed, the paper of one of theſe countries were not convertible into coin, and very little ſpecie remained in circulation, it is quite clear, that the currency would not have the means of aſſimilating itſelf to the currencies of the nations with which it was connected. The market price of bullion would riſe very greatly above its mint price; all the gold which could be readily collected would be exported. But as this would be inconſiderable, and as the great maſs of paper would remain undiminiſhed, or perhaps be ſlightly increaſed, to ſupply the vacancies occaſioned by the gold exported, the great exceſs of the market price of bullion above the mint price, and the very unfavourable exchanges, would become permanent, (ſubject however, ſtill, to variations occaſioned by the balance of trade, and payments); and the currency of ſuch a country would be to all intents and purpoſes depreciated, when compared with gold and ſilver and the currencies of other countries, juſt as it would be from an original exceſs of paper iſſues; although, on the whole, taking paper and guineas together, the amount of the currency might not be increaſed by a ſingle pound.

It is material to obſerve, that, under all poſſible variations in the value of the precious metals, whether they are increaſed in

quantity tenfold, or diminished to one tenth, the defect or excess of the market price of the precious metals, compared with the mint price, always ceases as soon as the level is effected; and *nothing* but a depretiated currency *can* render gold in bullion permanently of greater value than gold in coin.

Whether any rise has really taken place in the value of the precious metals on the Continent during the last few years, and has contributed, in a slight degree, to the present state of our currency, we will not take upon ourselves to determine. We certainly do not think it quite so improbable as Mr Huskisson does; as we conceive, that the great shock which mercantile credit has suffered, by the difficulties thrown in the way of commercial intercourse, may have operated something like a return to a less advanced period of civilization, and occasioned the necessity of employing a greater quantity of the precious metals, in proportion to the number of exchanges to be transacted. We think, also, that in the evidence before the Bullion Committee, there are some symptons of a rise of this kind, which are not sufficiently noticed in the Report. As, however, the effect derived from this cause, appears, at any rate, to be very inconsiderable, compared with the degree of actual depreciation, an attempt to ascertain its proportion to the whole would certainly be very difficult, and could not be very important. But it appears to us to be extremely important to know, that the Bank directors cannot, with any degree of propriety, urge the argument of a great demand for gold on the Continent, to justify the comparative depreciation of their notes. Whatever may be the variations in the value of the precious metals, their business is to regulate the issue of their notes, so as always to maintain them of the same value. To this course they would be forced, by considerations of personal interest, if the restriction bill had not passed; and, after its enactment, to this course they ought to be impelled, by a sense of their duty to the public, and a proper estimate of the high responsibility that must attach to a set of men, to whose discretion, during the continuance of this act, the entire regulation of the national currency is entrusted.

We had intended to point out to our readers, many parts of Mr Huskisson's pamphlet in which we think he has been very successful; and a few, in which we do not agree with him, besides his doctrine of equivalents in trade. * But our limits oblige us to hasten to Mr Bosanquet,

* We trust that we shall not be suspected, because we disapprove of the doctrine of equivalents, of adopting the old mercantile notion, that the profits of foreign trade are derived from a balance paid

Bosanquet, whose various alleged facts and desultory observations, we confess, excited in us, at first, a considerable degree of alarm; —not, however, on account of their formidable nature—for, though he very correctly describes himself as 'a partizan,' we cannot help thinking that he is a little incorrect in adding that he is 'a successful' one; but on account of their mere number, and the consequent time and space which the shortest remarks upon them would take up. Fortunately, however, the second edition of his pamphlet fell into our hands; and, in reading his supplementary observations, we found ourselves relieved from the task we had undertaken, by the *concessions* of Mr Bosanquet himself.

We had conceived, that the great object of the various facts and observations which he had brought forward, was to show, that the present phenomena relating to the market price of gold bullion, and the course of our foreign exchanges, were of the same temporary nature as those of a similar kind which had often occurred before,—though, from an unusual concurrence of circumstances, they had been aggravated, both in degree and duration; and that the Report of the Bullion Committee was not justified in representing them as indications of a permanent depreciation of our currency below the legal tender of the realm, and the currencies of surrounding countries. What then was our surprise to find him, on second thoughts, *giving up completely the question of depreciation*, in reference to our legal tender,—*acknowledging fairly* that the gold contained in a guinea is now of more value than $\frac{21}{22}$th parts of a two pound note, and, without any allusion to it as a temporary occurrence, proposing an entirely new standard of value, from a comparison with which it appears that our currency is not depreciated!

What this standard is, we are quite sure that our readers would never guess; and we cannot but consider it as one of the most curious instances of self-deception that we have ever met with, and a most unlucky specimen of the reasoning of practical men, that *the interest of 33l. 6s. 8d. in the 3 per cent. stocks*, should be gravely proposed as the standard measure of the value of our currency; that is, that *a one pound note of*

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paid in the precious metals; which Mr Huskisson very oddly seems to think is the alternative. Our opinion is, that, in all commercial transactions, both parties gain what, in the estimation of each, is decidedly more than an equivalent for what it has given; and that it is out of this excess, that the gains of the merchants concerned are taken, who, it appears to us, would be very badly off, and would be little disposed to continue their business, if what they imported were not worth more to the purchasers of it, and would consequently sell for more, than what had been exported.

of the Bank of England, which is the intereſt of this ſum, and the kind of currency in which it is paid, ſhould be the criterion by which we are to judge of the depreciation of—*a one pound note of the Bank of England!*

It may be true, as ſuggeſted in the Report of the Committee, that, ever ſince 1797, Bank of England notes have been the practical medium of exchange, and the meaſure of relative value in all our ſales and purchaſes at home. But the public has always flattered itſelf, that during the temporary ſuſpenſion of payments in ſpecie, the quantity and value of theſe notes would be regulated by a conſtant compariſon with the legal tender of the realm. Let the reader for a moment conſider, in what a dreadfully critical ſtate muſt the property and contracts of a country be placed, which has a paper currency not referrible to *any commodity of intrinsic worth* for the correction of its quantity, and the maintenance of its value, and which might conſequently ſink, in the courſe of a few months, 50 or 100 per cent. below the value of the precious metals, and deprive individuals of half their fortunes, and yet appear to be unchangeable. The moment we quit the precious metals as the conſtant ſtandard of reference, there is no fancy ſo wild, reſpecting a paper circulation, which may not be indulged, and no limit to the degree of depreciation which may not in time be expected. Yet, *of this ſtandard*, to our utter ſurpriſe and grief, the Bank Directors, and their friends, have openly avowed their neglect before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons. What they mean to ſubſtitute, we are not informed; nor do we know whether or not Mr Boſanquet is ſanctioned by their authority in the new ſtandard which *he* has brought forward. But it is unqueſtionable, that, except in regard to the integrity of a few individuals, on which the great maſs of the property of a country ought never to be made to depend, even the aſſignats of France reſted upon a better foundation than that on which it is now propoſed to place the paper circulation of Great Britain. In fact, what ſecurity have we, except in this integrity, that the Bank Directors may not agree to create and divide 24 millions in notes among them for their private fortunes? Or, to put a leſs ſtrong, and not ſo improbable a caſe; What ſecurity have we that the Bank, when releaſed from all obligation to keep their notes of the value of the precious metals, may not alter their mode of conducting buſineſs, and lend money for longer terms than they do at preſent, and on any fair perſonal ſecurity? Mr Boſanquet, in the courſe of his work, has given us an elaborate explanation of the manner in which the demand for diſcounts at the Bank naturally limits itſelf; for which we are really much obliged to him, though we do not think that it proves ſufficiently what he intends; and, in one reſpect,

ſpect, it is rather unfortunate for his general argument, as he appears to have been led by it, unintentionally, to let out ſome of the ſecrets of his 'priſon houſe,' by talking of a recurrence of demand for notes by the *firſt class* of diſcounters; which he explains to be 'thoſe which the Directors diſtinguiſh as ſolid paper for real tranſactions;' from which we may fairly conclude, that there are other claſſes well known, and not always rejected at the Bank, which are probably diſtinguiſhed as accommodation paper. But whatever faith Mr Boſanquet may attach to his natural limit, we are quite ſure, that neither he, nor any man of buſineſs, will venture to deny, that there are thouſands and thouſands of traders in the kingdom, who would eagerly ſeize the opportunity of borrowing capital on their perſonal ſecurity at 5 per cent.; and that the immenſe profits of the Bank, in lending ſuch ſums, would beyond all compariſon counterbalance the riſk: Yet, while the country was thus abſolutely inundated with paper, a one pound note would be ſtill worth the intereſt of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* 3 per cents.

We cannot believe that Mr Boſanquet would have reſorted to ſo very ſtrange a ſolution of his difficulties, if he had felt any real confidence in his practical obſervations againſt the doctrines of the Report. We do not therefore think it neceſſary to combat arguments which the author himſelf gives up. But, to thoſe who have only read the firſt edition of his pamphlet, or have a greater faith in the correctneſs and efficacy of his facts than he has himſelf, we would recommend the careful peruſal of the able reply of Mr Ricardo, accompanied by the remarks of Mr Blake, on the real, nominal, and computed exchanges, and corrected by the few obſervations which we have ventured to ſuggeſt in a former part of this article. With theſe helps, we are perſuaded, that an impartial and attentive inquirer after truth will ſee, that the facts of Mr Boſanquet, as far as they are ſtated correctly, may be eaſily explained, in perfect accordance with the main doctrines of the Report.

We do not, however, think, that theſe facts are at all ſatisfactorily explicable upon the principles of Mr Ricardo alone, who, in his Reply, ſtill perſeveres in the confined view which he had before taken of the cauſes that operate upon exchange, and in conſidering redundancy or deficiency of currency as the mainſpring of all commercial movements. According to this view of the ſubject, it is certainly not eaſy to explain an improving exchange under an obviouſly increaſing iſſue of notes; an event that not unfrequently happens, and was much inſiſted upon by the Deputy-governor of the Bank, as a proof that our foreign exchanges had no connexion with the ſtate of our currency. Nothing, however, is more eaſy of explanation, if we take into our conſideration

tion the effects produced upon the real exchange by the payments neceſſary to be made, for the ſupply of paſt or preſent wants; which effects, in ſuch inſtances, will always be found operating in a direction exactly oppoſite to the effects of redundancy of currency. If the Bank were paying in ſpecie, the preciſe period when it could keep the greateſt quantity of its notes in circulation, would be that in which the ſtate of mercantile tranſactions was occaſioning a current of payments in bullion into the country. The increaſed iſſue of notes, under ſuch circumſtances, would for a time be imperceptible; though its tendency would undoubtedly be to raiſe prices at home, and thus to ſhorten the duration of the favourable exchange; and, when it turned, to increaſe the ſtrength of the current in the oppoſite direction. The real ſtate of the caſe ſeems to be, that though the effects of a redundancy of currency upon the exchange are ſure, they are ſlow, compared with the effects of thoſe mercantile tranſactions not connected with the queſtion of currency; and, while the former of theſe cauſes is proceeding in its operations with a ſteady and generally uniform pace, the more rapid movements of the latter are oppoſing, aggravating or modifying theſe operations in various ways, and producing all thoſe complex, and ſeemingly inconſiſtent appearances, which are to be found in the computed exchange.

We agree, therefore, entirely in opinion with the Report of the Bullion Committee, that the great and ſudden depreſſion of the exchange in the ſummer and autumn of 1809, is to be traced principally to mercantile cauſes. A depreciation of the currency to a certain degree, had exiſted for many years before; becauſe, of all the ſymptoms of ſuch depreciation, there is none ſo completely unequivocal as an excess of the market price above the mint price of that metal which is the ſtandard meaſure of the country, accompanied by a favourable ſtate of foreign exchanges, which, we believe, took place for ſix years, from 1802 to 1808. But this depreciation, a conſiderable part of which was probably concealed from view by the favourable exchange, was not ſufficient to excite alarm, till it operated in conjunction with an unfavourable one, occaſioned by mercantile difficulties and great purchaſes; and till the reſtoration of the exchange in the uſual way was prevented, by the impoſſibility of getting ſpecie at the Bank, and the freſh iſſues of notes for mercantile ſpeculations. Since this time, however, the exchanges have occaſionally improved, from the debts for our great exports being in the courſe of payment, and our bills conſequently in requeſt. And now, again, we underſtand they have rapidly fallen, owing perhaps to the diminiſhed competition for our bills, from the loſs of funds occaſioned by the late ſevere decrees of Bonaparte, and his occupation

pation of Hamburgh and Holstein; while, during the whole of the time the depreciation of our currency may have been proceeding with a steady and uniform pace, or, if it has occasionally been stationary or retrograde, has certainly not been subject to those great fluctuations which have been observed in our exchanges.

One of the principal faults which we have remarked in almost all the writers that are unfavourable to the Bank restriction, is, that they have not made sufficient concessions to the mercantile classes in some points where they appear to have truth on their side. We have already adverted to the error (confined, however, principally to Mr Ricardo, and from which the Report is entirely free) of denying the existence of a balance of trade or of payments, not connected with some original redundancy or deficiency of currency. A practical merchant must, to be sure, be extremely surprised at such a denial, and feel more than ever confirmed in his preference of practice to theory. But there is another point in which also almost all the writers on this side of the question concur, where, notwithstanding, we cannot agree with them, and feel more inclined to the mercantile view of the subject. Though they acknowledge that bullion occasionally passes from one country to another, from causes connected with the exchange, yet they represent these transactions as quite inconsiderable in degree. Mr Huskisson observes, 'that the operations 'in the trade of bullion originate almost entirely in the fresh 'supplies which are yearly poured in from the mines of the New 'World, and are chiefly confined to the distribution of those supplies through the different parts of Europe. If this supply 'were to cease altogether, the dealings in gold and silver, as objects of foreign trade, would be very few, and those of short 'duration.'

Mr Ricardo, in his reply to Mr Bosanquet, refers to this passage with particular approbation. Mr Blake seems inclined to separate the dealer in bills of exchange, from the dealers in bullion; and the latter he considers as exclusively employed in supplying the manufacturers, though he says that the purchases made for this purpose are sometimes seized upon by the bill-merchants to pay an unfavourable balance.

Now, though we are perfectly ready to acknowledge, that an unfavourable exchange has a tendency to right itself, without the transmission of the precious metals, and that the transmission of a moderate quantity has a considerable effect; yet we cannot believe that these transactions are altogether, either few in number, or small in amount. If the precious metals did not pass from one country to another, in consequence of the state of the exchange, the varying necessities of these countries would frequently

quently raise the rate of the exchange very far above the expense of transport; and it would be impossible for the debtor country to make its payments at the time promised. But if the precious metals *do* pass readily from one country to another, from this cause, we cannot help thinking, that the same varying desires and necessities must render these transactions not very unfrequent. Every peculiar failure, or peculiar abundance of produce, in any of the states of the great mercantile republic; every subsidy to be paid or received; and every movement of a considerable army from one country to another, must almost inevitably give some employment to the bullion trade: and when the level of the precious metals has been in some degree destroyed by these necessary operations, the bullion dealer is again called into action to restore the balance. But, not only on such occasions as these, does bullion pass from one country to another, but it is well known that most states, in their usual relations of commercial intercourse, have an almost constantly favourable exchange with some countries, and an almost constantly unfavourable one with others. And Dr A. Smith has justly observed, that bullion forms, in general, the most convenient medium for carrying on the various roundabout foreign trades of consumption which a country finds it necessary to engage in; and is, in consequence, greatly used for this purpose. It appears, then, that in the most permanent and ordinary relations of countries with each other, the bullion trader will always have something to do.

The quantity of the precious metals employed in supplying and maintaining the coins of different nations, and making payments in the currency of the commercial world, far exceeds, we conceive, the quantity used in manufactures. Though the intrinsic value of these metals was first founded, and is still supported, by their use for plate and ornaments; yet, their much more general use, as a medium of exchange, has rendered the supply of the manufacturer a subordinate branch of the bullion trade. But, for whatever purpose the precious metals may be wanted, as the only variations in the prices at which they can be purchased are those which show themselves in the exchange, it is to this quarter that the bullion dealer always directs his attention. He imports or exports, according as the exchange is sufficiently favourable, or sufficiently unfavourable, to afford him an adequate profit in the transaction. And, in so doing, his main operations, we believe, will be found to consist in facilitating the purchases of those nations which have not, at the moment, any other commodities that they can give, or that will be readily accepted in return; and in restoring that level of the precious

precious metals which has been temporarily destroyed by the unequal desires and necessities, and the unequal advantages and disadvantages of the different nations between which the trade of the world is carried on. In this view of the effect of the exchange upon the bullion trade, we think we shall be supported by the practical merchants; and it seems to us to have been confirmed by the evidence before the Bullion Committee, where it appears that the quantity of the precious metals sold for home consumption in manufactures, is quite inconsiderable, compared with the quantity imported and exported by the bullion merchants.

There is yet another point, still more important, where the experience of the merchant will be apt to lead him to a conclusion quite different from that which is generally maintained by the writers in question. A merchant, or manufacturer, obtains a loan in paper from a bank; and, with this loan, he is able to command materials to work upon, tools to work with, and wherewithal to pay the wages of labour; and yet, he is told that this transaction does not tend, in the slightest degree, to increase the capital of the country.

The question, of how far, and in what manner, an increase of currency tends to increase capital, appears to us so very important, as fully to warrant our attempt to explain it. No writer that we are acquainted with, has ever seemed sufficiently aware of the influence which a different distribution of the circulating medium of a country must have on those accumulations which are destined to facilitate future productions; although it follows, as a direct consequence, from the most correct and legitimate view of capital that can be taken.

Dr A. Smith justly observes, that 'though the whole annual produce of the land and labour of every country is, no doubt, ultimately destined for supplying the consumption of its inhabitants, and for procuring a revenue to them; yet, when it first comes, either from the ground, or from the hands of the productive labourers, it naturally divides itself into two parts. One of them is, in the first place, destined for replacing a capital, and for renewing the materials, provisions and finished work, which had been withdrawn from a capital; the other for constituting a revenue;' which, of course, is destined to be spent without any view to reproduction.

Now, it is quite certain, that any thing like an equal distribution of the circulating medium among all the members of the society, would almost destroy the power of collecting any considerable quantity of materials;—of constructing proper machinery, warehouses, shipping, &c.;—and of maintaining a sufficient quantity of hands, to introduce an effective division of labour. The

proportion between capital and revenue would evidently, by this diſtribution, be altered greatly to the diſadvantage of capital; and in a few years, the produce of the country would experience a rapid diminution. On the other hand, if ſuch a diſtribution of the circulating medium were to take place, as to throw the command of the produce of the country chiefly into the hands of the productive claſſes,—that is, if conſiderable portions of the currency were taken from the idle, and thoſe who live upon fixed incomes, and transferred to farmers, manufacturers and merchants,—the proportion between capital and revenue would be greatly altered to the advantage of capital; and in a ſhort time, the produce of the country would be greatly augmented.

Whenever, in the actual ſtate of things, a freſh iſſue of notes comes into the hands of thoſe who mean to employ them in the proſecution and extenſion of a profitable buſineſs, a difference in the diſtribution of the circulating medium takes place, ſimilar in kind to that which has been laſt ſuppoſed; and produces ſimilar, though of courſe comparatively inconſiderable effects, in altering the proportion between capital and revenue in favour of the former. The new notes go into the market, as ſo much additional capital, to purchaſe what is neceſſary for the conduct of the concern. But before the produce of the country has been increaſed, it is impoſſible for one perſon to have more of it, without diminiſhing the ſhares of ſome others. This diminution is effected by the riſe of prices, occaſioned by the competition of the new notes, which puts it out of the power of thoſe who are only buyers, and not ſellers, to purchaſe as much of the annual produce as before: While all the induſtrious claſſes,—all thoſe that ſell as well as buy, are, during the progreſſive riſe of prices, making unuſual profits; and, even when this progreſſion ſtops, are left with the command of a greater portion of the annual produce than they poſſeſſed previous to the new iſſues.

It muſt always be recollected, that it is not the *quantity* of the circulating medium which produces the effect here deſcribed, but the *different diſtribution* of it. If a thouſand millions of notes were added to the circulation, and diſtributed to the various claſſes of ſociety exactly in the ſame proportions as before, neither the capital of the country, nor the facility of borrowing, would be in the ſlighteſt degree increaſed. But, on every freſh iſſue of notes, not only is the quantity of the circulating medium increaſed, but the diſtribution of the whole maſs is altered. A larger proportion falls into the hands of thoſe who conſume and produce, and a ſmaller proportion into the hands of thoſe who only conſume. And as we have always conſidered capital as that portion of the national accumulations and annual produce, which is at the

command of those who mean to employ it with a view to reproduction, we are bound to acknowledge, that an increased issue of notes tends to increase the national capital, and by an almost, though not strictly necessary consequence, to lower the rate of interest.

It may perhaps fairly be questioned, whether the late unusual facility of obtaining discounts, though it has undoubtedly tended to increase the capital of the country, may not have given it so unsafe a direction, as to subject it to losses which may more than counterbalance its first gains;—whether, in short, it has not obliged some of the most respectable mercantile capitalists, who, in the way in which they were in the habit of carrying on their trade, scarcely ever failed of increasing the national accumulation, to yield the competition to a new and very different set of merchants, who may be said to gamble in trade,—who, in the hope of great profits, will risk any quantity of capital that they can command,—and in whose hands, therefore, the national accumulation is quite uncertain. Much, we think, might be said on this view of the subject.

But the grand and paramount objection to the stimulus which is applied to the productive powers of a country, by an excessive increase of currency, is, that it is accomplished at the expense of a manifest injustice. The observations we have made may afford a rational explanation of the facts, that countries are often increasing in riches amidst an increasing quantity of individual misery; that a rise of prices is generally found conjoined with public prosperity; and a fall of prices with national decline. But whatever phenomena they may assist to explain, they cannot alter the foundations of right and wrong, or give the slightest sanction to unjust transfers of property.

When the paper currency of a country is regulated in such a manner as to maintain it of the same value as the precious metals, the evil which the possessor of a fixed income may still suffer from depreciation occasioned by banking, is so inconsiderable, and so strictly limited, as probably to be more than counterbalanced, even to him, by the advantage which the country derives from it. It is true, however, that, upon the issue of every fresh quantity of notes, prices rise sufficiently to send a quantity of coin out of the circulation, though not, certainly, a quantity equal in amount to the notes; and the currency is at first left greater in quantity, and consequently lower in value, compared with the commodities which it has to circulate, than before. But it frequently happens, we conceive, that the beneficial employment of the coin set free, and the increased command of the produce transferred to the industrious classes by the increase of prices,

gives such a stimulus to the productive powers of the country, that, in a short time, the balance between commodities and currency is restored, by the great multiplication of the former,—and prices return to their former level.

We cannot help thinking, that an effect of this kind took place in Scotland in the interval of two periods alluded to by Hume and Smith. In 1751 and 1752, when Hume published his Political Discourses, and soon after the great multiplication of paper money in Scotland, there was a very sensible rise in the price of provisions; and this was naturally, and probably justly, attributed by him, in part, to the abundance of paper. In 1759, when the paper currency had probably not been diminished, Dr Smith notices a different state of prices; and observes that, for a long period, provisions had never been cheaper. The dearness at the time that Hume wrote, he attributes carelessly, and without any inquiry about the fact, to the badness of the seasons; and intimates, that it could not be occasioned by the multiplication of paper money. The probability, however, seems to be, that the high prices of 1751 and 1752 were influenced by the paper,—as we do not see how it is possible for the substitution of paper for coin to take place, without an increase of prices; but that the new stimulus given to industry by this increase of capital, had so increased the quantity of commodities in the interval between 1752 and 1759, as to restore them to a level with the increased currency.

Independently, however, of the chance of the prices of commodities being restored by the influence of increased capital, the possessor of a fixed income cannot consider himself as unjustly treated, while the currency in which his revenue is paid is maintained on a level with the precious metals. These metals are indeed liable to change in their power of commanding the necessaries and conveniences of life; but the principal changes to which they are subject, depend upon causes so entirely beyond control, that the evils which he may suffer from these changes must be considered as necessarily belonging to the kind of property which he possesses. And if his revenue continues to be paid in the same quantity of coin, or in paper of equal value, however he may occasionally complain of increased prices, he will not feel himself warranted in complaining of injustice. As long, therefore, as the currency of a country is maintained on a level with the precious metals, the increase of national capital, and of national industry, derived from banking establishments, is unaccompanied by any essential drawbacks; but as soon as a positive depreciation takes place, the injustice committed towards one portion of the society is so unquestionable, that, though it may be concealed for a time, it cannot, when known, admit of excuse.

If,

If, for all the commodities in this country, two prices were established, one in bullion and one in paper, and if the paper price were fifteen or twenty per cent. higher than the bullion price, we can hardly conceive that our Legislature, so famed as it is for its justice, would think it consistent with its good faith, to pay the numerous servants of the government, and the public creditors, with the same nominal amount of a currency, so obviously below the value of that in which it had contracted to pay them. And yet this is really and truly what it is now doing; and the only reason why the fact is in some degree concealed, is, that a bullion price of commodities not being as yet regularly established, the difference between the value of our legal tender and of our actual currency, is not daily forced on the attention: And, in order to be fully aware of its existence and extent, the evidence of the merchants examined before the Bullion Committee must be consulted; where, it must be allowed, that the difference is as clearly established, as if it appeared in sales and purchases from morning to night. The circumstance of there being no current bullion price of commodities, does not, in the slightest degree, tend to affect the prices in our actual currency. These prices would not be rendered higher by the establishment of another price which was lower; and, consequently, the real injury at present sustained by the classes of society before alluded to, is precisely the same as if it were rendered more obvious by the establishment of a bullion price and a paper price for every article sold.

The fact, however, of there being only one price, has been much insisted upon as a decisive proof that there is no depreciation. But the reasons why no distinction has as yet been openly made, are sufficiently obvious. They are, first and chiefly, the law of the land, which, applied to the present unlooked-for state of things, has the most singular and unjust operation; which forces a heavy guinea to pass for less than a light one, and would oblige any person who could obtain coin for his commodities, to forego all advantage from it, and part with it again for fifteen per cent. less than it was fairly worth: And, secondly, the natural unwillingness of all people in trade, if the depreciation of the currency arises merely from excess, and not from want of confidence, to alter, in any degree, a state of things, and a progression of prices, from which, as being sellers as well as buyers, they are known to receive considerable advantages. And this feeling will of course be powerfully increased and confirmed by the consciousness, that the first person who was to ask two prices for his goods, would, as the law now stands, be considered as intending to make an illegal use of the coin which he might obtain, and

would, in consequence, incur such odium, and deter so many customers, that the attempt would probably end in his ruin.

Yet, notwithstanding these reasons, if the Bank Directors continue to conduct their establishment upon the principles which they have openly avowed before the Committee, we do not entertain the slightest doubt, that, in a short time, two prices *must* be established, or the country will be entirely deprived of the power of making its smaller payments. In every state in Europe where a depreciated currency has circulated, it has been found absolutely necessary to allow of an open difference of price between bullion and paper, as the only mean of retaining any coin in the country. The expulsion of the legitimate coin of the realm, has, we really believe, proceeded further in this country than it ever did in any other, before this only remedy for the evil was applied. Gold may be said to be already quite banished from our circulation; and nothing but the very extraordinary degraded state of our silver coin, and the high premium which is daily given even for this, in spite of the law, by bankers and merchants who want small change, could retain an ounce of it in circulation. We touch upon the period, when it will be no longer possible to avoid an open discount upon paper, without such a degree of embarrassment to commerce, as will much more than counterbalance the late advantages which it has derived from a redundant currency. If our silver coin had approximated, in any tolerable degree, to its mint value, there is no doubt that it would long since have disappeared; and all ranks of society would have joined in petitioning the Legislature, if it still thought the Bank unable to pay in specie, either to repeal the law which prohibits an open discount upon paper, or to enjoin the issuing of shilling notes. And the question now is, Whether the Bank Directors, by continuing to act upon their present principles, will submit to one of these two disgraceful alternatives, under the merited reproach of having created the necessity for them by their own mismanagement; or content to tread back their steps, and return to payments in specie; which may unquestionably be done, without any other evil, either to themselves or their mercantile connections, than that of foregoing an unfair advantage; which, as it ought never to have been possessed, ought, in honour and justice, as soon as possible to be relinquished.

The principles of banking avowed before the Bullion Committee, belong to so bold a class of projectors, and to times of such questionable authority with regard to the proper foundation of paper credit, that we were never more surprised than to find them brought forward by the Directors of the Bank of England. It is well known, that the celebrated Mr Law proposed to supply Scotland with money, by means of notes to be coined by certain commissioners

miſſioners appointed by Parliament; which notes were to be given out to all who demanded them upon the ſecurity of land. In anſwer to the ſuppoſition, that they might be depreciated by exceſs of quantity, Mr Law obſerves, that 'the commiſſioners giving out what ſums are demanded, and taking back what ſums are offered to be returned, this paper money will keep its value, and there will always be as much money as there is occaſion or employment for, and no more.'* This, we conceive, is preciſely the language of the preſent Bank Directors; and they in no reſpect fall short of Mr Law in the grand miſtake, of confounding the quantity of good ſecurity in the country, and the quantity of money which people may want to borrow at the legal intereſt, particularly during a time of mercantile ſpeculation or diſtreſs, with the quantity neceſſary for the circulation, ſo as to keep it on a level with the precious metals, and the currencies of ſurrounding countries.

The ſchool of Mr Law is certainly not that in which we ſhould either have wiſhed or expected the Directors to learn their principles of banking. But the real truth, we believe, is, that principles have very little to do with the regulation of the Bank concerns; that every thing is done by a kind of practical routine; and that, moſt fortunately for the country, and for the credit of the Directors themſelves, this practice is ſtill very much influenced by the habits of thoſe wholeſome times, when the Bank paid in ſpecie, and was obliged to attend to the ſafety of its eſtabliſhment. In no other way can we account for our not having a ſtill greater exceſs of paper, under the ſanction of principles which lead to almoſt unlimited iſſues. But, greatly as we have reaſon to rejoice, that the practice of the Bank does not accord with its principles, it is of the utmoſt importance to recollect, that the ſalutary influence of a practice formed and eſtabliſhed while the Bank was at all times liable to pay its notes in ſpecie, will, in the very nature of things, gradually ceaſe to act, under other, and very different circumſtances. In fact, the weakening of this influence is already but too manifeſt, and muſt be expected to be daily and hourly progreſſive; and if the Legiſlature, by declining to enforce the recommendation of the Committee, ſhould relieve the Bank from all immediate proſpect of a return to caſh payments, the diſorder in our currency which we have at preſent experienced, will be abſolutely nothing, compared with that which we muſt then look forward to. Of courſe, the longer the term is protracted, and the greater is the previous depreciation of the currency, the greater will be the difficulty to the Bank, and the greater the hardſhip to

* *Money and Trade conſidered:* With a Propoſal for ſupplying the Nation with Money. By John Law eſq. p. 167. Glaſgow, 1750.

the perſons who benefit by the preſent ſyſtem, of a return to the old one.

We were, at first, inclined to approve of the recommendation of the Committee, to leave to the knowledge and discretion of the Bank Directors the mode of preparing themſelves to reſume their payments in cash at the time proposed. But it has been suggested, and the language and conduct of their friends have not ſufficiently repelled the ſuſpicion, that, under cover of this liberty, they might purposely keep the same, or a greater quantity of notes in circulation, with a view of compelling the legiſlature to continue the Reſtriction Act, as there would, of course, be a great unwillingness in all quarters to enforce a law which at the time could not be obeyed, and the attempt to obey which, in ſuch a ſtate of things, would produce very ſerious inconveniences to the public, as well as to the Bank. We really think, that if any diſpoſition of this kind ſhould be diſcoverable in the Bank direction, it would be the bounden duty of the legiſlature to take immediate ſteps for *the eſtabliſhment of one or more other banks;* and it cannot be doubted, that both the buſineſs of the government and of the public might be carried on, as in America, with equal convenience, and leſs chance of reſtriction acts, without the aſſiſtance, and very improper influence, of ſo overgrown an eſtabliſhment as the Bank of England. It is, indeed, a monſtrous deformity in the ſtate, that an incorporated body of individuals ſhould have the power of holding out a threat to the legiſlature, that if it does not perſevere in ſanctioning the nonfulfilment of their engagements, they would find the means of embarraſſing and puniſhing the government and the public. We cannot, however, conceive it poſſible that ſuch an idea ſhould be ſeriouſly entertained. At the ſame time, it is certain, that the Bank Directors have openly ſhown an unconquerable reluctance to acknowledge that there is any connexion between the market price of bullion, and an exceſſive paper circulation; and it may be neceſſary, in conſequence, to direct their attention ſpecifically to this main point. There is certainly ſome objection to a poſitive limitation of the number of notes; becauſe the only proper criterion of exceſs, is depreciation below the value of the precious metals, and not any particular amount of notes. But as, from the fact of depreciation, we are quite ſure that there is at preſent exceſs, though it is impoſſible to ſay to what preciſe amount; perhaps, it might be the beſt mode of proceeding, in the preſent ſtate of the knowledge and temper of the Bank Directors, to oblige them, every ſucceſſive half year, to diminiſh the average quantity of their notes in circulation by half a million, and to continue this diminution

nution till the market price of bullion was restored to its mint price; and then the resumption of cash payments might take place with perfect safety and convenience, both to the Bank and the public; and the evil of any great and sudden diminution of the currency be completely avoided. We should be inclined to prefer this mode to another, which we have heard suggested, that of beginning by obliging the Bank to pay a small per centage in cash upon its notes, at the option of the holder, and increasing this per centage gradually; as we believe that great difficulties and losses would attend the execution of this plan, from the great scarcity of change in the present state of our silver coinage, and the certainty of the rapid disappearance from the circulation, of all the gold issued, till the number of notes were sufficiently reduced to bring the market and mint prices of gold nearly to a level.

We cannot conclude, without adverting, for a moment, to what has been often urged, both in print and conversation, that the Bullion Committee ought to have attended more to the opinions of those able and experienced merchants and men of business whom they examined. We decidedly think, that, in this respect, they did precisely what it was their duty to do. It was their duty to get at as large and correct a body of facts as possible, from the evidence of the best authorities which could be consulted. It was also their duty to hear the *opinions* of all those who were examined, in order that they might see the subject in the different lights in which it would naturally present itself to different understandings, and under different circumstances. But, having so done, it was most unquestionably their duty to form their own conclusions, without further deference to mercantile authorities. And we have no hesitation in saying, that the gentlemen who composed the Committee, both from their general characters, and the advantageous situation in which they stood, after having heard the evidence and opinions before mentioned, were very much better qualified to come to a just conclusion, than any body of practical merchants that could be chosen. The habits of practical detail have a natural and almost necessary tendency to direct the view to particular, rather than to general consequences, and to identify the interests of the few, with the interests of the many. If, in addition to this almost unavoidable effect of constant habits of business, we take into our consideration, that the mercantile classes are greatly interested, both in the facility of obtaining paper loans, and in the progressive rise of prices which this facility occasions, it is quite impossible to affirm, with truth, that they are either the most capable, or the most impartial judges in the present ques-

tion. And if, when it comes to be determined by the legislature, the authority of merchants shall have more weight in the decision, than that of those who, from a more elevated seat of judgment, and free from the possible influence of interested motives, have taken a more commanding and impartial view of the subject, the consequences will not fail to show that the trust reposed in the great Assembly of the nation, to dispense impartial justice, and attend equally to the happiness of all the classes of the community, has been, in one instance at least, unfulfilled.

ART. VI. *Present State of the Spanish Colonies, including a particular Report of Hispaniola, or the Spanish Part of St. Domingo.* By William Walton junior, Secretary to the Expedition which captured the City of Santo Domingo from the French, and resident British Agent there. 2 Vol. 8vo. Longman & Co. London, 1810.

BEFORE we opened these volumes, we had a sort of presentiment that the author would begin with Columbus:—And accordingly, his book sets off with the following sentence—'It 'was in the year 1492 that Columbus first undertook his pro-'jected discovery of a Western Hemisphere, and in his passage 'observed the variation of the compass:'—and then Mr Walton proceeds to tell us, that this discovery was founded on 'cosmography, astronomy, and the theory of the Antipodes!'

All the great booksellers keep *beginnings* ready for all subjects, with which authors like the present, little habituated to composition, are pleasingly accommodated. These beginnings are furnished from Westmoreland and the Scotish universities by the gross;—and used up, as occasion requires, for the introduction of plain narrative, and the embellishment of homely sense.

Having fairly landed Columbus, Mr Walton enters upon his subject; dedicating his first volume to the description of St Domingo, and his second to that of the Spanish settlements on the Main. We will not pay Mr Walton the compliment of saying, that we should have bestowed any extraordinary portion of time or attention on his book, were the subject less important than it really is; but, in proportion as the prospect becomes more gloomy in the Old World, our attention is naturally excited by those little known and immense regions, which are slowly rising into power on the opposite side of the Atlantic. We must look to them for commercial resources; and we may be compelled to look

look to them for refuge from that tyranny, which is sedulously preparing the destruction of its last and most obstinate victim. Thus situated, we are happy to hear what Mr Walton has to say upon these subjects. It is not very much, nor very excellent;—but we are not in a state of knowledge to reject any contribution of this nature. We are glad to get any books now which relate to New Spain. We shall get better by and by. An oak tree must be first entered by a wedge, before it is fashioned by a chisel, or smoothed by a plane.

The French division of Hispaniola contained, in the year 1790, 497,000 souls; which are reduced, by the wars of Rigaud, Toussaint, and the devastation of the French, to about 100,000. General Petion, like a king at chess, holds possession of the south side of the island, at the head of the Brown Colour,—a man educated in Europe, of prepossessing manners, and mild disposition. His revenues arise principally from the rents of confiscated estates, though these are not inconsiderably aided by the export and import duties. By means of a general requisition of all males above fourteen years of age, he musters about 9000 men; and has lately increased his population, by collecting the people of colour who left Spanish St Domingo. After such a draught of the male population, it may easily be imagined, that the harvest is left to be gathered by females—the prude, the coquette, the beldame, the beauty—all set to work; and the whole of one sex reaping, binding, and pulling,—while the other is cutting, gashing, and charging.

Christophe, the other king in this long-contested game, is in possession of the north side, at the head of the Black Colour; and can bring into the field about 10,000 men. His fleet is also the most numerous, and consists of two corvettes, nine brigs, and a few schooners, commanded by a white admiral. He is now attempting to increase this formidable armament, by purchases in North America. Though Christophe is a ruffian in character, and fond of governing by the scymitar, the Spaniards seem to consider him as the least formidable neighbour; and a defensive treaty is said to be in agitation between them.

Kingship being in these times a fashionable profession, and larger fortunes having been made in that line than in most others, there has recently sprung up a third monarch in St Domingo—a certain *Philippe Dos*, the eléve of *Toussaint*, late in the employment of *Christophe*, but now at war both with *Petion* and him. Seated among the populous and fertile mountains of *Mirbalais*, in the centre of the island, and bordering upon the Spanish dominions, he has increased his numbers to more than 6000 persons; and hopes to increase them still more, by the nature of his

his defensive system,—pledging himself never to invade his enemy, but only to call his subjects out when his lines are actually attacked. While the French division of St Domingo is torn to pieces by the wars of their barbarous and semibarbarous chiefs, the Spanish part remains in the most profound peace and tranquillity.

'To convey an idea of the aspect of this country,' says Mr Walton, 'would rather require the fancy of the poet or of the painter, than the narrative of the traveller; for, to mix the beautiful with the sublime,—to depict shores lined with the mangrove, often bending under adhering oysters;—scattered fields of luxuriant coffee, bearing flowers to rival the white jessamin, and berries the coral cherry;—the cocoa grove;—the light-coloured cane and guinea grass patch, intermixed with the useful plantain, waving bamboo, and cocoa nut;—the orange walk, bounded by tufts of palmettoes;—wild shrubbery, in perpetual green, confined by the aloes hedge, or shut in by native forests, covered with flowering woodbines of varied tints and continual odour, and watered with the gushing rills, that fall in natural cascades from the mountains, crowned with deep overhanging woods, interspersed with plains and natural meadows;—grottoes and abrupt precipices: these diversified yet harmonizing features of nature might all equally swell the scene; but bid defiance to the numbers of the one, or the canvass of the other.' I. 82, 83.

Rains in St Domingo are periodical, as in the other islands. Hurricanes are seldom experienced. The thermometer rises in the plains to 96°; standing at the same time in the mountains at 72°, 6000 feet above the level of the sea. The vegetable productions of St Domingo are, the mahogany, a tall, straight, beautiful tree, with red flowers, and oval, lemon-sized fruit. When this tree grows in a barren soil, the grain of the wood is beautifully variegated; upon rich ground, it is pale, open, and of little value. The manchineel tree affords, for furniture, slabs interspersed with beautiful green and yellow veins like marble; but the dust of this wood is of so acrid and poisonous a nature, that the sawyers and carpenters are forced to work with gauze masks to protect them from its injurious effects. St Domingo produces fustic, lignumvitæ, the bark of which the natives use for soap; the capa, impervious to worms; the dwarf-pine, used for candles; braziletto wood; the cotton tree, of which beds and hats are made; the cedar; the sandbox-tree, the fruit of which explodes with the noise of a pistol; the palm-tree, which fattens hogs, and supplies timber houses, hats, and baskets; the palmetto-tree, growing seventy feet high, with a cabbage at the top; the dwarf palmetto, the berries of which are used for low spirits;—sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa;—the calabash, which

supplies

supplies the place of Wedgewood's ware; the plantain, the staff of life in the West Indies;—the varilla, quassia, simarouba, sarsaparilla, indigo;—tobacco, turmeric, ginger, and rice plants.

'The European, on landing, is struck with the novel and variegated foliage of a tropical hemisphere. The orange, or golden apple of the Hesperides,—the shaddock grove, and alcoves covered with the creeping granadillo, in flower and bearing fruit,—form, at noon, a delightful shade to enhance the conviviality of a dinner party. The pomegranate, the sweet swelling acacia, the red and white franchipane, equally ornament the prospect, and perfume the air.

'As a matter of curiosity, I cannot but mention, that, in travelling along the road, the horse sometimes steps on a spreading bed of the sensitive plant, that instantly droops, as does the loaded corn to a gust of wind, with the suddenness of magical influence. The tea-plant runs wild, but is only used as an excellent pectoral. The almond-shrub has the peculiarity of perfectly affording the taste of that kernel, on mastication; and is used in distilling, to give to cordials its rival flavour.—The aloes serve only for fences.' I. 104, 5.

Eight leagues from the capital are the gold mines, known by the name of *Buona Ventura*. It was here that Garay and Diaz found that wonderful grain of gold, which weighed 3600 pesos, equal to 200 ounces. It was found by an Indian woman, and purchased by Governor Bobadilla for the King: but it went down, with the ship which contained it, to the bottom of the sea. To the south are the mines of Giraba, where several persons have enriched themselves without touching a tool. The Maroons, who occupy the hills of the latter place, procure, with the gold they collect, part of their clothing, for they have no other trade. Mr Walton once purchased a square bottle of grains from them, containing 45 ounces. All these mines have been closed by a royal decree, and men stationed at the mouths of the mines; and all enterprizing chrysophilists threatened with the most exemplary punishment. St Domingo produces also silver, quicksilver, the loadstone, jasper, porphyry, agates, antimony, red ochre, and amethysts. In old times, says Mr Walton from *Herrera*, the mines of La Vega and Buena Ventura produced annually 460,000 merks of gold, besides what was sent away in ornaments.

'Even now, after the great successive ravages and pillages the country has undergone, it is not unusual to see a grazier or wood-cutter come down from the mountains, with massive buckles a pound each, two gold watch-chains, and perhaps a poor silver watch to one, a rosary, large double buttons, hat-buckle, &c. which he parades as ornament, and thinks the most respectable finery. Their church ornaments were also very heavy; but though they had withstood the temptations of Toussaint, and his sooty cohorts, when possession was given him of the country, they soon disappeared after the

the entrance of the white French government. Such, even at those times, was their boasted fraternity to the Spaniards.' I. 116, 117.

Is not this picture a little overcharged? Upon referring to the Reports and Tables of the Bullion Committee, we find that this grazier, who comes skipping down from the mountains with a pound weight on each foot, carries upon his whole body golden ornaments to the value of 130*l.* or 140*l.* Sterling. And yet we must say, in justice to Mr Walton, that there are graziers in St Domingo who own 12,000 head of cattle, which they often sell in herds at six and eight dollars a piece. The graziers on the Spanish Main, whose flocks (and therefore, probably, whose buckles) are still larger, take great pride in paving their halls with the knee-pans of horned cattle slaughtered from their own estates.

In speaking of the marine productions of St Domingo, Mr Walton has a curious anecdote of the land-crab.

'The land-crabs found here are of an immense size, burrow in the sands, and at night issue in great numbers. It is on record amongst the natives, that on the above occasion, in the still of the night, the English landed an ambuscade to surprise the Spanish camp, which, being unprepared, and consisting of irregulars, had it been pushed, must have certainly fallen. The advanced line from the first boats had already formed, and were proceeding to take post behind a copse, when they heard the loud and quick clatter of horses' feet, and, as they supposed, of the Spanish lancemen, who are dexterous, and whose galling onset they had experienced the day before. Thus believing themselves discovered, and dreading an attack before their comrades had joined, they embarked precipitately, and abandoned their enterprize. But the alarm proved to be these large land-crabs, which, at the sound of footsteps, receded to their holes; and the noise was occasioned by their clattering over the dry leaves, which the English soldiers mistook for the sound of cavalry. In commemorating this defeat, considered highly miraculous, the inhabitants solemnly celebrated *la Fiesta de los Cangrejos*, or the Feast of the Crabs, held on the anniversary of the day, when an immense solid gold land crab was carried about in procession, equal in size to the head of a drum. This valuable and curious piece of plate, collected principally from the devotion of the people to this feast, and in celebration of their supernatural release, long held an undisturbed place in the sanctuary of the cathedral; but its massive weight was too tempting to the French, when they arrived, who soon took off its hallowed character by passing it through the crucible.' I. 19—21.

These animals, we have heard, have also been met with on the coast of Ferrol, and at the Helder Point,—and are fatal to commanders unacquainted with this piece of natural history.

Spanish St Domingo contains at present 100,000 persons, of which

which 30,000 are slaves,—the rest, all colours under heaven. But the European Spaniards are few, and principally Catalans, who come out in search of fortunes. Their largest city, St Domingo, contains about 20,000 persons. In the cathedral church of this city were buried the remains of Columbus, removed from the Carthusian convent of Seville, together with the chains which were put upon him, and which he wore in his passage home. When the island was ceded to the French, his descendants interred the brass coffin, in which the whole was contained, to be removed to the Havannah,—which ceremony was performed on the 19th of January, 1796. The ashes of this great man were carried down to the harbour in procession, and, under the fire of the forts, put on board a brig, which conveyed them to the capital of Cuba, where they now lye, but without a monument.

'I cannot forbear,' says the author, in speaking of this cathedral, 'to notice a peculiarity of Don Pedro de Prado, long a venerable dignitary of this cathedral, the more striking, as, in the habits of intimacy I enjoyed with him, I had an opportunity of remarking it. Unlike the other clergy at the cession of the island, this aged pastor would not leave the flock which God had committed to his early care; though on the Main, where he was born, and had all his relations, much greater dignities and preferments were offered him. With a degree of enthusiastic foresight, even in presence of the French commanders, he would continually say, that though then old, he was confident he should live to see that sacred spot devolve to its ancient and rightful owners; and on the triumphant entry of the combined armies, though too infirm personally to sing the Te Deum, in congratulating the British general on the capture of the city, he cried out in ecstacy, that he that day saw realized, the prayer he had unceasingly made for twelve years; and in the words of Simeon in the temple, on receiving the Messiah into his arms, he emphatically exclaimed, "Nunc dimittis servum tuum secundum verbum tuum in pace," &c.; that he could then depart in peace, he had not a wish on this side the grave. It is remarkable that he died a fortnight afterwards, aged 78 years; and to redress in some measure the cruelties of the French, in which he had been at once a sufferer and an eyewitness, he left what he possessed to his fellow-victims in the siege, particularly thirteen houses, the annualrents of which are distributed to the poor in daily sums.' I. 146, 147.

In the Dominican Convent of this town, the amiable Las Casas took refuge from the persecution of his enemies, and died.

The French poffeffed, under the old monarchy, about one fourth part of the iſland of St Domingo; inferior, in natural fertility, to the Spaniſh poffeſſions in the ſame iſland. What the value of the whole ſettlement would be in the hands of that active, able, and unprincipled people, we may judge from the

the immenſe reſources which this ſmall portion of it afforded to old France.

Merchandize landed in the various Ports of France, from the Island of Santo Domingo, in the Year 1789.

Millions.	Thouſands.	Hundreds.	Packages.	Commodities and Products.
84	617	328	Pounds	Coffee.
	217	462	Casks	Sugars, white and brown.
	5	836	Ditto	Molaſſes.
3	257	610	Pounds	Indigo.
1	536	17	Ditto	Cocoa.
11	317	226	Ditto	Cotton Wool.
	1	514	Serons	Spaniſh Cochineal.
	6	814	Tons	Logwood, Fuſtic, Nicaragua Wood, Lignum Vitæ.
	1	865	Ditto	Mahogany.
	4	618	Bags	Black Pepper.
	2	426	Ditto	Ginger.
		380	Casks	Gums, Clema, Guaiacum, &c.
		218	Boxes	Aloes, Caſſia, China Root.
	26	948	Hides	Tanned.
	114	639	Ditto	In the hair, from the Spaniards.
	4	167	Pounds	Tortoiſe-ſhell.
	27	812	Barrels	Syrop.
	1	346	Boxes	Sweetmeats.
	1	478	Serons	Jeſuits Bark, Quinquina.
2	617	530	Dollars	Spaniſh coined, hard Dollars.
	57	218	Ounces	Gold in Grains, &c. from the Spaniards.

The value of theſe products landed in France, and before the French duties were paid, was more than ſix millions Sterling. The number of veſſels employed in the year 1789, from the different ports of France direct to St Domingo, were 710; navigated by 13,160 ſeamen, and meaſuring 213,460 tons. The value exported from France to St Domingo in the year 1789, was 4,125,010l. Engliſh money. In the ſame year, an extenſive ſmuggling trade was carried on between French St Domingo and the Spaniſh Main, to the value of 2,450,115l. Engliſh money. In the ſame year, there ſailed, from France for the Coaſt of Africa, 119 large ſhips, importing 35,260 ſlaves into St Domingo, at a profit of more than a million Sterling. In ſpite of the irreconcileable hatred of the two people, a ſmuggling trade was alſo carried

carried on between the French and Spaniſh diviſions of the iſland, to an amount of 1,445,000 dollars. In the year 1789, 684 veſſels, of the United States of America, entered the French ports of St Domingo with proviſions, lumber, and Eaſt India goods; carrying back the produce of the iſland. The amount of this trade was about 900,000l. Sterling.—From this ſpecimen, may be inferred what the value of this iſland would be, if it were completely in the hands of the French; and the advocates for peace with France muſt be prepared to ſhow, that a good would reſult from it to this country, equivalent to all the enormous increaſe of power, which it would neceſſarily place in the hands of our rival, or, as the Morning Poſt calls him, *the direful foe*.

Long before the ceſſion of Hiſpaniola to the French, the Spaniſh government had begun to relax from its narrow policy. As far back as the year 1700, freſh colonies were ſent out from the Canaries; a frugal, laborious people, well ſuited to the climate. More politic and economical meaſures ſoon bettered the face of the country. The demands of the neighbouring French increaſed the induſtry of the Spaniards. The herds multiplied rapidly—the old towns were rebuilt—new ones formed; and chapels and hermitages (the ſure ſigns of proſperity in Spain, as alehouſes are in England) began to rear their heads. The late Queen of Spain, whoſe paſſions were the mainſpring of the Spaniſh monarchy, fell in love (as every one knows) with Godoy, a robuſt officer of the guards:—and a reign of vigour commenced, as lately with us. Godoy became prime miniſter; and, in 1795, conveyed away Hiſpaniola, the oldeſt American colony of the Spaniſh crown—to the French republic. None of the Spaniſh colonies are more loyal; and the moſt earneſt remonſtrances were made, ſo much in vain, that they were not even noticed by the Spaniſh Court—Don Emanuel Godoy conceiving (like our miniſtry at home) that true vigour, and real force of mind, conſiſts in neglecting and deſpiſing the wiſhes of the people. As they could not live under their old Sovereign and laws in St Domingo, the greater part of the inhabitants emigrated to Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Spaniſh Main, with the dry bones and embalmed heart of Cortes, and the living carcaſes of the uſeleſs. Ships were freighted with monks, friars, eremites, and nuns; and loaded higher than the poop with miraculous legs and arms, and all the holy fopperies of the Catholic Church. It was not till the latter end of 1801, that legal delivery was made to Touſſaint, the repreſentative of the French people. Don Garfia counteracted every thing that could militate againſt thoſe orders for a peaceful ceſſion of the iſland, which he had received from home. Touſſaint marched in;

in; and his brother Paul was quietly invested with the government of what had hitherto been the Spanish part of the island.

This cession of the island was followed by the usual French crimes, of sacrilege, murder, robbery, cruelty, and falsehood,—by the loss of 50,000 Frenchmen,—by their final expulsion by the English,—and by a treaty between the English and Spaniards, in which the ships of the former are, upon their entry into the ports of the island, put on the same footing as Spanish ships. Upon the importance of this treaty to our commerce in general, Mr Walton has some sensible remarks, and brings forward some valuable information. The quantity of mahogany this island is capable of furnishing, is about 10,000 logs, each containing, on an average, 300 feet, or in all three millions; but this year it will exceed that quantity. In the year 1808, the duty paid on mahogany to our government was 26,080l.; but, in 1809, it had got up to 46,927l.; yet the greatest results of commercial speculation have not yet reached England. One-third of the mahogany furnished by St Domingo goes to the United States; and the remainder comes over to England; but, formerly, there was a considerable demand for this article in Hamburgh, Holland and the Hanseatic towns; a branch of trade that may revive again, if Bonaparte, or the pregnant empress, become fond of mahogany tables, and include them in the list of importable articles. The following scale will afford an idea of the quantity and prices of those articles which the country affords.

	Local rate of Value.	*Amount of Duty, War and Peace.*
3,000,000 feet Mahogany, (two-thirds to England) -	6d. per foot	L. 30,416 0 0
500 tons Lignum Vitæ - -	60s. per ton	17,700 0 0
500 tons Fustic - -	60s. -	500 0 0
400 tons Logwood -	120s. - -	140 0 0
Annual amount of duties which St Domingo productions pay in England in war time -		L. 48,756 0 0

Besides the above articles, there are shipped annually 1,000,000 lib. of coffee; 10,000 hides; and large quantities of satin wood, ebony, cattle, mill, ship and building timber. The material advantages, however, to be derived from this commerce is, that whilst, on the Main, and in the other Spanish islands, the import duties amount to more than 34 per cent., they here do not exceed 5 per cent. and the export 6 per cent.; by which means, this port might be made a depot for all the west coast of Puerto Rico.

Such is the information afforded by Mr Walton, respecting the present

present state of St Domingo. His second volume contains his observations on the settlement of the Spanish continent. But in this part of his work there seems to be so much of book-making;—the Travels of Humboldt, and the Mercurio Peruano, are so outrageously pillaged, and the obligation so little acknowledged, that we have no kind of temptation to pursue our criticism any further. The whole work is the production of a very ordinary man, who has had his notes upon St Domingo furbished up in the Row,—and deemed it necessary, that the little he had to say should be said with as much parade and embellishment as possible. That the island of Santo Domingo will ever be regarded with a wistful eye by France, there can be no doubt; but we scarcely see any probability of her regaining it, unless, indeed, she is destined to absorb every thing in her Empire. St Domingo cannot be given up at a peace; for what have the French to offer, but the nominal manumission of some of their European slaves? If we were to speculate upon the future destiny of St Domingo, we should conjecture, that the Spanish slaves would rise upon their masters, and supply fresh spirit and aliment for a long and bloody contest between the savages of every colour, race and denomination.

Sævit toto Mars impius orbe.

Art. VII. *Hephæstionis Alexandrini Enchiridion ad MSS. fidem recensitum, cum Notis variorum, præcipue Leonardi Hutchinskis A. M., curante Thoma Gaisford A. M. Ædis Christi alumno. Accedit Procli Chrestomathia Grammatica.* 8vo. pp. 523. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1810.

The scholars of the present day are chiefly distinguished from those of the last century, by the superior attention which they pay to subjects relating to metres, and more particularly to the metres of the Greek poets. The boundaries of philological knowledge were indeed prodigiously extended by the disciples of the Dutch and German schools; and little remains to be done in the way of verbal illustration, compared with what their labours have already accomplished. But the science of metres had been cultivated but by few,—and these chiefly of our own country. Yet it is wonderful that the Continental scholars did not study the subject more assiduously, considering the great advantages which a knowledge of it affords to those who are engaged in critical pursuits. The example of Bentley was sufficient to prove, how much might be done by accuracy of ear, and a nice perception of rythmical harmony; which qualities gave him

a decided advantage over scholars whose reading was much more extensive, and who possessed no ordinary share of critical sagacity. To the same gift, or acquirement, Richard Dawes was indebted for a considerable part of the reputation which he gained; and Porson, a name greater than them all, added to the varied erudition and universal research of Valcknaer and Rhunken, a nicety of ear and acquaintance with the laws of metre, which the former possessed but imperfectly, and the latter not at all. Of living examples we forbear to speak, or we might add to the list, names, inferior only to those which can scarcely have their equals.

Shortly after Hemsterhuis, then a very young man, had published his edition of Julius Pollux, he received two letters from Bentley, containing his corrections of several of the Comic Fragments quoted by that grammarian; in which the advantages which the British Aristarchus derived from his metrical knowledge, were so very conspicuous, that Hemsterhuis made a resolution, in the first moments of his vexation, to have nothing more to do with Greek; and this resolution he kept for a month or two; till cooler reflection succeeded, and he again betook himself to his favourite studies;—and very wisely, we think; for he was eminently qualified to do much greater service to learning, by illustrating the genius of the Greek language, and unfolding its origin and analogies, than he would have done by any number of volumes on *arsis* and *thesis*, or *logaœdics* or *asynartetes*. And, after all, Is metrical science of such primary importance as we seem now inclined to attach to it? The study of it is becoming so fashionable in this country, that we are under some degree of alarm lest it should become almost exclusive: and we suspect that, even now, more credit would be given, in many instances, for arranging, than for construing a chorus; and many modern scholars, we believe, feel less delight in the perception of a beautiful image, or a noble sentiment, than in the antistrophizing a set of monostrophics, or the detection of a hitherto undiscovered dochmiac. Let us not be understood to speak disrespectfully of any branch of learning; much less of one, which is so powerful a weapon in the hands of a skilful critic, and which has contributed, in so many cases, to restore the text of the Greek poets. 'Certe qui syllabarum omnium quantitatem et 'omnigenorum versuum mensuram in numerato habet, ei πόρισμα 'erunt multa et facilia, quæ aliis hac scientia destitutis prorsus 'sunt ἄπορα.' * All we contend for is, that a proper degree of importance should be assigned to it, and no more; that students

* R. Bentleii Epist. ad T. Hemsterhusium, p. 90.

dents should be taught to understand and construe an author, before they set about scanning him; and that they should at all times pay more attention to sense than to sound, to meaning than to metre; and not be of the number of those,

> 'Who haunt Parnassus but to please their ear,
> Not mend their minds.'

Though we have taken up the cudgels, therefore, in behalf of Syntax against Prosody, our attitude is purely defensive; nor would we, on any account, commence any active operations against the latter very respectable member of the Body Grammatical: But we think it necessary, in our characters of inspectors of literature, to enter a protest against any undue preeminence which said Prosody, or his friends for him, may usurp; and the present has appeared to us a favourable opportunity for so doing, when we are about to consider a publication which presents us with more information on metrical subjects, and in a more amusing shape, than any which we remember to have seen, except Professor Porson's incomparable Supplement of his Preface to the Hecuba: and we beg leave to assure our classical readers, that, notwithstanding any thing which they may have understood us to have said to the disparagement of such subjects, we would have them enter upon the study of them as soon as they are properly qualified to do so; and, in that case, they can have no better manual than that of Hephæstion, as edited by Mr Gaisford.

Hephæstion, who was one of the grammarians of the Alexandrian school, of uncertain antiquity, composed various treatises on metrical subjects, two only of which (or rather an epitome of them) have come down to us. These are usually coupled together, and entitled Ἡφαιστίωνος Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Ποιημάτων: but incorrectly, as we think. They appear to us to be distinct and separate treatises, and should be termed Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ Μέτρων, and Ἐγχ. περὶ Ποιημάτων.

Of the three former editions of Hephæstion, viz. those published successively by the heirs of Junta, Turnebus, and Pauw, copies are become exceedingly scarce; and any new edition of him whatsoever, even a mere reprint of the text, would have been very acceptable to the learned world. But Mr Gaisford has done a great deal more: he has published a corrected text in a very beautiful form, with an accurate account of the various readings, and the critical notes *variorum*, at the foot of each page; and at the end he has given his own most copious and valuable commentary; and has subjoined, by way of appendix, the *Chrestomathia* of Proclus, with the notes of Schottus, Nunnesius, Sylburgius, and Heyne.

We shall endeavour to give a short account of the manner in which each department of the work is executed; and in doing this, we shall venture to offer but one or two hints to the learned editor, and none on any point of importance: for his extreme accuracy has left us little to do, in our province of critics, but to give as good a description as we can of what he has done. The helps which Mr Gaisford has had, besides the three preceding editions, and remarks already published, will be best described in his own words, which we subjoin in a note. * Of Mr Hotchkis, whose

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* *B. Libri MSS. tres Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ. Barocc.* 72. 115. 165. *MS. num.* 74. *Epitomen tantum continet.*

C. Codex Collegii Caio-Gonvilensis apud Cantabrigienses, cujus usum mihi concessit vir humanissimus Martinus Davy, M. D. collegii istius magister.

H. Codex Harleianus, in Musco Britannico servatus.

N. Codex Norfolciensis, Bibliothecæ Reg. Soc. Londini. Horum duorum codicum collationem mihi suppeditavit ingeniarum artium duum apud nos erat fautor optimus, Cyrillus Jackson, S. T. P. intra paucos menses Ædis Christi Decanus.

M. Codex Publicæ Bibliothecæ apud Cantabrigienses, olim viri admodum Reverendi, Joannis Mori, Episc. Eliensis. Hujus libri lectiones ad fidem collationis Bentleianæ citantur.

D. Editio Turnebiana cum MS. collata, quam in Vanno Critica laudat D'Orvillius. Hujus usum mihi obtulit vir doctissimus Carolus Burneius LL.D. Grenovicensis.

Bentl. Notulæ quædam ad marginem exemplaris Turnebiani adscriptæ manu Ricardi Bentleii, in Bibliotheca Coll. SS. Trin. Cant. adservatæ. Harum descriptionem industriæ debeo P. P. Dobræi A. M. ejusdem Collegii Soc.

L. Hotchkis. *Hephæstionis Enchiridion ex MSS. emendatum, et commentario illustratum, nondum tamen typis exscriptum, studio Leonardi Hotchkis A. M. Collegii S. Joannis Bapt. apud Cantab. olim Socii, necnon Scholæ Regiæ Salopensis haud ita pridem magistri. Vir eruditus cujus industriæ hoc emendatum Hephæstionis exemplar debemus, MSS. omnes Anglicanos adhibuerat, totumque opus, specimini bus versuum ex Poetarum veterum reliquiis undecunque allatis, illustrarat. Quantum ex illius laboribus profecerim, omnium optime potest statuere amicissimus Burneius, qui, pro sua in literas Græcas voluntate, his copiis nostram editionem augere et locupletari dignatus est. Illud interim lectorem monitum velim, me Hotchkisii nomen, quotiescunque verba ipsius integra proferenda, aut emendationes in veterem aliquem auctorem propositæ memorandæ erant, fideliter adscripsisse: multa tamen alia illinc mutuo sumpsisse, quæ singillatim recensere mihi non ubique licuit. Laudem itaque laborum ad Grammaticum nostrum explicandum feliciter susceptorum per me integram* habeat secum servetque sepulcro.

Tyrwhitt.

whose labours on Hephæstion he professes to have consulted with advantage, we know nothing but what Mr Gaisford tells us in the note: it seems that he was a fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, and afterwards master of Shrewsbury school. That he was unquestionably a man of learning, is proved by his remarks on Hephæstion, published in the work before us; which display extensive reading, great judgment, and considerable critical acumen. They occur, however, less frequently than we had been led to expect from the words of Mr Gaisford. The notes at the foot of each page, besides those of Mr Hoelkis, are principally selected from the remarks of D'Arnaud, D'Orville and de Pauw, with the addition of the editor's own. We now proceed to the consideration of the text.

P. 8, 13. Alcman, Καὶ κῆνος ἐν σάλεσιν ἥμενος μάκαρς ἀνήρ. Apollon. Dysc. inserts πολλοὶς for σάλεσιν. D'Orville conjectures τάπησι, Pauw, σάλλεσσιν. Mr Gaisford disapproves of both these emendations, very justly, and supposes it to be a tetrameter Iambic acatalectic. We have little doubt but that the true reading is κάλλεσιν, *carpets*. Æschyl. Agam. 925. Ἐν ποικίλοις δὲ θηκτὸν ὄντα ΚΑΛΛΕΣΙ βαίνειν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ὄκνου φόβου. Eupolis ap. Etymol. M. p. 486, 77. Βάπτειν τὰ ΚΑΛΛΗ τὰ περίστεμνα τρέπειν. For κῆνος should be read κῆνος. D'Orville is certainly wrong in reading ἀμάκαρς, for the passage is not given as an instance of the pleonasm of a syllable at the beginning of a word, but of a paragogic letter at the end. In the notes, p. 16, is given an epigram of Nossis the Locrian poetess, as corrected by Professor Porson, after the unsuccessful attempts of Bentley; and a beautiful specimen it is of the curious felicity of emendation which distinguished that great scholar. We cannot refrain from transcribing the note, which contains this admirable correction, and will serve as a specimen of Mr Gaisford's style.

'De Rhinthone, φλυάκων, sive fabularum ubi res tragicæ ludicro sermone tractabantur, consulas Fabricium in notitia Tragicorum deperditorum B. G. II. xix. et auctores ibi allegatos. Exstat in Rhinthonem Epigramma Nossidis satis venustum in Anthelog. H. Steph. p. 208.

Tyrwhitt. Notulæ quædam manu Thomæ Tyrwhitti ad marginem exemplaris ed. Pauw. penes el. Burneium adscriptæ.

H. R. Ad Proclum emendandum adhibiti sunt duo codd. Musco Britannico servati, Harl. 5592 p. 621. Reg. 16. C. xiii. Priorem haud dubie usurparat Sylburgius.

The MSS. marked C. M. had been collated by Bentley, who had noted their variations in the copy of Hephæstion, which is afterwards mentioned as being preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

p. 208. Analect. Brunck. T. 1. p. 196. Καὶ καπυρὸν γελάσας παραμείβεο, καὶ Φίλον εἰπὼν Ῥῆμ' ἐπ' ἐμοί· Ῥίνθων εἰμ' ὁ Συρακόσιος, Μουσάων ὀλίγη τις ἀηδονίς· ἀλλὰ Φλυάκων Ἐκ τραγικῶν ἴδιον κισσὸν ἐδρεψάμεθα. Sic enim locum exhibet MS. Vaticanus. Edd. ante Brunckianam, v. 3. male sistunt καλύκων, quæ lectio viros longe doctissimos, in quibus Toupium, qui de hoc scriptore præclare meritus est Emend. II. p. 136. mirum in modum exercuit. Sed quum Nossidis inciderit mentio, a me impetrare nequeo, quin aliud ejusdem Poëtriæ Epigramma in collectione Brunckiana proxime antecedens, et a magno Bentleio in Dissert. Phalarid. p. 355. minus feliciter tentatum, ex Cod. Vaticani vestigiis a viro eruditissimo R. Porsono duobus in locis restitutum cum Lectoribus meis communicem, Ὦ ξεῖν' εἰ τύ γε πλεῖς ποτὶ καλλιχορον Μιτυλάναν, Τὰν Σαπφὼ Χαρίτων ἄνθος ἐνοψομενος. Εἰπεῖν, ὡς Μουσαῖσι ΦΙΛΑΘΗΝ, Α ΤΕ Λοκρὶς γᾶ Τίκτεν, ΙΣΑΙΣ Θ' ὅτι μοι τοὔνομα Νόσσις, ἴθι.'

The second verse of the fragment of Epicharmus, p. 15, sounds to our ears very harsh: we would read, εὔυμνός ΤΕ— Καὶ μουσικὰν ἔχοισα πᾶσαν Ἁ Φιλόλυρος Ἠχώ. P. 22, 1. quoted by Demetr. de Eloc. § 189, without the conjunction καὶ. P. 30. Anacreon, εἴ μοι. κ. τ. λ. ap. Etymol. M. p. 26, 55. P. 34. Archilochus, γάμον μὲν οὐκ ἐδασάμην. Mr Gaisford gives ἐδαισάμην from four MSS.; but we should prefer the more antient form ἐδασσάμην, used by Homer: Alcman ap. Schol. Villoison ad Il. A. 222. δαίμονάς τ' ἐδασσατο. P. 35. l. 1. The true reading seems very doubtful; but thus much at least is certain, that μὴ προτίμα cannot signify *ne præjudica*, nor *ante ne damnate* as Mr Hotchkis understood it, but *ne præfer*. We think Μητροτιμῷ—τῷ σκοτίῳ to be probable. In p. 41. is an excellent note of Mr Hotchkis, who restores ἑπτορόγυιοι to a fragment of Sappho, as it is also corrected by a learned critic. (*Monthly Rev.* vol. xxviii. p. 430.)

In p. 45. the text is twice restored by the sagacity of Porson. P. 53. ult. in the choriambic pentameter of Philicus, read καινογράφου συνθέσεως, for καινογράφης, the reading of Turnebus, and καινογραφοῦς, that of Mr Gaisford, are equally solecisms: We are not aware of any compound of γράφω which terminates in ης. P. 56. l. 4. read προσσχετε. P. 61. not. ο. To the names enumerated in this note, add Grotius in Stob. Floril. tit. iv. p. 29. P. 64. ult. Sappho, Ἀσαροτέρας, οὐδαμά πω ἐραννα σέθεν τυχοῖσα, which Mr Gaisford interprets thus—*fastidiosæ magis, neque adhuc tui, o amabilis, compos facta sum.* But we are of opinion, that the MS. C. has preserved the true reading, τυχοῖσαν, if we but change the accent, and read in two words τύχοις ἄν—*in fastidiosam magis teipsa, utinam nunquam, o amabilis, incidas.* P. 65, 10. We would read, Δέδυκε μὲν ἁ σελάνα, καὶ πληΐαδες μέσαι δὴ Νυκτος· κ. τ. λ. P. 72, 10. We are at a loss to account for Mr Gaisford's placing δ at the beginning of this verse, and not at the end of that which precedes it. P. 81, 18. Read αἰ without the accent. Mr Gaisford

ford supposes, with great appearance of probability, that the three first chapters of the treatise περὶ ποιημάτων are interpolated by a foreign hand. P. 129. We know not whether Mr Gaisford intentionally omitted to remark, that a fourth verse of the Μεσύμνιον of Sappho is preserved by Demetrius de Elocut. § 148. ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου πολλῷ μείζων. At p. 137. is given Longinus's preface to the Enchiridion, which is followed by the Scholia, and an extract from the treatise of Aristides Quintilianus on Music. In the 5th section of the fragment of Longinus, p. 139. l. 4. δὲ for γὰρ is confirmed by the Baroccian MS. No. 72, from which a part of this section is quoted by Burgess in his Appendix to Dawes, p. 442, with some remarkable variations.

Of Mr Gaisford's notes, which occupy 168 of the following pages, we can scarcely speak too highly. They form not only a commentary of his own on Hephæstion, but a complete collection of what other authors have said on the subjects which he discusses, together with great store of examples illustrative of the various metrical rules and canons which they have laid down, selected from the remains of the tragic, comic, and lyric poets. We transcribe what Mr Gainsford himself says of this division of the work.

'In uberioribus, quæ ad calcem apponuntur, annotationibus, duo præcipue spectavi: primum, ut Grammaticorum Latinorum, ex Græcis fontibus, ut probabile est, sua omnia haurientium, auctoritate Hephæstionis nostri præcepta confirmarentur, et locorum similium inter se facta collatione dilucidiora evaderent.' Præf. p. i.

'Secundo, operæ pretium facturus mihi videbar, si ex Poetis antiquis metrorum, quæ maxime frequentata essent, specimina nonnulla excerperem. Itaque Tragicorum, Comicorum et Lyricorum loca nonnunquam integra in notas transtuli, nonnunquam, versuum tantummodo numeris designatis, ad auctores ipsos ablegare malui. Pindarum et Æschylum cæteris eapropter parcius laudavi, quod virorum in omni literarum genere, tum præcipue in re metrica, peritissimorum Hermanni Burneiique opera maximo cum fructu tironibus adiri posse censebam.' Præf. p. ii.

Mr Gaisford's notes are in themselves highly valuable; and it will be no disparagement to them to say, that their value is increased by the remarks and emendations of Porson, which his acquaintance with that admirable scholar enabled him to collect, and many of which he has published in the volume before us. And we cannot refrain from expressing a wish, that those friends of the late Professor, who are in possession of scholar relics, would communicate them to the world through some medium or other: they could not make a more valuable contribution to the riches of the literary commonwealth.

Putschius's edition of the Latin Grammarians is become extremely rare, and quite inaccessible to scholars who live in the

country, and who cannot afford to purchase such books at the enormous prices which the booksellers have been taught to set upon them.

Mr Gaisford has therefore rendered us a most valuable service, by enriching his notes with copious extracts from their various treatises. In fact, we are inclined to think, that he has done nearly, if not quite as much good, as if he had published a new edition of them; for, by a judicious selection, he has spared young students the trouble of wading through about 3000 pages of matter, for the most part very stupid, in the hope here and there of meeting with something to reward their pains; some interesting piece of information,

———' which shines
'Mid the dry desert of a thousand lines.'

From this general imputation of uninviting dulness, we except, of course, the most elegant of grammarians, Terentianus Maurus. A new edition of his poetical treatise is, indeed, very much wanted; and if Mr Gaisford has any leisure, he would confer a favour on the literary world, by undertaking what would perhaps be less trouble to him than to any other person. But we proceed to give some account of what is contained in the notes.

Ch. I. is, *De Quantitate Syllabarum;* in which, amongst other points, is considered the much disputed rule of Terentianus, respecting the inceptive power of S with another consonant, enforced by Dawes, and insisted upon too universally by a learned critic, (Monthly Rev. Vol. xxv. Art. Butler's M. Musurus); and a long extract is given from a diatribe of Justus Zinzerlingius, in which the question is discussed in a very full and satisfactory manner; and most of the passages which militate against this law are corrected, and others by Mr Gaisford, * who afterwards considers the instances of common diphthongs before vowels, and vowels before two consonants. To the instances which he adduces, may be added Cratinus in Ἀρχιλόχοις in Stephani Byzant. Fragm. ap. Montfaucon. Bibl. Coislin. p. 285. Δωδωναίῳ κυνι βωλοκόπῳ Τιτθῃ γεραιᾳ προσεοικώς: for so we would read, instead of τιτθη γεράνῳ. Ch. II. *de Synizesi.* Mr Gaisford mentions a very probable

* Some exceptions to the rule, which we have not yet seen corrected, are, the six passages of Propertius referred to by Mr Gaisford. Ovid. Pont. II. iv. 6. *Ante meos oculos tua stat, tua semper imago est;* where probably should be read *tu stas.* Amor. II. vi. 23. *Tu poteras virides pennis hebetare smaragdos.* Metam. II. 24. *In solio Phœbus claris lucente smaragdis;* where perhaps a bolder critic than ourselves would read *maragdos* and *maragdis.* See Menander in Athen. III. p. 94. Asclepiades Anal. I. p. 212. But, in the latter passage of Ovid, for *smaragdis,* we would read *pyropis.*

ble correction of Mr Elmsley, in Sophocl. Œd. T. 640. δρᾶσαι δικαιοῖ τοῖνδ' ἀποκρίνας κακοῖν. vulg. δυοῖν ἀ. κ. Ch. IV. The rule of Terentianus and other grammarians, *Finalem syllabam in omnibus metris indifferenter accipi*, is confirmed; systems of dimeters being considered as single verses. Ch. V. *de Iambico.* The observations of Dawes, on the ictual or accentual rules of iambic verses, are given at length; and his prohibition of hiatus in trochaics and iambics. Mr Gaisford corrects a fragment of Menander, in which an hiatus occurs. ψυχῆς γὰρ οὗτος μόνος ἔχει ΘΕΛΚΤΗΡΙΑ, vulg. ΙΑΜΑΤΑ. But we prefer ΚΟΥΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ, which reading is preserved by Villoison's Scholiast on the Iliad, O. 393; and is confirmed by the following fragment of Æschylus, in the Scholiast of Sophocles on the Electra, v. 283. Οἵ τοι στεναγμοὶ τῶν πόνων ΕΡΕΙΣΜΑΤΑ, which is undoubtedly the true reading. But the above-mentioned Scholiast on Il. Ψ. 12. has it τῶν πόνων ΙΑΜΑΤΑ: and adds, Οὐ μέτρια τύγχανουσι: with which beginning of a senarius Mr Butler will probably enrich his collection of the Æschylean fragments.

We regret that Mr Gaisford has said so little on the subject of cæsura. Dr Bentley, in his *Schediasma de metris Terentianis*, remarks, 'Illa fere cæsura Romanis placuit quæ in prima tertii pedis syllaba fit.' And this cæsura is the most harmonious, and therefore most prevalent in trimeter iambics. In the Greek Tragædians, we believe the number of penthemimeral cæsuræ to be to that of the hepthemimeral in the ratio of about 4 to 1. In Euripides, perhaps, the ratio is greater, and in Æschylus less. We believe it is not generally known, that the most classical of theologians, and the most theological of classical scholars, Erasmus, has made the same remark as Bentley, speaking of the Latin poets, in his commentary on the Hymn of Prudentius, 'de natali Iesu,' addressed to Margaret Roper, daughter of Sir Thomas More, p. 1. ed. Froben. 1523. 'Quanquam in genere omne carmen mollius est, quoties penthemimeris finit dictionem.' The passage of Marius Victorinus, in the note p. 241, respecting a word for each dipodia, should be compared with an extract from a MS. of Tryphon, published in the appendix to Dawes, p. 441. Mr Gaisford remarks, that the antient iambic poets abstained as much as possible from trisyllabic feet; but cites a fragment of Archilochus, where a dactyl occupies the first foot of a trimeter iambic. A tribrach occurs in a fragment of the same poet in Plutarch de Tranquill. Anim. p. 835. ed. H. Steph.; Rufinus de Metr. Comic.; P. Leopardus Emend. xi. 5.; Brunck Anal. I. p. 45. Θεῶν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἐρῶ τυραννίδος: an anapæst in the verses of Simonides on Women, v. 22. ἔδωκαν ἀνδρὶ πονηρόν, where Bothe reads πηρόν: and an anapæst and dactyl in another fragment;

fragment; which however is, perhaps, not an iambic verse, ὁ δ' αὖ θάνατος ἐφῆκε καὶ τὸν φυγόμαχον. P. 243. Mr Gaisford remarks, 'Veteres Lyrici et Comœdiæ auctores hanc speciem (iambos dimetros) perpetuo ductu videntur cecinisse.' An instance, however, of a catalectic interposed, is perhaps to be found in the verses of Archilochus, extant in Ammonius, v. Αἶνος, and the authors there cited by Valckenaer.

Αἶνός τις ἀνθρώπων ὀδ', ὡς
ἆρ' ἀλώπηξ τε κἀετὸς
ξυνωνίην ἔθεντο. (or ἔμιξαν.)

The editions have it ἀλώπηξ.

P. 254, 30. The article ὁ, we are of opinion, should be omitted, as Hipponax makes the penultima of φάσμακον long.

P. 255. In the third verse of Phœnix the Colophonian, Ruhnken conjectured, ὃ ἄριστον, ὕγε ψαιστόν: not very happily, we think.

C. VIII. Mr Gaisford dilates upon the subject of dimeter anapæstics, which he laments that Professor Porson should have touched upon so slightly. His principal rules are these. Legitimate systems, besides anapæsts, admit indifferently dactyls and spondees; very rarely a proceleusmatic; and very rarely a dactyl before an anapæst. The hiatus of long vowels and diphthongs is admissible, provided such vowels and diphthongs are made short; and the verses are most harmonious, when each metre, or dipodia, terminates with the termination of a word. Of the neglect of which arrangement, however, several instances are given. The versus parœmiacus is most pleasing to the ear, when it corresponds with the second part of an heroic hexameter, (a bucolic hexameter will be equally harmonious); but a dactyl sometimes occurs in the first foot; and, but more rarely, a spondee before the last syllable; and still more uncommon is a dactyl immediately preceding the catalectic anapæst. We confess ourselves somewhat sceptical as to the introduction of proceleusmatic feet into anapæstic verses, notwithstanding the few instances which Mr Gaisford has collected in p. 276. not. and Dr Burney Tentamen, p. 46.

With respect to the Aristophanaic tetrameter, we believe that not only Cratinus and Eupolis used this species of verse before Aristophanes, but also Epicharmus. A fragment of this poet in Athenæus III. p. 86. C. which Casaubon reads, καὶ τελλιναν τε καὶ καριταν θᾶσαι δὴ καὶ λεπαδ' ὅσσα, Porson, we believe, corrected thus; (we speak from memory) καὶ τελλίναν καὶ καρίταν καὶ δὴ θᾶσαι λεπάς ὅσσα, which constitutes a legitimate tetrameter anapæstic catalectic. In the passages of Victorinus given at p. 277, for *Æschylus et Cratinus*, Mr Gaisford reads, with great truth, *Eupolis et Cratinus*. In the last verse quoted from the Bacchæ of Euripides, at p. 292,

we

we conjecture, ἢ 'ν ἐλάτας κλάδοισι: and in the verse of Sappho, p. 296, ἑτάραις for ἑταίραις Sappho ap. Etymol. M. p. 250, 10. Δαύοις ἀπαλᾶς ἑτάρας ἐν στήθεσιν. Perhaps τάδε is an interpolation; and the verse might be thus constituted, Νῦν ἑτάραις ταῖσιν ἐμαῖς τερπνὰ καλῶς ἀείσω. In the same page, some elegant choriambics of Eupolis are given, as corrected by Porson. In p. 298, the learned editor's correction of Marius Plotius, *Philicium* for *Philicum*, is preoccupied by F. G. Vossius de Poetis Græc. p. 65; who also corrects Atilius Fortunatianus in the same manner as Salmasius does; and refers, moreover, to the passage of Suidas, quoted by Mr Gaisford in support of his very probable correction of Terentianus Maurus. To the instances given in Ch. x. p. 310. of the antispastic verse of sixteen syllables, so much used by Sappho, may be added a fragment of that poetess in Stobæus, Serm. LXIX. Grot. LXXI. p. 301. Ἀλλ' ἐὼν φίλος ἁμῖν λέχος ἄρνυσο νεώτερον· Οὐ γὰρ τλάσομ' ἐγὼ ξυνοικεῖν οὖσα γεραιτέρα, (in which two things are to be noted, 1st, that the penultima of ἄρνυσο seems to be made long; perhaps we should read ἄρνυσσο, as the Æolics often doubled consonants; and, 2d, that ξυνοικεῖν, or rather συνοικεῖν, violates the metre): and another fragment in Hermog. περὶ Ἰδ. II. p. 326. Ἄγε δῖα χελύννα, λέγε, φωνᾶσσα δὲ γίνεο. vulg. ἄγε χέλυ δίά μοι λέγε, φωνάεσσα δὲ γίνεο. MS. Cato-Gonzil. omits μοι, and has ἄγε δὴ χ. δ.: but δὴ χέλυ is a corruption of χελύνε, which was the Æolic form for χέλυς; see Etymol. M. p. 808, 2. φωνᾶσσα, as φωνᾶντες in Pindar: see Elmsley ad Acharn. 918. The same MS. has μαλίνων and αἰθυσσομένων in p. 323, as Scaliger had corrected. But the remark of Mr Gaisford, in p. 64, is very just, and should perhaps repress our attempts to correct such detached fragments as these. 'Quam periculosum sit laceris deperditorum auctorum fragmentis conjectandi medelam adhibere nemo fere nescit; et Poetarum præsertim Æolicorum, quorum ne unus quidem integer ad nostram usque ætatem perduravit. Quocirca si quid in hisce edendis aut corrigendis peccaverim, veniam, uti spero, haud denegavit æquus et eruditior lector.' The hope expressed in the concluding sentence, will certainly not be disappointed. For our own parts, we beg Mr Gaisford to believe, that any thing which we may have suggested in the way of correction, is not meant to be asserted with any degree of confidence, but only as submitted to the further consideration of so able a scholar.

In this chapter are discussed the metres which are vulgarly called κατ' ἐξοχήν, Sapphic and Alcaic; and, amongst several instances of the latter, is given the fragment of Alcæus, preserved by Heraclides Ponticus, of which we gave some account in this Journal, Vol. XV. p. 157. We observe that Mr Gaisford does not agree with the learned Critic there mentioned, who says, that the fifth

fifth syllable of the dimeter iambic, which constitutes the third verse of the Alcaic stanza, is always made short by Alcæus; and accordingly corrects the Fragments which militate against his canon: but Mr Gaisford writes, in the first mentioned Fragment, τὸ δ' ἔνθεν· ἄμμες Δ' ἂν τὸ μέσσον, and rightly, as we think; for so also it is quoted by Apollonius Dyscolus, Reizii Exc. p. 428.; and considering that we have only eight of these Fragments extant, and that two of them have this syllable long, no canon can be certain which is established on the remaining six. In the fifth instance adduced by Mr Gaisford, v. 2. προκόψομες γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀσώμενοι. read ἀσάμενοι, which is the Æolic form; and so it is in the Athenæus; nor was there any good reason why Bentley should change it to ἀσώμενοι. This remark has been made by Mr Elmsley in his *Auctarium Annotationum ad Acharnenses*, p. 128. and before him by Koen on Gregor. p. 86. In the Fragm. p. 337. l. 1. we would read αἰδώς κεν οὐχί σ' ὄμματ' εἶχεν. P. 354. penult. we suppose that προσκινῶν is an error of the press for προσκυνῶν.

In the notes on Proclus, p. 409, Mr Gaisford has inserted a very curious extract from a Baroccian MS. of Diomedes the Grammarian, about Comedy, which is referred to by Bentley, Dissert. on Phalaris, p. 202. To the authors mentioned in the notes, p. 436. as relating the effects which the war-song (ὄρθιος νόμος) of Timotheus produced on Alexander, may be added Suidas, v. v. Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὀρθιασμάτων. Τιμόθεος. Himerius ap. Photii Bibliotheca Cod. 1230, whose description it is worth our reader's while to compare with Dryden's celebrated ode.

The volume closes with four indexes. I. *Scriptorum ab Hephæstione et Scholiastis laudabilium.* II. *Vocabulorum quæ in locis ab Hephæstione laudatis reperiuntur.* III. *Rerum et Versuum.* IV. *Rerum in Procli Chrestomathia memorabilium.* We regret that Mr Gaisford has not given us an index of what is most worthy of remark in his notes; for his book seems intended to be, what indeed it is eminently calculated to become, a complete manual of metres; and a *manual* is what we very frequently wish to refer to, but not to read through; as the smallness of the print renders it difficult for the eye to run over the pages, and fix at once upon what it is seeking.

Our readers will perceive, that whatever we have pointed out as being, in our opinion, susceptible of any improvement, relates, without exception, to points of a very trivial and unimportant nature. We can perceive nothing in the present edition of Hephæstion which deserves the name of a blemish. All is learned and satisfactory; and, as far as we are competent to judge, correct: and, what perhaps one would not have expected in a work on this subject, it is very amusing. Its value is greatly augmented

ed by the circumstance, that we had, before, no book of the kind to refer to, except the very imperfect treatise of Morell, and the elaborate work of Hermann; which last really is inaccessible to students who are not gifted with a considerable share of acuteness and metaphysical knowledge; and, as it appears to us, is much less lucid and perspicuous than the commentary of Mr Gaisford. In addition to these more substantial merits, we must add, that the volume, which we now dismiss, is, we think, the most beautiful specimen of typography which has hitherto issued from the Clarendon press.

ART. VIII. *Hints on Toleration, in Five Essays, &c. suggested for the Consideration of Lord Viscount Sidmouth, and the Dissenters.* By Philagatharches. 8vo. pp. 367. London, 1810.

If a prudent man sees a child playing with a porcelain cup of great value, he takes the vessel out of his hand, pats him on the head, tells him his mamma will be sorry if it is broken, and gently cheats him into the use of some less precious substitute. Why will Lord Sidmouth meddle with the Toleration act, when there are so many other subjects in which his abilities might be so eminently useful—when enclosure bills are drawn up with such scandalous negligence,—turnpike roads so shamefully neglected, —and public conveyances illegitimately loaded in the face of day, and in defiance of the wisest legislative provisions? We confess our trepidation at seeing the Toleration act in the hands of Lord Sidmouth; and should be very glad if it were fairly back in the statute book, and the sedulity of this well-meaning nobleman diverted into another channel.

The alarm and suspicion of the Dissenters upon these measures is wise and rational. They are right to consider the Toleration act as their palladium; and they may be certain that, in this country, there is always a strong party ready, not only to prevent the further extension of tolerant principles, but to abridge (if they dared) their present operation within the narrowest limits. Whoever makes this attempt, will be sure to make it under professions of the most earnest regard for mildness and toleration, and with the strongest declarations of respect for King William, the Revolution, and the principles which seated the House of Brunswick on the throne of these realms;—and then will follow the clauses for whipping dissenters, imprisoning preachers, and subjecting them to rigid qualifications, &c. &c. &c. The infringement on the militia acts is a mere

mere pretence. The real object is, to diminish the number of Dissenters from the Church of England, by abridging the liberties and privileges they now possess. This is the project which we shall examine; for we sincerely believe it to be the project in agitation. The mode in which it is proposed to attack the Dissenters, is, first, by exacting greater qualifications in their teachers; next by preventing the interchange or itinerancy of preachers, and fixing them to one spot.

It can never, we presume, be intended to subject dissenting ministers to any kind of *theological* examination. A teacher examined in doctrinal opinions, by another teacher who differs from him, is so very absurd a project, that we entirely acquit Lord Sidmouth of any intention of this sort. We rather presume his Lordship to mean, that a man who professes to teach his fellow-creatures, should at least have made some progress in human learning;—that he should not be wholly without education;—that he should be able at least to read and write. If the test is of this very ordinary nature, it can scarcely exclude many teachers of religion; and it was hardly worth while, for the very insignificant diminution of numbers which this must occasion to the Dissenting clergy, to have raised all the alarm which this attack upon the Toleration act has occasioned.

But, without any reference to the magnitude of the effects, is the principle right? or, What is the meaning of religious toleration? That a man should hold, without pain or penalty, any religious opinions,—and choose for his instruction, in the business of salvation, any guide whom he pleases;—care being taken, that the teacher, and the doctrine, injure neither the policy nor the morals of the country. We maintain, that perfect religious toleration applies as much to the teacher, as the thing taught; and that it is quite as intolerant to make a man hear Thomas, who wants to hear John, as it would be to make a man profess Arminian, who wished to profess Calvinistical principles. What right has any government to dictate to any man, who shall guide him to heaven, any more than it has to persecute the religious tenets by which he hopes to arrive there? You believe, that the heretic professes doctrines utterly incompatible with the true spirit of the Gospel;—first you burnt him for this,—then you whipt him,—then you fined him,—then you put him in prison. All this did no good;—and, for these hundred years last past, you have let him alone. The heresy is now firmly protected by law;—and you know it must be preached:—What matters it, then, who preaches it? If the evil must be communicated, the organ and instrument through which it is communicated, cannot be of much consequence. It is true, this kind of persecution, against persons, has

not

not been quite so much tried, as the other against doctrines; but the folly and inexpediency of it, rests precisely upon the same grounds.

Would it not be a singular thing, if the friends of the Church of England were to make the most strenuous efforts to render their enemies eloquent and learned?—and to found places of education for Dissenters? But, if their learning would not be a good, why is their ignorance an evil? unless it be necessarily supposed, that all increase of learning must bring men over to the Church of England; in which supposition, the Scottish and Catholic Universities, and the College at Hackney, would hardly acquiesce. Ignorance surely matures and quickens the progress of absurdity. Rational and learned Dissenters remain:—religious mobs, under some ignorant fanatic of the day, become foolish over much,—dissolve, and return to the Church. The Unitarian, who reads and writes, gets some sort of discipline, and returns no more.

What connexion is there between the zeal and piety required for religious instruction, and the common attainments of literature? But, if knowledge and education are required for religious instruction, why be content with the common elements of learning? why not require higher attainments in dissenting candidates for orders; and examine them in the languages in which the books of their religion are conveyed?

A dissenting minister, of vulgar aspect, and homely appearance, declares that he entered into that holy office because he felt a call;—and a clergyman of the Establishment smiles at him for the declaration. But it should be remembered, that no minister of the Establishment is admitted into orders, before he has been expressly interrogated by the bishop, whether he feels himself called to that sacred office by the will of Jesus Christ. The doctrine of calling, or inward feeling, is quite orthodox in the English church;—and in arguing this subject in Parliament, it will hardly be contended, that the Episcopalian only is the judge when that call is genuine, and when it is only imaginary.

The attempt at making the Dissenting clergy stationary, and persecuting their circulation, appears to us quite as unjust and inexpedient, as the other measure of qualifications. It appears a gross inconsistency to say—'I admit that what you are doing is legal,—but you must not do it thoroughly and effectually. I allow you to propagate your heresy,—but I object to all means of propagating it which appear to be useful and effective.' If there are any other grounds upon which the circulation of the Dissenting clergy is objected to, let these grounds be stated and examined: but to object to their circulation, merely because it is the

best method of effecting the object which you allow them to effect, does appear to be rather unnatural and inconsistent.

It is presumed in this argument, that the only reason urged for the prevention of itinerant preachers, is the increase of heresy; for if heresy is not increased by it, it must be immaterial to the feelings of Lord Sidmouth, and of the Imperial Parliament, whether Mr Shuffle-bottom preaches at Bungay, and Mr Ringletub at Ipswich; or whether an artful vicissitude is adopted, and the order of insane predication reversed.

But, supposing all this new interference to be just, what good will it do? You find a dissenting preacher, whom you have prohibited, still continuing to preach,—or preaching at Ealing, when he ought to preach at Acton;—his number is taken, and the next morning he is summoned. Is it believed, that this description of persons can be put down by fine and imprisonment? His fine is paid for him; and he returns from imprisonment, ten times as much sought after, and as popular as he was before. This is a receipt for making a stupid preacher popular, and a popular preacher more popular; but can have no possible tendency to prevent the mischief against which it is levelled. It is precisely the old history of persecution against opinions, turned into a persecution against persons. The prisons will be filled,—the enemies of the Church made enemies of the State also,—and the Methodists rendered ten times more actively mad than they are at present. This is the direct and obvious tendency of Lord Sidmouth's plan.

Nothing dies so hard, and rallies so often, as Intolerance. The fires are put out, and no living nostril has scented the odor of a human creature roasted for faith;—then, after this, the prison-doors were got open, and the chains knocked off:—And, now, Lord Sidmouth only begs that men, who disagree with him in religious opinions, may be deprived of all civil offices, and not be allowed to hear the preachers they like best. Chains and whips he would not hear of; but these mild gratifications every orthodox mind is surely entitled to. The hardship would indeed be great, if a churchman were deprived of the amusement of putting a dissenting parson in prison. We are convinced Lord Sidmouth is a very amiable and well-intentioned man: his error is not the error of his heart, but of his time, above which few men ever rise. It is the error of some four or five hundred thousand English gentlemen, of decent education and worthy characters, who conscientiously believe, that they are punishing, and continuing incapacities, for the good of the state; while they are, in fact, (though without knowing it), only gratifying that insolence, hatred and revenge, which all human beings are unfortunately so ready to feel against those who will not conform to their own sentiments.

But, instead of making the Dissenting Churches less popular, why not make the English Church more popular, and raise the English clergy to the privileges of the Dissenters? In any parish of England, any layman, or clergyman, by paying sixpence, can open a place of worship,—provided it be not the worship of the Church of England. If he wishes to attack the doctrines of the bishop or the incumbent, he is not compelled to ask the consent of any person: But if, by any evil chance, he should be persuaded of the truth of those doctrines, and build a chapel, or mount a pulpit to support them, he is instantly put in the Spiritual Court: For the regular incumbent, who has a legal monopoly of this doctrine, does not chuse to suffer any interloper; and, without his consent, it is illegal to preach the doctrines of the Church within his precincts.* Now, this appears to us a great and manifest absurdity, and a disadvantage against the Established Church which very few establishments could bear. The persons who preach, and who build chapels, or for whom chapels are built among the Dissenters, are active, clever persons, with considerable

* It might be supposed, that the general interests of the Church would outweigh the particular interests of the rector; and that any clergyman would be glad to see places of worship opened within his parish for the doctrines of the Established Church. The fact, however, is directly the reverse. It is scarcely possible to obtain permission from the established clergyman of the parish to open a chapel there; and, when it is granted, it is granted upon very hard and interested conditions. The parishes of St George—of St James—of Mary-le-bone—and of St Anne's, in London,—may, in the parish churches, chapels of ease, and mercenary chapels, contain, perhaps, one hundredth part of their Episcopalian inhabitants. Let the rectors, lay and clerical, meet together; and give notice, that any clergyman of the Church of England, approved by the Bishop, may preach there; and we will venture to say, that places of worship, capable of containing 20,000 persons, would be built within ten years;—but, in these cases, the interest of the Rector, and of the Establishment, are not the same. A chapel belonging to the Swedenborgians, or Methodists of the New Jerusalem, was offered two or three years since in London to a clergyman of the Establishment. The proprietor was tired of his irrational tenants, and wished for better doctrine. The rector (since a dignitary) with every possible compliment to the fitness of the person in question, positively refused the application; and the church remains in the hands of Methodists. No particular blame is intended, by this anecdote, against the individual rector. He acted as many have done before and since; but the incumbent clergyman ought to possess no such power. It is his interest, but not the interest of the Establishment.

considerable talents for that kind of employment. These talents have, with them, their free and unbounded scope; while in the English Church, they are wholly extinguished and destroyed. Till this evil is corrected, the Church contends with fearful odds against its opponents. On the one side, any man who can command the attention of a congregation—to whom Nature has given the animal and intellectual qualifications of a preacher:—such a man is the member of every corporation:—all impediments are removed:—there is not a single position in Great Britain which he may not take,—provided he is hostile to the Established Church. In the other case, if the English Church were to breed up a Massillon or a Bourdaloue, he finds every place occupied; and every where a regular and respectable clergyman ready to put him in the Spiritual Court, if he attracts, within his precincts, any attention to the doctrines and worship of the Established Church.

The necessity of having the bishop's consent, would prevent any improper person from preaching. That consent should be withheld, not capriciously, but for good and lawful cause to be assigned.

The profits of an incumbent proceed from fixed or voluntary contributions. The fixed could not be affected; and the voluntary ought to vary according to the exertions of the incumbent, and the good will of the parishioners; but if this is wrong, pecuniary compensation might be made (at the discretion of the ordinary) from the supernumerary to the regular clergyman.

Such a plan, it is true, would make the Church of England more popular in its nature; and it ought to be made more popular, or it will not endure for another half century. There are two methods; the Church must be made more popular, or the Dissenters less so. To effect the latter object by force and restrictions, is unjust and impossible. The only remedy seems to be, to grant to the Church the same privileges which are enjoyed by the Dissenters, and to excite, in one party, that competition of talent which is of such palpable advantage to the other.

A remedy suggested by some wellwishers to the Church, is the appointment of men to benefices, who have talents for advancing the interests of religion: but, till each particular patron can be persuaded to care more for the general good of the Church, than for the particular good of the person whom he patronizes, little expectation of improvement can be derived from this quarter.

The competition between the Established Clergy, to which this method would give birth, would throw the incumbent in the back ground, only when he was unfit to stand forward—immoral, negligent, or stupid. His income would still remain; and, if his influ-

ences

ence were superseded by a man of better qualities and attainments, the general good of the Establishment would be consulted by the change. The beneficed clergyman would always come to the contest with great advantages; and his deficiencies must be very great indeed, if he lost the esteem of his parishioners. But the contest would rarely or ever take place, where the friends of the Establishment were not numerous enough for all. At present, the selfish incumbent, who cannot accommodate the fiftieth part of his parishioners, is determined that no one else shall do it for him. It is in such situations that the benefit to the Establishment would be greatest, and the injury to the appointed minister none at all.

We beg of men of sense to reflect, that the question is not, whether they wish the English Church to stand as it now is; but, whether the English Church can stand as it now is; and, whether the moderate activity here recommended, is not the minimum of exertion necessary for its preservation. At the same time, we hope nobody will rate our sagacity so very low, as to imagine we have much hope that any measure of the kind will ever be adopted. All establishments die of dignity. They are too proud to think themselves ill, and to take a little physic.

To show that we have not mistated the obstinacy or the conscience of sectaries, and the spirit with which they will meet the regulations of Lord Sidmouth, we will lay before our readers the sentiments of Philagatharches—a stern, subacid Dissenter.

'I shall not here enter into a comprehensive discussion of the nature of a call to the ministerial office; but deduce my proposition from a sentiment, admitted equally by conformists and nonconformists. It is essential to the nature of a call to preach, "that a man be moved by the Holy Ghost, to enter upon the work of the ministry:" and, if the Spirit of God operate powerfully upon his heart, to constrain him to appear as a public teacher of religion, who shall command him to desist? We have seen, that the sanction of the magistrate can give no authority to preach the gospel: and, if he were to forbid our exertions, we must persist in the work: we dare not relinquish a task that God has required us to perform; we cannot keep our consciences in peace, if our lips are closed in silence, while the Holy Ghost is moving our hearts, to proclaim the tidings of salvation: "Yea, wo is unto me," saith St Paul, "if I preach not the gospel." Thus, when the Jewish priests had taken Peter and John into custody, and, after examining them concerning their doctrine, "commanded them not to speak at all, nor to teach in the name of Jesus," these apostolical champions of the cross undauntedly replied: "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you, more than unto God, judge ye: for, we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." Thus, also,

in our day, when the Holy Ghost excites a man to preach the gospel to his fellow sinners, his message is sanctioned by an authority, which is "far above all principality and power;" and, consequently, neither needs the approbation of subordinate rulers, nor admits of revocation by their countermanding edicts.

'3dly, He, who receives a license, should not expect to derive from it a testimony of qualification to preach.

'It would be grossly absurd, to seek a testimony of this description from any single individual, even though he were an experienced veteran in the service of Christ; for, all are fallible, and, under some unfavourable prepossession, even the wisest, or the best of men, might give an erroneous decision upon the case. But this observation will gain additional force, when we suppose the power of judging transferred to the person of the magistrate. We cannot presume, that a civil ruler understands as much of theology, as a minister of the gospel. His necessary duties prevent him from critically investigating questions upon divinity; and confine his attention to that particular department, which society has deputed him to occupy: and, hence, to expect at his hands a testimony of qualification to preach, would be almost as ludicrous, as to require an obscure country curate to fill the office of Lord Chancellor.

'But again: admitting that a magistrate, who is nominated by the sovereign to issue forth licenses to dissenting ministers, is competent to the task of judging of their natural and acquired abilities, it must still remain a doubtful question, whether they are moved to preach by the influences of the Holy Ghost; for it is the prerogative of God alone, to "search the heart, and try the reins" of the children of men. Consequently, after every effort of the ruling powers, to assume to themselves the right of judging whether a man be, or be not, qualified to preach, the most essential property of the call must remain to be determined by the conscience of the individual.

'It is, further, worthy of observation, that the talents of a preacher may be acceptable to many persons, if not to him who issues the license. The taste of a person, thus high in office, may be too refined to derive gratification from any but the most learned, intelligent, and accomplished preachers. Yet as the gospel is sent to the poor as well as to the rich, perhaps hundreds of preachers may be highly acceptable, much esteemed, and eminently useful in their respective circles, who would be despised, as men of mean attainments, by one, whose mind is well stored with literature, and cultivated by science. From these remarks I infer, that a man's own judgement must be the criterion, in determining what line of conduct to pursue before he begins to preach: and the opinion of the people, to whom he ministers, must determine, whether it be desirable that he should continue to fill their pulpit. 168—173.

The sentiments of Philagatharches are expressed still more strongly in a subsequent passage.

'Here

'Here a question may arise: What line of conduct conscientious ministers ought to pursue, if laws were to be enacted, forbidding, either all dissenting ministers to preach, or only lay preachers; or, forbidding to preach in an unlicensed place; and, at the same time, refusing to license persons and places, except under such security as the property of the parties would not meet, or under limitations to which their consciences could not accede. What has been advanced ought to outweigh every consideration of temporal interest; and, if the evil genius of persecution were to appear again, I pray God that we might all be faithful to Him who hath called us to preach the gospel. Under such circumstances, let us continue to preach: if fined, let us pay the penalty, and persevere in preaching: and, when unable to pay the fine, or deeming it impolitic so to do, let us submit to go quietly to prison, but with the resolution still to preach upon the first opportunity, and, if possible, to collect a church, even within the precincts of the gaol. He, who, by these zealous exertions, becomes the honoured instrument of converting one sinner unto God, will find that single seal to his ministerial labours, an ample compensation for all his sufferings. In this manner, the venerable apostle of the Gentiles both avowed and proved his sincere attachment to the cause in which he had embarked. "The Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, that bonds and afflictions abide me. But none of these things move me; neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God."

'In the early ages of Christianity, martyrdom was considered an eminent honour; and many of the primitive christians thrust themselves upon the notice of their heathen persecutors, that they might be brought to suffer in the cause of that Redeemer whom they ardently loved. In the present day, christians in general incline to estimate such rash ardour as a species of enthusiasm, and feel no disposition to court the horrors of persecution; yet, if such dark and tremendous days were to return in this age of the world, ministers should retain their stations; they should be true to their charge; they should continue their ministrations, each man in his sphere, shining with all the lustre of genuine godliness, to dispel the gloom in which the nation would then be enveloped. If this line of conduct, were to be adopted, and acted upon with decision, the cause of piety, of nonconformity, and of itinerant preaching, must eventually triumph. All the gaols in the country would speedily be filled: those houses of correction, which were erected for the chastisement of the vicious in the community, would be replenished with thousands of the most pious, active, and useful men in the kingdom, whose characters are held in general esteem. But the ultimate result of such despotic proceedings is beyond the ken of human prescience:—probably, appeals to the public and the legislature would

teem from the press, and, under such circumstances, might diffuse a revolutionary spirit throughout the country.' 239—243.

We quote these opinions at length, not because they are the opinions of Philagatharches, but because we are confident that they are the opinions of ten thousand hot-headed fanatics, and that they would firmly and conscientiously be acted upon.

Philagatharches is an instance (not uncommon, we are sorry to say, even among the most rational of the Protestant Dissenters) of a love of toleration combined with a love of persecution. He is a Dissenter, and earnestly demands religious liberty for that body of men; but, as for the Catholics, he would not only continue their present disabilities, but load them with every new one that could be conceived. He expressly says, that an Atheist or a Deist may be allowed to propagate their doctrines,—but not a Catholic; and then proceeds, with all the customary trash against that sect, which nine schoolboys out of ten now know how to refute. So it is with Philagatharches;—so it is with weak men in every sect. It has ever been our object, and (in spite of misrepresentation and abuse) ever shall be our object, to put down this spirit—to protect the true interests, and to diffuse the true spirit of toleration. To a well-supported national Establishment, effectually discharging its duties, we are very sincere friends. If any man, after he he has paid his contribution to this great security for the existence of religion in any shape, chuses to adopt a religion of his own, that man should be permitted to do so without let, molestation or disqualification for any of the offices of life. We apologize to men of sense for sentiments so trite; and patiently endure the anger which they will excite among those with whom they will pass for original.

Art. IX. *Researches on the Oxymuriatic Acid, its Nature and Combinations, and on the Elements of the Muriatic Acid; with some Experiments on Sulphur and Phosphorus, made in the Laboratory of the Royal Institution.* By H. Davy Esq. Sec. R. S. Prof. Chem. R. I. &c. (From the Philosophical Transactions for 1810, Part II.)

Mr Davy, in this paper, details a number of facts which throw considerable light upon the constitution of the muriatic acid,—hitherto one of the grand *desiderata* of chemistry; and lead us very strongly to suspect, that the received theory of the oxymuriatic acid has been adopted on insufficient grounds. He presents us also with some experiments on sulphur and phosphorus, which are eminently deserving of attention, although we are somewhat at a loss

loſs to underſtand the note at the foot of the page, intimating, that thoſe experiments are 'communicated to the Royal Society at the requeſt of the managers of the Royal Inſtitution.' We had always conceived, that the many invaluable diſcoveries made by Mr Davy, in thoſe experimental reſearches conducted in the laboratory of the Royal Inſtitution, were his own private property; and that however great the luſtre which the owners of the retorts and receivers might derive from the noble uſes to which he had happily applied them, thoſe worthy perſonages had about as little ſhare in the experiments, and as little property in the reſults of the inquiries, as they had in the thoughts which paſſed through Mr Davy's mind while repoſing upon the benches in Albemarle-Street; on which benches, nevertheleſs, we freely admit they have an undoubted property. It is, however, very poſſible, that the note alluded to may proceed from our author's delicacy and kind feelings towards the Inſtitution. We ſhall, at leaſt have much more ſatisfaction in aſcribing it to this cauſe, than if we found that it originated in any ſuggeſtion from the managers themſelves.

In the papers of Mr Davy, formerly publiſhed by the Royal Society, and analyzed from time to time in this Journal, various important remarks occurred upon the nature of the muriatic acid. It was obſerved, in particular, that muriatic acid could never be obtained from oxymuriatic acid, or from dry muriates, unleſs water or its conſtituent parts were preſent. It was alſo ſtated, that charcoal, when heated to whiteneſs by the galvanic battery in oxymuriatic or muriatic acid gaſes, produced no change whatever in thoſe gaſes, if it had been previouſly deprived by ignition of moiſture and hydrogene. Theſe facts are no doubt ſingularly irreconcileable with the common doctrine, which, ſince the celebrated reſearches of Berthollet, has repreſented oxymuriatic acid as a compound of muriatic acid and oxygene; or preſuming, from analogy, that muriatic acid is already compoſed of oxygene and an acidifiable baſe, has inferred, that oxymuriatic acid conſiſts of that radical in a higher ſtate of oxygenation. For if this were a juſt account of the matter, we might fairly expect to find muriatic acid reſult from deoxygenating the oxymuriatic acid, whether water were preſent or not; and unleſs water (or its elments) be in ſome ſhape eſſential to muriatic acid, it ſeems difficult to perceive, why the production of that acid, whether from oxymuriatic acid or from muriates, ſhould be impoſſible, without the preſence of moiſture or hydrogene. At any rate, this doubt is a ſufficient ground for carefully conſidering the grounds of the received opinion; and Mr Davy's reſearches carry us no ſmall length in this examination, although they certainly cannot be ſaid to determine the point finally.

Tin being expoſed, under a certain degree of heat, to oxymuriatic acid, both the metal and gas diſappeared, leaving a liquor exactly ſimilar to that known by the name of Liquor of Libavius, which is a muriate of tin. To this fluid ammoniacal gas was exhibited, and it was greedily abſorbed, forming a white ſolid body, the whole of which volatilized on the application of heat. In another experiment, it was found equally impoſſible to decompound this liquor by ammonia. Inſtead of yielding oxyde of tin, as might have been expected, it formed a new compound. In like manner, ammonia was exhibited to the ſolid compound of oxymuriatic acid and phoſphorus, obtained by combuſtion; and a white opaque powder was obtained, which, though expoſed to a high degree of heat, remained quite fixed and undecompoſed. This, as Mr Davy remarks, offers a ſingular phenomena;—a mixture of three bodies, all extremely volatile, and two of them never known to exiſt in a fixed ſtate, except in compoſition with other bodies, is found to produce a compound highly fixed and refractory. He accordingly was at ſome pains to aſcertain its qualities; but theſe do not ſeem to merit any particular deſcription. Suffice it to ſay, that this ſubſtance can only be decompoſed by combuſtion, and by the action of ignited hydrate of potaſh. Our author made ſimilar attempts to obtain oxygene, or a body containing oxygene, from the phoſphuretted liquor of the French chemiſts, and the ſulphuretted muriatic liquor of Dr Thomſon. He operated by means of dry ammonia; and always obtained ſolid compounds, more or leſs refractory, but never yielding oxygen or oxydes.

The common belief, that oxymuriatic acid and ammonia, acting on each other, produce water, has been, according to Mr Davy, taken up on inſufficient grounds; for he found, that when thoſe bodies were mixed in the proportion of about one of acid to three of alkali, both in a dry, and, of courſe, gaſeous ſtate, no water was formed; but the product was dry and ſolid muriate of ammonia, with about a tenth part of nitrogene gas.

This laſt experiment, if repeatedly found to ſucceed, would indeed furniſh ſtrong grounds for denying the exiſtence of oxygene in oxymuriatic acid; and for inferring, that the union of that acid and hydrogene produces muriatic acid. Mr Davy, however, ſpeaks with ſome doubt upon the ſubject. He ſays, 'I have ſeveral times made the experiment, and I am convinced that this is not the caſe;' (*i. e.* that water is not produced in the experiment). But an experiment of Mr Cruikſhanks, completed by the French chemiſts, led our author to a nearer view of the ſubject, and to evidence more purely ſynthetical. It had been found, that oxymuriatic acid and hydrogene, when mixed in nearly equal proportions, produced a gas condenſable by water, and conſiſting of *dry* muriatic acid.

This

This important, and almoſt deciſive experiment (for which we are indebted to the able chemiſts above-mentioned), was carefully repeated by Mr Davy. He fired the two gaſes, in an exhauſted receiver, by the electric ſpark, and always obtained muriatic acid gas, and a ſlight condenſed vapour, with a diminution of $\frac{1}{10}$th or $\frac{1}{20}$th of the volume. When the gaſes were carefully dried, by expoſure to muriate of lime, the condenſation was diminiſhed; and it did not exceed $\frac{1}{40}$th of the volume. When highly dried, ſulphuretted hydrogene was uſed, with oxymuriatic acid. In this caſe, ſulphur, ſlightly tinged with oxymuriatic acid, was depoſited on the ſides of the veſſel: no vapour was depoſited; and the gas which remained, conſiſted of muriatic acid, and about $\frac{1}{20}$th of an inflammable gas.

If to theſe facts we add the experiments by which the French chemiſts have proved, that, in the caſes where oxygene is procured from oxymuriatic acid, water is always preſent, and muriatic acid gas is formed; and a variety of experiments by Mr Davy and his brother, in which hydrogene and oxydes were procured, by exhibiting metals to muriatic acid gas, exactly ſimilar to the oxydes obtained by burning the ſame metals in oxymuriatic gas; we ſhall be prepared to go further than merely to doubt the exiſtence of oxygene in oxymuriatic, and of water in muriatic acid gaſes; and may probably be diſpoſed to adopt our author's concluſion, that Scheele's view, however obſcured by the language of an unfounded theory, comes much more near to the facts than the more ſpecious and plauſible doctrine of the antiphlogiſtic ſchool. Inſtead of conſidering oxymuriatic acid as the muriatic acid in an oxygenated ſtate, we ſhall then conſider it as a more ſimple ſubſtance, which, when united with hydrogene, forms common muriatic acid. Should future inquiry juſtify this concluſion, and explain away the whole of the antiphlogiſtic doctrine upon this point, we ſhall be obliged, no doubt, to rejoice at the progreſs of ſcience; but our joy will be mixed with trembling, when we reflect on the precarious tenure by which chemical truth is holden; for it may, after this, be moſt reaſonably doubted, whether future diſcoveries ſhall not utterly deſtroy the merits of the later improvements in pneumatic chemiſtry, and bring us back to the doctrine of phlogiſton, with the ſingle exception of the poſitive levity of that body;—perhaps the only part of Stahl's theory (or rather of the changes made upon it by his followers) to which no enlargement of knowledge can reconcile us.

But it may be aſked, why we heſitate in believing that our author's refutation of the common opinion is complete? An experiment is given, which appears at firſt ſight concluſive.—Hydrogene and oxymuriatic acid being united, muriatic acid is produced.

Why,

Why, then, it may be demanded, ſhould we doubt that the ſuppoſed oxygenated acid is in fact a radical, which, when combined with hydrogen, becomes ordinary muriatic acid; or, that the ſuppoſed oxygenated acid is a body ſimilar to oxygene, which, uniting with hydrogen as a radical, produces one of the known acids?—We anſwer, firſt, that the experiments are not detailed with ſuch minuteneſs as is eſſentially neceſſary, when any new point of doctrine is to be eſtabliſhed; and ſtill more, when the change in our theories is, from a leading poſition, thought to be eſtabliſhed irrefragably, upon full and minute details of fact, to one utterly inconſiſtent with it, and in the higheſt degree hoſtile to the whole of the received ſyſtem. It is in this caſe quite neceſſary, that we ſhould have ſuch particulars, as the following, anxiouſly detailed:—The exact quantities of the hydrogene and oxymuriatic acid exhibited to each other,—the method taken to make them act on each other,—the appearances of their action,—the exact quantity of the body reſulting from their union,—and the particular teſts by which that body is proved to be muriatic acid. If an experiment of this nature is made, and the reſult is, that oxymuriatic acid and hydrogene, when united in a known manner, uniformly leave a reſidue of muriatic acid equal in weight to the ſum of the weights of the oxymuriatic acid and hydrogene,—we ſhall at leaſt have made one ſtep, and a ſtep neither unimportant nor inſecure. There will then remain another, before we can ſafely adopt the concluſion in queſtion:—And this brings us to the ſecond difficulty, in the way of our entire agreement with Mr Davy's theory. After the above experiment ſhall have been cautiouſly and repeatedly made, and *minutely* detailed, it will ſtill be poſſible to infer from it more than one propoſition;—in other words, to account for the appearances in different ways: for it will prove, either that muriatic acid conſiſts of oxymuriatic acid and hydrogene,—or that oxymuriatic acid conſiſts of oxygene and muriatic acid deprived of water; and that muriatic acid conſiſts of an acid combined with water. Which of theſe is the true theory, muſt be proved by other experiments, made with a ſimilar attention to minute particulars. Let it not be ſuppoſed, that we accuſe Mr Davy of rathneſs in his method of philoſophizing. We know him to be eminent for his caution, and for the modeſty which diſtinguiſhes all really great men. In his preſent paper, he does not require our implicit aſſent; becauſe he has not, as he is well aware, completed his experimental inveſtigation. But we think it neceſſary to point out the reaſons for heſitation, to ſuch readers as may be diſpoſed to haſten too precipitately towards a concluſion, and may be unwilling to await thoſe further and final evidences which Mr Davy has probably already in his poſſeſſion.

If any thing were wanting to enforce the degree of caution which we have been recommending to Mr Davy's readers, and which we so well know it would be superfluous to bring within his own recollection, such additional considerations, we apprehend, will be admitted to arise very naturally out of passages like the following. 'The vivid combustion of bodies in oxymuriatic 'acid gas, at first view, appears a reason why oxygene should be 'admitted in it; but heat and light are merely results of the in- 'tense agency of combination. Sulphur and metals, alkaline 'earths and acids, become ignited during their mutual agency; 'and such an effect might be expected, in an operation so rapid 'as that of oxymuriatic acid upon metals and inflammable bodies.' This remark is highly apposite; for it is offered in answer to a supposed objection, which it sufficiently repels. But what follows is merely sceptical, and produces no conviction one way or the other. 'It may be said (he adds), that a strong argument in 'favour of the hypothesis, that oxymuriatic acid consists of an 'acid basis united to oxygene, exists in the general analogy of 'the compounds of oxymuriatic acid and metals to the common 'neutral salts. But this analogy, when strictly investigated, will 'be found to be very indistinct; and, even allowing it, it may be 'applied with as much force to support an opposite doctrine,— 'namely, that the neutral salts are compounds of bases with wa- 'ter,—and the metals, of bases with hydrogene; and that, in the 'case of the action of oxymuriatic acid and metals, the metals 'furnish hydrogene to form muriatic acid, and a basis to produce 'the neutral combination.' This last appears rather a strained hypothesis; but if dry metals and oxymuriatic acid, acting on each other, produce compounds in *which oxygene shall be proved not to exist*, we shall certainly be compelled to change our opinion.

Our author proceeds to consider the phenomena of oxymuriates, as they were originally called,—or, as late experiments seemed to prove them, hyperoxymuriates: and here, again, we have rather the beginning of an investigation, than a complete induction of facts, upon which a conclusion may safely be built. He endeavoured to procure from hyperoxymuriates, the acid supposed to be hyperoxygenized, but without success. He distilled those salts with dry boracic acid, and found oxygene to be the chief gaseous product, and muriate of potash the fixed residue. He distilled the orange-coloured fluid produced by dissolving hyperoxymuriates in sulphuric acid, but obtained only oxygene and oxymuriatic acid. He placed muriates (in a state of solution) in the galvanic circuit, and obtained oxymuriatic acid at the positive, and hydrogene at the negative surface; and, upon repeating the

same

same experiment with oxymuriatic acid dissolved in water, he obtained oxymuriatic acid and oxygene at the positive, and hydrogene at the negative surface; which products, however, he admits, in a note to this passage, must be ascribed rather to the water than the acid.

Our author then states his opinion with respect to the composition of hyperoxymuriates; and it is, like many of the opinions contained in this paper, only a probable conclusion drawn from an induction of facts admitted to be imperfect, but which, in all likelihood, will hereafter be completed. For the present, the opinion may be taken as a query, or hint, for further inquiry; and, we doubt not, Mr Davy will, ere long, convert it into a certainty. 'If the facts (says he) respecting hyperoxymuriate of potash be 'closely reasoned upon, it must be regarded as nothing more 'than as a triple compound of oxymuriatic acid, potassium and 'oxygene. We have no right to assume the existence of any pe'culiar acid in it, or of a considerable portion of combined wa'ter; and it is, perhaps, more conformable to the analogy of 'chemistry, to suppose the large quantity of oxygene combined 'with the potassium, which we know has an intense affinity for 'oxygene, and which, from some experiments, I am inclined to 'believe, is capable of combining directly with more oxygene 'than exists in potash, than with the oxymuriatic acid, which, 'as far as is known, has no affinity for that substance.'

Mr Davy subjoins a variety of very ingenious observations upon the probable nature of oxymuriatic acid,—referring partly to the received facts upon the subject, and partly to his own experiments, as authorising, or rather as giving colour to his remarks. From the failure of the experiments to decompose it, as well as from its agreeing in scarcely any particular with acids, he can scarcely consider it as belonging to that class of bodies; and he suggests the probability of its being a *peculiar* acidifying and dissolving principle, like oxygene. Although his observations are marked with his usual ingenuity and chemical learning, we shall not at present dwell longer upon them,—reserving the further consideration of the theory for the period so often mentioned, and indeed so confidently anticipated, in the preceding pages, when the same admirable inquirer shall have finished his experimental researches, and presented us with *discoveries* on the subject in question, worthy (we can praise no higher) of being ranked near his own former improvements in natural knowledge.

This paper concludes with some valuable experiments upon sulphur and phosphorus, particularly in their relations to potassium and oxymuriatic acid. But they do not admit of an abridgement; and though highly useful, as assisting future inquiries, they lead

to no very definite general conclusions. We therefore can only recommend them to the attention of chemical readers; and, expressing our hopes that no interruption of any kind may stop Mr Davy in his brilliant course of discovery, we take leave of the subject for the present, with again predicting, that the next time we turn towards it, we shall have to celebrate new triumphs of his skill and indefatigable industry.

ART. X. *Sur la Souveraineté.* Par M. J. Chas, Ancien Jurisconsulte. Seconde Edition, revue et augmentée. 8vo. Paris, 1810.

THE very singular pamphlet, of which we have just copied over the title, has, for some months past, been circulated in France, we understand by the very hand, but certainly by the authority, of government. A copy of this pamphlet, notwithstanding the difficulty of intercourse, we have had the satisfaction to obtain; and it is (as we believe) the only one which has yet made its way to this country. It is a curious document; and which, we think, will repay a pretty accurate analysis. It contains a panegyric, a professed *panegyric on Despotism;*—a comparison of this simple form of government with all other forms, whether simple or mixed—and, in particular, with that mixed form which is exemplified in Great Britain,—and a distinct, deliberate, *raisonné* preference over them all. If Bonaparte has hitherto played the hypocrite, it must be allowed that his agents now speak plain. He probably thinks the time is at last come, when boldness is better than imposture; and it cannot, at any rate, be insinuated, that he is afraid to avow his purposes. If impudence were a term which could apply to persons in situations so exalted, we should say that this, taken with all its circumstances, is the most impudent address which any government ever ventured upon offering to its subjects. How low must a nation, which had once dared to lift its eyes to liberty, be degraded, before its government could venture to present it with a creed like this! How prodigiously did the first efforts of the French to acquire for themselves a good government lead the world in general to overrate the true character of that nation!—With the single exception of courage and military skill, among the commonest and cheapest qualities of human nature, they have exhibited nothing but what is vulgar in point of conception, and servile in point of spirit, through the whole course of their revolution. Hardly had it begun, when some hired ruffians in the metropolis were allowed to give law to the whole nation. How tamely,

tamely, after this, did they bend their necks to the stroke of an exterminating tyrant, supported by a party already miserable, both in numbers and reputation—Robespierre, and the Jacobins! With what base submissiveness did they again deliver themselves up to the misgovernment of a factious and arbitrary Directory!—How lightly did they permit themselves to be transferred into the hands of the consulate; and with what quiet obedience have they submitted to every successive encroachment of Bonaparte,—till despotic power is at last not only consummated, but openly proclaimed, and held up to the nation as an object upon which to plume themselves, and to despise their neighbours! *

We shall begin with what the author presents to us as the *theory* of the French government. In all circumstances, a people are obliged to their government, when it tells them the truth.

'En France, les députés au corps legislatif sont designés dans une liste au Gouvernement par les Colléges electoraux, dont le président est nommé par l'Empereur. Ces candidats sont presentés au Senat, et choisis par le pouvoir conservateur.'

What is done by the people towards the formation of the *corps legislatif*, is thus, we see, to name a certain number of candidates, among whom the choice is made by the Conservative Senate. Let us next attend to the conclusions which our author draws from those circumstances.

'Cette designation, cette présentation, ce choix, ne transmettent aucun droit de souveraineté, puisque ce n'est qu'en vertu d'un Senatusconsulte que les députés entrent au corps legislatif.'

But if the legislative body in no degree shares in the right of sovereignty, what is its use? Its deputies, our author tells us, 'ne peuvent ni proposer, ni discuter les lois.' What then is left for them to perform in the business of legislation?—'Ils peuvent,' says our author, 'seulement adopter ou rejeter les lois qui leur sont proposées par le Gouvernement. . . Ils jouissent d'un grand privilege, puisque leur sanction est essentielle pour perfectionner la loi.'

From this we should naturally infer, that the legislative body enjoys a negative on the enactment of laws, a similar power to that which was exercised by the parliaments under the antient monarchy. But though this is what the words we have just quoted seem distinctly to express, it is far, indeed, from being the meaning of the author.

'Mais

* It is remarkable, though it has been little noticed, that no sooner were the tumults of the metropolis rendered impotent, by disarming the sections, after the fall of Robespierre, than the nation, which had passively submitted to the Parisian mob, submitted, with equal facility, to all the unworthy factions which happened successively to become the depositaries of power.

' Mais *il ne faut pas croire* que ce corps législatif, amovible et temperaire, rejete des projets de lois sagement proposés, murement discutés, au conseil-d'etat ; leur refus de sanctionner *serait réprouvé* par l'opinion publique, par le vœu national, et par la volonté generale, *dont l'Empereur est le représentant.*'

It turns out, then, that the *legislative* body must neither propose laws, nor make the smallest observation upon such as are proposed. It has a power of adopting simply, or rejecting simply ; but the last is a power which they must be very careful of never exercising. It has happened before, that a legislative, or pretended legislative body, has been reduced to a mere nullity, by the influence of fear or corruption. But even the Emperors of Rome abstained from proclaiming to the world, that they had brought the Senate to this degraded situation. Is it true, that, even under the Emperors, the Roman people retained a greater share of spirit, than is to be found among the people of France ? —Or is Bonaparte only a more daring usurper ?

After this display of the functions of the legislative body, the picture of the French Constitution is quickly drawn. The author proceeds—

' Telle est l'institution et la nature du gouvernement Français. L'Empereur exerce seul la plenitude de la souveraineté, comme le representant hereditaire de la nation, comme pouvoir constituant, comme pouvoir administratif ; il est legislateur et executeur suprême des lois ; il est l'âme du gouvernement ; il met en activité toutes les parties de la constitution ; c'est lui qui propose les lois constitutives, les lois civiles et administratives : il fait de reglemens ; crée des institutions sociales ; commande les armées ; déclare la guerre ; fait la paix ; conclut les traités de commerce et d'alliance ; nomme à tous les emplois civils, militaires et religieux : c'est en son nom que les lois sont proclamées, et que la justice est rendue dans tous les tribunaux. Sa personne est sacrée et inviolable ; son effigie est gravée sur les monnoies ; il a le droit de faire grâce et de commuer les peines. Les membres du corps legislatif sont ses sujets : tous les citoyens lui doivent respect et obéissance. Il n'a au-dessus de lui que Dieu et la loi. Tous ces droits, toutes ces prerogatives constituent la veritable souveraineté ; il l'exerce dans toute sa plenitude et dans toute son integrité, sans partage et sans division.'

Without stopping to consider the abstract and speculative reasons on which this scheme of government is defended, let us only observe the reasons which he brings in favour of its practical utility. ' *Qu'il nous soit permis,*' as he himself very modestly says, ' *de demontrer la sagesse de cette belle institution.*'

First presents itself the grand consideration of superior knowledge. The head of a sovereign is always a storehouse of knowledge. A popular assembly can never be any thing but a depositary of ignorance.

' Le

' Le chef suprême de la nation, celui qui a en main les rênes du gouvernement, qui les dirige à son gré, qui, dans un centre commun, attire toutes les parties de l'administration, est instruit des besoins du peuple : placé sur un hauteur eminente, ses regards attentifs parcourent avec facilité toutes les parties de l'empire ; il examine, il interroge ; son genie s'etend sur tout son peuple, et veille à son bonheur. Il sait quelles sont les lois et les institutions qui conviennent à son caractère, à ses mœurs, à ses habitudes. Des députés qui n'apportent dans les deliberations publiques que des connaissances bornées et des instructions vagues, qui exercent des fonctions temporaires, ignorent la diversité des interêts naissant de la difference du climat, des localités, des coutumes, des differens habitans des provinces ; il leur est impossible de reunir toutes ces diverses parties, et de regler, par des lois uniformes, les institutions qui conviennent à tous les membres du corps social. Parmi les codes politiques qui ont illustré tant de nations, il n'en est point qui n'ait été le fruit des pensées et des conceptions d'un seul homme.....Une assemblée d'hommes different par leur caractère, leurs opinions, leurs principes, ne peut point, de son propre mouvement, donner des lois à l'universalité d'un peuple dont elle ne connait ni ses besoins, ni ses divers interêts : une assemblée agit plus par influence que par réflexion ; elle discute sans ordre, et delibere au hasard : il faut des têtes froides et des cœurs purs. Toutes les passions se réunissent dans une assemblée nombreuse : on y voit tour à tour les erreurs de l'amour propre, et les presomptions de l'orgueil ; les discussions se prolongent, les debats deviennent tumultueux ; chacun veut corriger, retrancher, augmenter : dans cette confusion, la loi devient obscure, contradictoire ; une préambule inutile, ou dangereux, en altere le sens, et une fausse explication en detruit la force. '

Such is the firſt grand advantage of government-by-one, over government-by-many. The ſecond is not inferior to it. Deliverance from the dangers of anarchy can be effectually attained only by the exerciſe of abſolute power. A balance of powers has indeed been propoſed as a ſecurity againſt this ſpecies of evil ; but this, it ſeems, is a pitiable and dangerous error.

' C'est une mauvaise constitution qui cille où la souveraineté est partagée : alors les pouvoirs se heurtent, se confondent et se combattent. Le système de l'equilibre des pouvoirs, adopté par les anciens gouvernemens, et defendu par plusieurs publicistes avec autant de legereté que d'imprudence, a produit des troubles et des factions, et a preparé de tristes et sanglantes revolutions. Les constitutions des anciens peuples ont éprouvé de perpetuelles variations, parce qu'elles avaient etabli cette balance de pouvoirs si funeste aux nations. '

All the miſchiefs which nations over the face of the earth have ever endured, have ariſen ſimply from their not having enjoyed deſpotical governments.

' Si l'Europe a été si souvent bouleversée ; si la guerre a detruit l'espece humaine ; si de grandes revolutions ont renversé des trônes

et détruit des gouvernemens, tous ces déchiremens politiques, toutes ces calamités sont l'ouvrage des erreurs et de l'ignorance des tems. Si les peuples eussent été régis par des lois constitutives sagement combinées, les guerres eussent été moins frequentes, et les revolutions moins sanglantes. Si nous avons vu, en France, trois differentes constitutions paraître et s'ecrouler, c'est qu'on avait établi ce système de balance et d'équilibre des pouvoirs, dont le resultat a produit les excès et les crimes de la revolution. '

In fine, abſolute governments unite, in their eſſence, every principle of excellence.

' *Un centre unique* est necessaire pour donner à tous les ressorts de la machine politique ce mouvement regulier et uniforme, qui est la vie du corps social, et pour imprimer aux lois un caractère de force et de majesté. . . . . *L'unité du pouvoir souverain* arrêtera ces revolutions qui annoncent les vices des lois, la foiblesse du gouvernement, et la corruption des mœurs. Elle affermira la constitution, et la defendra contre les provocateurs de l'anarchie et contre les sectateurs de la tyrannie. Le monarque, comme souverain, comme legislateur, comme executeur des lois, s'armera de la force militaire, pour enchaîner les factions et maintenir l'ordre publique. *Un centre unique* de pouvoir souverain previent les désordres et les insurrections : vers lui se reportent tous ces rayons qui forment un faisceau de force et de lumière ; c'est l'etincelle electrique qui se fait sentir en même temps aux deux extremités de la chaîne. '

Such, then, is the nature, and ſuch are the advantages of the French government. To render his countrymen, however, ſtill more contented with their lot, and thankful for its bleſſings, the author inſtitutes a compariſon of the beneſits of abſolute government with thoſe of the different other forms of polity. A few ſentences will afford the reader a ſufficient taſte of this ingredient of the intellectual and moral banquet here preſented to us.

' Ou chercherons-nous le plus parfait et le meilleur de tous les gouvernemens ? Sera-ce dans la démocratie, ou le peuple, ou ses representans exercent la souveraineté ? Mais le gouvernement democratique est une source perpetuelle de malheurs et de crimes ; il porte avec lui le principe de sa destruction. . . . . Le chercherons-nous dans le gouvernement aristocratique ? Mais ce gouvernement a tous les vices et tous les dangers de la démocratie ; il ne peut y avoir qu'oppression et tyrannie, parcequ'il ne peut y exister des vertus politiques. '

So much for ariſtocracy and democracy,—in the vituperation of which we do not find a great deal to controvert. There is another ſpecies of government, however, in which we take a deeper intereſt, for the ſuperiority of which, *ut pro aris et focis*, we are ready to fight. This is the fair form of mixed government, which the admirer of the *principe de l'unité* treats, however, as roughly as the reſt.

' Ou chercherons-nous, ' repeats he, ' le meilleur de tous les gouvernemens? Le chercherons-nous dans le gouvernement mixte? Mais dans ce gouvernement il ne peut y avoir ni union, ni concorde, ni paix; les orages politiques eclateront, la foudre grondera au milieu d'une nuit obscure. La souveraineté, dans ce gouvernement, est partagée entre le monarque et le corps legislatif. La souveraineté divisée doit necessairement produire des dissentions intestines sans cesse renaissantes. '

The English government itself undergoes a minute investigation; and so far is Mr Chas from agreeing with Englishmen, who can perceive nothing in their constitution short of absolute perfection, that he sees nothing in it but deformity and vice.

' Il existe en Europe un gouvernement mixte, où le monarque et le parlement sont legislateurs, et partagent l'exercice de la souveraineté. C'est un melange de monarchie, d'aristocratie et de democratie, qui produit le despotisme et la corruption..... L'Anglais, par une heureuse magie, se croit libre, mais il est dans les fers. Il vend sa liberté et ses suffrages au poids de l'or. On enchaine sa volonté; il choisit, malgré lui, non les deputés les plus propres à defendre ses droits, mais les plus agréables au gouvernement; c'est lui qui dirige son choix. La où la corruption commence, là expire la liberté..... Si on ne voit point dans le gouvernement mixte de l'Angleterre le despotisme legal, on y aperçoit la corruption ministerielle, agent plus dangereux et plus redoubtable que l'autorité absolue du monarque, puisque le peuple Anglais respecte dans son roi le droit qu'il a de le corrompre. '

Now, even if we were to admit that the British constitution had all the vices and defects which are here imputed to it, it really appears very surprising that the *Ancien Jurisconsulte* should not perceive, that these are only formidable to Englishmen, and are only considered as vices, because they lead to despotism. Were it possible we could acquire the taste of Mr Chas and his compatriots, so as to become enamoured of despotism, we should only regret that the vices of our constitution are not still more numerous and powerful, as leading more rapidly to that consummation of absolute power in the hands of the chief magistrate, which, it seems, is the *summum bonum* of the political state.

> Ουτ' αγαθον πολυκοιρανιη· εις κοιρανος εστω,
> Εις βασιλευς, ῳ εδωκε Κρονου παις αγκυλομητεω
> Σκηπτρον τ' ηδε θεμιστας, ινα σφισι φαιδιμος ειη. *

Thus spoke the wise Ulysses: so that Mr Chas has both high and antient authority for his opinions. Here is the principle of unity as clearly expressed, and as strongly eulogized, as it can now be by any servile lawyer in France, after the lapse of some thousand years.

* Hom. Il. L. 2. v. 204.

years. The science of government, therefore, very unlike other sciences, acquired, it seems, its perfection at a very early period of society. Those sovereigns who literally killed and roasted their own mutton, and were their own butchers and cooks, were as profoundly versed in it as *Napoleon le Grand* himself, or any of the wise and refined gentlemen who write for him.

It is much less, however, what has been the past fortune of this doctrine, than what is to be its fate hereafter, that claims regard from us on the present occasion. In what manner do the moral probabilities of the case lead us to forecast, that it will be entertained by the people of France, or by the people of Europe in general? Will it meet with a passive acquiescence, and will habit mould us to the endurance of its practical effects? Or do the sparks of liberty still remain alive in the breasts of men, and want only a little time, or a little stirring, to kindle into a steady and unextinguishable fire? We are not of those who are the least sanguine in anticipating the improvement of human affairs. But, we must own, the circumstances that now persuade us to dejection, are neither few nor of light amount.

We are afraid, that the number of those who really love liberty, is not very great; and, in the very progress of civilization, there are many circumstances which tend to diminish that number, as well as some that tend to enlarge it. The influence of the press in extending and diffusing the spirit of freedom, has indeed been much spoken of; and yet, what indications have we of its force, since the period of that invention, that will bear a comparison with those that may be found in earlier story? Or, indeed, can it be doubted there are many circumstances necessarily connected with the diffusion of knowledge, that have operated powerfully to weaken and extinguish the love of liberty?

To what a degree are the accommodations of life multiplied in the present age beyond those which have preceded it! In the times of the feudal barons, so few were the enjoyments attainable within doors, that almost all their pleasures were sought for in the fields. Houses uncomfortable,—the provision of the table coarse and indelicate,—all the arts which address the imagination and the senses, either unknown, or extremely imperfect,—the rich and little but the pleasures of power and command, by which their condition could be advantageously distinguished from that of the poor. The pleasures of power and command, too, they were, even in tumult and civil war, almost sure of retaining; because they were, in those days, almost uniformly superior to the rest of their countrymen in all the qualities which drew the respect and obedience of the times. The prospect of revolution and change bore in it, therefore, but little to startle their imagination; and, when either

ſtimulated by private reſentments, or elevated with the conception of public advantage, they were ever prepared to rear, and to rally round, the ſtandard of independence.

All this, however, has vaniſhed. The pleaſures of life are refined and multiplied ſo, as to occupy the time of the rich with a perpetual ſucceſſion of enjoyments. Whatever threatens to interrupt ſo agreeable a courſe of exiſtence, much more, whatever threatens to cut off the ſource of thoſe enjoyments, is regarded with terror and abhorrence. Now, nothing is ſo uniformly and naturally dreaded by the common run of men in poſſeſſion of the advantages of fortune, as any increaſe in the power or pretenſions of the people. The habits of eaſe, which ſo quickly grow into an incapacity of exertion, make them tremble at the thought of entering into an active competition for reſpect and dignity. They are conſcious of not being now, what they formerly were, the real ſuperiors of their countrymen in the perſonal qualities which are the objects of admiration. To men in this moral and phyſical ſtate, it appears far more eligible to pay court to a monarch, and, by holding his favour, to retain the monopoly of honour and power, than to contend with the whole body of the people in the acquiſition and diſplay of thoſe higher qualities, which were the firſt foundations of conſequence, and the earlieſt titles to diſtinction. All thoſe doctrines which tend to uphold, or even to augment the power of the ſovereign, find, therefore, in ſuch men, their natural ſupporters; and every thing which tends to increaſe the power of the people, its natural foe. Nobody, we think, will deny, that this turn of thinking and feeling is naturally prevalent in the great proportion of the higher ranks in a civilized and refined ſtage of ſociety. Circumſtances may give it more or leſs effect; but ſo ſteady and powerful a principle guiding the conduct of all the moſt powerful claſſes of the community, muſt have an extraordinary tendency to incline the government to the ſide of arbitrary power, and to uphold a moderate tyranny where it is already eſtabliſhed. To men of ſuch habits, there is nothing in deſpotiſm, at leaſt in the deſpotiſm of the European monarchies of modern times, which will appear very odious or formidable. To the ſecure poſſeſſion of property, and of the indulgences which it brings, it in reality offers little danger; and where there is an exiſting dread of popular uſurpation, it is apt to appear their moſt effectual ſafeguard. Paying court to the ſovereign, and, by the arts of obſequiouſneſs, winning their way to favour and power, ſoon come to appear highly proper and meritorious: and, ſo far from ſuggeſting any notion of degradation, are generally regarded as the fair paths to honour and diſtinction.

But if the habits and feelings of the upper ranks, and of the owners of wealth in general, have, in modern times, an undeniable bias to the ſide of arbitrary government, we can only look for a counterbalancing power in the character of the other claſſes of ſociety. In many of them, however, we greatly fear that we ſhall now look for it in vain. We are ſure that it is not to be found among the loweſt orders. The progreſs of ſociety is no leſs effectual in reducing their aptitude to become the inſtruments of reſiſtance to arbitrary power, than it is in extinguiſhing among the higher orders the diſpoſition to reſiſt it. In an early ſtage of ſociety, the lower orders paſs one part of their time in idleneſs, the other in ſtrenuous, enterpriſing, often in daring and hazardous occupations and ſports. They are in a ſtate of mind, therefore, which is always prepared for that ſpecies of action, to which the leaders in a ſcheme of open reſiſtance to oppreſſion muſt always wiſh to incite them. In a refined ſociety, the lower orders are enured to habits of inceſſant induſtry. The greater part of their occupations are ſedentary, requiring little bodily ſtrength, and no energy of ſpirit or contempt of danger. We do not mean to ſay that a populace, even in ſuch a ſtate, may not be incited to dangerous attempts; and that, if favoured by circumſtances, they may not acquire, for a little time, a formidable power: but we do ſay, that it is then much more difficult to incite, and much more eaſy to ſubdue them.

As far, then, as the habits and feelings of thoſe two great claſſes of ſociety are concerned, the higheſt and the loweſt, we think the moſt ſanguine muſt admit, that the progreſs of civilization tends rather to recommend than to oppoſe ſuch principles as Bonaparte patronizes, and M. Chas extols; and therefore, if it have generated any countervailing force, this is only to be looked for in the increaſing numbers and improving character of the middling claſs of the people. A middling claſs is itſelf, in fact, a creature of civilization. It had no exiſtence in the rude ſtate of ſociety; and it increaſes as the benefits of civilization increaſe. It has always been our faith and truſt, that in this claſs, and the circumſtances connected with it, a power is really provided ſufficient to prevent the paſſive or active principle of deſpotiſm in the other claſſes from finally conſummating their deplorable conſequences, and rendering civilization its own deſtroyer. But, at the ſame time, it is impoſſible not to ſee that this is a power which develops itſelf but ſlowly; and is liable to be frequently overborne by the ſtrength of the oppoſing forces, and even to remain long overwhelmed by their weight. When we look to the preſent ſtate of the civilized world, it is difficult to avoid fearing that ſuch a period of dreadful probation is impending.

It is by means of the press, chiefly, that the middling class can ever be raised into such importance as at all to counterbalance the despotic tendencies engendered in the other classes by the progress of improvement. But the power of the press, as we have already hinted, seems to have been a good deal overrated: and this intemperate admiration has, as usual, rendered its object less worthy of the distinction. These lofty panegyrics have had the misfortune to gain credit chiefly with those to whom they were naturally offensive; and the consequence has been, that the press has become an object of hatred and jealousy with all who are hostile to the progress of liberty.

Whoever reflects upon the mode in which alone the press can produce any permanent effects, will clearly see how very gradual its operation must be on the character or temper of society. It acts only by the diffusion of knowledge, and of just opinions. As these become more and more common, mankind will become more and more capacitated with the true springs of good government; and by the perpetual pressure of the middling rank of society advancing in strength from age to age, these springs will at last be placed in action. But, in the present stage of advancement, it is hard to say how far this beneficent tendency may be counteracted, or even entirely overpowered, and for what a length of time the despotic principles may preserve their ascendancy.

In this country, for example, we make little doubt, that the pretext of the slavish principles promulgated in the pamphlet before us, will excite in our countrymen pretty lofty conceptions of the distinction between themselves and their enemies, to whom doctrines of such grading a character can with impunity be addressed. You, from what we have lately seen and heard, we may be permitted to doubt, whether, if despotism should be forced upon us, either by foreign power or domestic usurpation, we should not find among ourselves men, neither few in number nor feeble in power, ready to propagate as slavish doctrines as those of Bonaparte's advocates; and readers in abundance, with minds [illegible] to receive them. Those who are accustomed to read [illegible] prints of all descriptions, (and there are thousands who read nothing else), must be well aware how closely they tread on the heels of Bonaparte's most obsequious admirers. But though we look upon this as evidence of no contemptible force, we are willing to go for instances to much more elevated authority. Some of the most distinguished writers of whom we can boast, have presented us with doctrines which make singular approaches to those of the Antient Jurisconsult; and it cannot be pretended, that these have been the most unprosperous or unfashionable of their doctrines.

Bonaparte's

Bonaparte's scribe commences his discourse in the following manner.

'Avant l'institution du corps politique, le droit de souveraineté appartenait à tous les membres de la société : par le nouveau *pacte social*, elle à éte transmise à des representans. Le peuple doit reconnaitre cette *convention solennelle*, ou *il a abdiqué volontairement sa souveraineté*, et il ne peut la reprendre sans ouvrir les sources des dissentions intestines.'

Mr Burke, near the beginning of his Reflections on the French Revolution, says—'So far is it from being true, that we acquired a right, by the Revolution, to elect our kings, that, if we had possessed it before, the English nation did at that time *most solemnly renounce and abdicate it*, for themselves and for all their posterity, *for ever*. . . . . The *engagement* and *pact of society* forbid, &c. . . . . Authority, emanating from *the common agreement and original compact* of the state. . . . . If civil society be the offspring of *convention*, *that convention must be its law*: that convention must limit and modify all the descriptions of constitution which are formed under it.' The practical inference from this doctrine is, that if a nation has once bound itself, by this compact, to the most unjust and oppressive of all forms of government, it stands pledged to remain for ever the passive subject of misgovernment. The following passage in the same celebrated production, expressly denies the possibility of improvement, not only on the governments of the present, but on those of antecedent times. 'We know that we have made no discoveries, and we think that *no discoveries are to be made*, in morality; nor many *in the great principles of government*, nor in *the ideas of liberty*, which were *understood, long before we were born*, altogether as well as they will be after the grave has heaped its mould upon our presumption, and the silent tomb shall have imposed its law on our pert loquacity.' No one who is versed in the later writings of Mr Burke, can be at a loss to multiply instances; or be unacquainted with the general spirit of them, which is stronger than any particular instance.

Mr Hume, in like manner, who admits, in express terms, that the pretensions of Charles the First went the whole length of a claim to absolute power, declares, that the admission of these pretensions would have been a very inconsiderable evil. 'The 'Commons,' says he, 'renewed their eternal complaints against 'the growth of popery, which was ever the chief of their grievances, and *now the only one*.' The growth of popery was *the only grievance!* Yet this was in the very first year of King Charles, when all his pretensions were at the highest, and when

not one measure had yet been adopted to oppose them; when the patriots, as Hume himself, but two pages before, acknowledges, 'saw an unbounded power exercised by the Crown; and even 'the antient laws and constitution considered by the King more 'as *lines to direct* his conduct, *than barriers to withstand* his 'power.' He adds, in another passage—'The King had, in 'some instances, stretched his prerogative beyond just bounds; 'and, aided by the Church, *had well nigh put an end to all the 'liberties and privileges of the nation.*' In another he says—'The *new counsels*, which Charles had mentioned to the Parliament, were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. 'Had he possessed any military force, on which he could rely, 'it is not improbable, that he had at once taken off the mask, 'and governed without any regard to Parliamentary privileges,—'so high an idea had he received of kingly prerogative, and so 'contemptible a notion of the rights of those popular assemblies, 'from which, he very naturally thought, he had met with such 'ill usage.' Yet, of this Sovereign, who wanted only the support of a military force to have declared himself absolute, Hume, while questioning the purity of Hambden's virtue, does not scruple to say—'If his conduct was derived in a great measure from 'necessity, and from a natural desire of defending that prerogative which was transmitted to him from his ancestors, and which 'his Parliaments were visibly encroaching on; there is no reason 'why he may not be esteemed a very virtuous prince, and *entirely worthy of trust from his people.*' Notwithstanding his arbitrary levying of ship-money,—notwithstanding his forced loans,—all the severities of his Star-Chamber,—his arbitrary imprisonments without trial, and even of members of Parliament for freedom of speech in the House,—the illustrious writer goes on to declare, that 'the grievances under which the nation laboured, when considered in themselves, without regard to the 'constitution, scarcely deserve the name.'—'Peace,' he adds, in a laboured panygeric, 'industry, commerce, opulence; nay, even 'justice and lenity of administration, notwithstanding some very 'few exceptions: all these were enjoyed by the people, and every other blessing of government—EXCEPT LIBERTY.'

A still more recent historian shows, as might be expected, a still more decided preference of arbitrary government, and more violent prejudices against liberty. In the last volume which has been published of Mr Mitford's History of Greece, the 'sovereign many' is a standing expression at once of ridicule and execration. If any man has been celebrated as a destroyer of liberty, he fails not to meet with an apologist and admirer in Mr Mitford. Dionysius

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he represents as one of the greatest and most virtuous of mortals, and proves it by a sort of disquisition,—by the judicious use of which, Cromwell and Bonaparte may hereafter be enrolled among the chief benefactors of mankind. Philip of Macedon was not only one of the best of kings, but the most peaceable and generous of all neighbours; while Demosthenes was a factious, turbulent demagogue,—polluted by every vice that renders human nature odious,—and without one quality either amiable or respectable, except his talents. But, what is most wonderful of all is, that the constitution of Macedon, in which Philip was certainly nothing less than absolute, is alleged to have been an excellent constitution, and very much resembling the British—'A limited monarchy,' he calls it, 'bearing a striking resemblance to the 'antient constitution of England.'—'According to the concurring testimony,' he says, 'of antient writers, who have treated of Macedonia, the King was *supreme*, but *not despotic*.' It is very remarkable, that this is expressly a distinction made by Mr Chas, in favour of Bonaparte. *He* too, it seems, is supreme, but not despotic; and, were it not that he is our enemy, and one of whom we are extremely afraid, he would be preeminently entitled to the panegyrics of Mr Mitford. 'La monarchie independante,' says Mr Chas, 'n'est point le despotisme. Le monarque legislateur et executeur des lois n'est point un despote, 'puisque il gouverne par des lois fixes et etablis.'

It is painful to dwell for ever on the dark side of the prospect; but we cannot yet ascend to a brighter region. It is not merely in the habits and dispositions of men, but in those also of government, that a tendency to reduce the limits of liberty may be plainly distinguished. We hope for a little patience from the friends of arbitrary sway,—for it is from them that the loudest accusations of the attempt to point out the progress towards it will arise. We shall not rest this point on our own authority, nor on our own arguments: we know how easy it is, when men are not willing to be persuaded, to turn aside from arguments. The authority which we shall present to them, is one which they themselves are accustomed to regard as of the highest, and which, all men agree, is of very high rank. It is well known that Mr Hume entered into a formal investigation of the question, 'whether the British government inclines more to absolute monarchy, or to a republic.' This, in reality, is the title of one of his Essays. It is equally well known what was the result of that investigation:—it was, that the British government inclines towards absolute monarchy, and most probably will, sooner or later, be converted into that form of polity. It is remarkable, and a strong

proof

proof of the doctrine which we have been just laying down, that Mr Hume regards this as a more happy change than any other which is likely to occur.

The tendency towards despotism, which he observed in the frame of the British constitution, he represents, by remarking, 'that much less property in a single hand will be able to counterbalance a greater property in several hands; while the dependence which is created by expectation, is much more extensive than that which is created by obligations.' He appeals to experience for the extraordinary effects of this species of influence. He remarks, that the wealth of Crassus, without either talents or reputation, enabled him 'to counterbalance, during his lifetime, the power of Pompey, as well as of Cæsar, who afterwards became master of the world.'—'The wealth of the Medicis,' he adds, 'made them masters of Florence; though, it is probable, it was very inconsiderable, compared to the united property of that opulent republic.'

After these observations on the tendency of influence to engender absolute power, he goes on to remark, that so great has been, at all times, the mass of influence in the hands of the British monarch, that it is wonderful the nation has been able to retain even a residue of its liberties. 'These considerations,' he says, 'are apt to make one entertain a very magnificent idea of the *British* spirit and love of liberty; since we could maintain our free government, during so many centuries, against our sovereigns, who, besides the power and dignity and majesty of the crown, have always been possessed of much more property than any subject has ever enjoyed in any commonwealth. But it may be said,' he continues, 'that this spirit, however great, will never be able to support itself against that immense property, which is now lodged in the king, and which is still increasing. Upon a moderate computation, there are near three millions at the disposal of the crown. The civil list amounts to near a million; the collection of all taxes to another million; and the employments in the army and navy, along with ecclesiastical preferments, to above a third million: An enormous sum, and what may fairly be computed to be more than a thirtieth of the whole income and labour of the kingdom. When we add to this immense property, the increasing luxury of the nation, our proneness to corruption, along with the great power and prerogatives of the crown, and the command of such military forces, there is no one but must despair of being able, without extraordinary efforts, to support our free government much longer under all these disadvantages.'

Thus

Thus far Mr Hume. It is true, that when he uses this very strong language, he is stating the considerations on the affirmative side of the question: But, after he has stated likewise the considerations on the other side, and weighed them one against another, he comes to present his conclusion, and says, 'I 'would assert, that unless there happen some extraordinary con-'vulsion, the power of the crown, by means of its large revenue, 'is rather upon the increase.' What an impressive conclusion, if well founded, is this! Was the power of the crown upon the increase, when its influence in the army and navy, and the civil establishment, in all its departments, could be estimated at only three millions? What then must it be now, when it is so much more than ten times that amount? It is evident, too, that Hume was unwilling to present his conclusion in all its strength, and strove to hide it (perhaps even from himself) under imperfect expression; for the language is not only ambiguous, but, what is extremely unusual with him, incorrect. The power of the crown, he says, *is* upon the increase, unless there happen some extraordinary convulsion. But what then *is*, could not depend upon a convulsion which was yet to come. To render the expression complete, or even consistent, he ought to have said, the power of the crown *is* upon the increase, and *will continue* to increase, unless there happen some extraordinary convulsion. He concludes the Essay, accordingly, by declaring, that though he should regard the convulsions of popular government as the more formidable evil, 'we have reason to be more jealous of 'monarchy, because the danger is more imminent from that quar-'ter.'

Nor is this the only view of the subject by which Mr Hume is led to similar conclusions. In the Essay, where he compares the advantages and disadvantages of liberty and despotism, he remarks, 'that in monarchical governments, there is a source 'of improvement, and in popular governments a source of dege-'neracy, which in time will bring these species of government 'still nearer to equality.' The improvements, in absolute monarchy, to which he alludes, are the improved modes which knowledge discovers of carrying it on, and the influence of knowledge in softening its spirit. 'The source of degeneracy,' he adds, 'which may be remarked in free governments, consists 'in the practice of contracting debt, and mortgaging the public 'revenue, by which taxes may, in time, become altogether in-'tolerable, and all the property of the state be brought into the 'hands of the public.' . . . . 'This,' he concludes, 'seems to 'be an inconvenience which nearly threatens all free governments;

'especially

'especially our own, at the present juncture of affairs. And what 'a strong motive is this, to increase our frugality of the public 'money; lest, for want of it, we be reduced, by the multiplicity of taxes, *to curse our free government*, and wish ourselves 'in the same state of servitude with all the nations that surround 'us?' Mr Hume was not of a temper to present these alarming observations rashly. The inferences which they suggest are important. It is a mere figure of speech to call a government, in which taxation rises to an exorbitant height, a *free government*. Mr Hume himself has proved, in the passages just quoted, that the progress of taxation and influence, by necessary consequence, produces the extinction of liberty. What then, under a little adumbration, he asserts, is, that a despotism reared on the foundation of taxes and influence, while the principal forms of liberty may still remain entire, is a far more oppressive and odious despotism, than that which is openly founded on a military force.

It is instructive to contemplate the pleas, of which despotism makes use, to recommend and support itself. It has its speculative theory; and its appeal to practical consequences. The social contract is the one, and the dangers of anarchy the other. The theory is a mere fiction; it is the supposition of a thing which never had any existence. As far, therefore, as despotism is justified by theory, it is altogether without justification.

But it appeals to practical consequences. It paints, with all the powers of language and imagination, the horrors of anarchy; and then it declares, or insinuates, if circumstances are not ripe for an open declaration, that it alone affords adequate security against the abominations of such a state. It is curious to observe, how exactly the reasoning of those who would maintain an established despotism, corresponds with that of those who, under a free government, look only at the dangers of freedom. Every attempt to relax the bonds of the despotism, is opposed or anticipated by the one, with the cry of anarchy ready to break in. Every effort to add something to the undue powers of government, is supported and applauded by the other, as indispensably necessary to keep anarchy out. Thus M. Chas declares—

'Que les peuples une fois accoutumés à des maîtres, ne sont plus en etat de s'en passer; s'ils tentent de secouer le joug, ils s'eloignent d'autant plus de la liberté, que, prenant pour elle une licence effrenée qui lui est opposée, leurs revolutions les livrent presque toujours à des seducteurs, qui ne peuvent qu'appesantir leur chaines.'

'From long, deliberate, and mature consideration,' said Lord Liverpool

Liverpool in the Houſe of Lords (June 15th, 1809), * 'I am 'convinced, that the disfranchiſement of the ſmalleſt borough 'would lead to conſequences of a moſt pernicious nature, and 'would eventually deſtroy the conſtitution.'

'Pour remplir de si grands devoirs,' says M. Chas again, 'il est juste et necessaire que le chef de la nation jouisse d'une grande puissance, et pour que cette puissance ait toute la liberté de son exercice, il faut qu'elle soit inviolable. Ce n'est point pour leurs chefs que les nations ont institué cette inviolabilité [viz. l'inviolabilité d'une grande puissance] : c'est pour leurs interêts politiques, et pour leur propre tranquillité ; c'est pour affermir le règne des lois, pour enchaîner les passions, et pour prevenir ces revolutions terribles qui conduisent les peuples à l'anarchie et à l'esclavage.'

Mr Windham said in the House of Commons, on the 12th of June 1809—'For his part, he was no enemy of the influence 'which the Crown at present possesses. In considering the pro-'per degree of influence for the Crown to possess, it was neces-'sary to consider the antagonist influence which it had to contend 'with. *All manner of persons were usually conspiring* against 'the government ; and it was necessary that government should 'be strong enough to counteract them.' Again, on the 4th of May —'It had for many years been his opinion, that the House ought 'strenuously to oppose, as dangerous and mad, any proposal for 'Parliamentary Reform; every system, and every feature of which, 'that had hitherto been produced, was, in his mind, extrava-'gantly and even ludicrously wrong . . . . . *There was no proof of 'corruption in the government ;* and as to any hope of pacifying 'the people by this bill, it was extravagance itself to suppose it. 'If there were corruptions in that House, they could not be cured 'by Parliamentary Reform ; but he would not countenance such 'an idea. If once we began, we could never stop ; and if we 'once made a change to please the people, *they would go on ; 'they would never know when they had enough.*' †

We trust that despotism and anarchy, are not, as writers and orators of this description would have us believe, an inevitable alternative. We trust it is not necessary for us to enter upon a comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of each, in order to make our election between them. We fondly hope, that there is some intermediate stage between absolute government, and no government ; some arrangement whereby nations may enjoy some tolerable security for the good management of their affairs, without forfeiting the benefits of management altogether.

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* Cobbett's Parl. Debates, Vol. XIV. p. 1033.

† Ibid. Vol. XIV. p. 1009 and 369.

We conceive that nothing is of more baneful influence on society, than exaggerated conceptions of the tendency in the people to throw off the yoke of government. It would be easy, we think, to prove, that, unless on some very extraordinary occasions, a contrary tendency, and that a very moderating one, always exists. To exhibit this proof as it ought to be exhibited, and as we shall probably one day endeavour to exhibit it, would require more space than it would be fit to allot to it on the present occasion. All that we shall now adventure to say, will be, to present an authority in favour of our own opinion,—an authority which, even our adversaries must allow to be an important one. Mr Hume, in the opening of the fifty-third chapter of his History, after the contests of three Parliaments between Charles the First and his people,—after the trial of Hampden, which had so wonderfully tended to inflame the nation,—and after all the precedents of arbitrary government, which had been not only witnessed but resisted,—thus declares himself; 'Though it was 'justly apprehended that such precedents, if patiently submitted to, would end in a total disuse of parliaments, and in the 'establishment of arbitrary authority; Charles dreaded *no opposition* from the people, *who are commonly much affected with* 'consequences, and require some shining motive to engage them in 'a resistance of established government. . . . . It seemed probable, 'therefore, that affairs might long have continued on the same 'footing in England, had it not been for the neighbourhood of 'Scotland.' In his Essay, too, on the Liberty of the Press, he said; 'It has also been found, as the experience of mankind increases, that the *people* are no such dangerous monster as they 'have been represented; and that it is in every respect better to 'guide them, like rational creatures, than to lead or drive them, 'like brute beasts.' How exactly conformable is this to the opinion of Burke; who says, 'Men of great presumption and little 'knowledge will hold a language which is contradicted by the 'whole course of history. General rebellions and revolts of an 'whole people never were *encouraged*, now, or at any time. 'They are always provoked.'

There is another testimony to the truth of the same experience, which, from the high respectability of the quarter, and from its being known to very few, we think it still important to present. The celebrated Mr Addison, in his discourse 'On the State of the War,' adverting to some arguments of his adversaries founded on the hopes of insurrection in France, says, 'Those, I think, do 'not enough consider the natural love which the gross of mankind have for the institutions of their fathers. A man, that is

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'not enlightened by travel or reflection, grows as fond of arbitrary power, to which he hath been used from his infancy, as 'of cold climates, or barren countries, in which he hath been 'born and bred. Besides, there is a kind of sluggish resignation, 'as well as a poorness and degeneracy of spirit, in a state of 'slavery, that we meet with but very few who will be at the 'pains or danger of recovering themselves out of it; as we find, 'in history, instances of persons who, after their prisons have 'been flung open, and their fetters struck off, have chosen rather 'to languish in their dungeons, than stake their miserable lives 'and fortunes upon the success of a revolution.'

The question turns upon the difference between despotism and anarchy. But there are persons, and these not obnoxious to the favourite charges of inclination to revolutionary principles, who are not so immeasureably afraid of what the patrons of despotism call anarchy. As a specimen, we may surely rest satisfied with such a man as Dean Swift. 'Arbitrary power,' says that celebrated Tory and Highchurchman, 'I look upon as a greater evil 'than anarchy itself; as much as a savage is a happier state of life 'than a slave at the oar.'* Again, in the very same discourse, 'Whoever,' says he, 'argues in defence of absolute power in a 'single person, though he offers the old plausible plea that it is 'his opinion, which he cannot help unless he be convinced, ought 'in all free states to be treated as the common enemy of mankind.'† We would not go so far as Dean Swift,—nor prosecute the publication even of the most slavish sentiments; though we regard the tendency of them as more pernicious than any other. We would leave them to the result of fair conflict in the field of argument. But we think his opinion should have some weight in the balance, when the question is about prosecuting *free* opinions: Nor is it easy, indeed, to assign any plausible reason, why those who pass the term of moderation on the side of liberty, should be so generally punished, while those who pass it on the side of despotism, should sometimes be rewarded, and almost always forgiven.

The instrument with which a great part of the delusion is wrought is—the grand instrument of delusion—ambiguity of language. *Despotism* is a pretty definite term; it is, where the sovereign is subject to little or no regular controul of his power, and has scarcely any thing to dread but from the chance of resistance in the body of the people. *Anarchy* is one of the most vague and ambiguous words in language. It means, in the way in which it

* † Sentiments of a Church-of-England-man.

is uſed by the friends of deſpotiſm, the utter diſſolution of all government,—and alſo every intermediate ſtage of government between that and abſolute power. They paint as ſtrongly as poſſible—and it is impoſſible they can paint too ſtrongly, the evils to which the diſſolution of government gives birth. This they call anarchy;—and this name, with all the terrors which it brings, they endeavour to aſſociate with every form of government but that baleful one, to which it is the tendency of their endeavours to chain or to reduce mankind. To the republics of Rome or of Greece, for example, the application of this name, and of all its aſſociated ideas, is now ſeldom ſcrupled. But with reſpect to that even of Athens—the moſt nearly democratical, perhaps, of the whole—and in its ſecurities and checks extremely imperfect, it is highly inſtructive to reflect, that it was only from the period when they adopted the laws and conſtitution of Solon, that the Athenians were placed in a ſtate of ſuch proſperity as admitted of much improvement in civilization. They were, at this time, a people but juſt emerging from the ſemibarbarous ſtate. From that period to the commencement of the Peloponneſian war, which put a full, and, alas! a final ſtop, to their improvement, there elapſed little more than one hundred and fifty years. Yet to ſuch a height of perfection did human nature attain in that ſhort career, that the improvements of the Athenians in the arts and ſciences—in eloquence, in painting, in ſculpture, in muſic, in hiſtory and philoſophy, in war, in architecture—in almoſt every thing which can elevate and adorn mankind—remain, to this day, the admiration and aſtoniſhment of the world. Never did the human mind, in any other ſituation, advance ſo rapidly, or expand ſo wide: and it may be ſafely affirmed, that the ſpace in the line of improvement, over which, in thoſe few years, human nature paſſed, was greater than that over which, reckoning from the point at which the Athenian improvement was arreſted, it has paſſed, notwithſtanding the aids of the preſs, in all the ages which have followed. We ſhall offer no other anſwer to the calumniators of liberty. It could not be a very deteſtable tree which bore ſuch exquiſite fruit. Though we are of opinion that the Athenian conſtitution was far from a good one, even at the time of its greateſt perfection, we think it was better than anarchy. Nay, with all its turbulence, we think it was better than the ſplendid deſpotiſm which Bonaparte has eſtabliſhed, and Mr Chas has ſubmitted to praiſe.

ART.

ART. XI. *The Curse of Kehama.* By Robert Southey. 4to. pp. 376. London, 1810.

WE admire the genius of Mr Southey; we reverence the lofty principles, and we love the tenderness of heart, that are visible in all his productions. But we are heartily provoked at his conceit and bad taste, and quite wearied out with the perversity of his manifold affectations. Not many poets, dead or living, have given proofs of a finer fancy, or drawn more copiously from the stores of a rich and cultivated imagination: still fewer have maintained a sublimer tone of sentiment,—or pictured, in more enchanting colours, the simple and innocent affections of our nature; and none has ever 'made these rich gifts poor' by such an obstinate strain of childish affectation; or so perversely defrauded the world of the delight, and himself of the glory, which they were intended by nature to produce.

It is this mixed feeling of provocation and delight, that has given that contradictory character to our observations on Mr Southey's former productions; which, we fear, may have brought our judgment into disrepute with the more uncharitable part of our readers. Our praise and our blame, we suspect, have appeared to be both too strong, to be justly applicable to one and the same performance; and we have been accused, alternately, of malice and of partiality, by those who will not understand, that a long poem may afford matter both for just ridicule, and for just admiration. Mr Southey's case, indeed, we have always considered as an extreme one; and, however awkwardly the censure and applause may stand together in our pages, we must be permitted to say, that nothing could be more sincere and conscientious than our expression of both these feelings; and that it appears to us, that no other expressions could have done full justice to the extraordinary performances by which they were excited. It is Mr Southey himself that is the grand inconsistent; and the more truly we are charmed by the brilliancy of his imagination, and the truth and delicacy of his feelings, the more we must be offended by the wilful deformities by which he has rendered vain the combination of so many beauties.

Mr Southey, of course, despises equally our censure and our advice; and we have no quarrel with him for this. We have been too long conversant with the untractable generation of authors, to expect that our friendly expostulations should have any effect upon them,—except as exponents of the silent, practical judgment of the public. To that superior tribunal, however, we do think ourselves entitled to refer; and while we, who profess

the stately office of correcting and instructing, are yet willing, in most things, to bow to its authority, we really cannot help thinking, that a poet, whose sole object is to give delight and to gain glory, ought to show something of the same docility.

There is, indeed, another and a final appeal—to Posterity,—from the benefit of which, we are very far from wishing to exclude any unfortunate persons whose circumstances may reduce them to rely on it. But the cases, we believe, are wonderfully rare, in which that mysterious and inaccessible Judge has ever reversed the *unfavourable* sentences of the ordinary jurisdictions; and there seems even to be great reason for thinking, that such reversals will be still fewer in time to come. Without resting much upon the superior intelligence of the present age, we believe we may safely pass a large encomium on its indulgence; and may be fairly allowed to doubt, whether any time is at all likely to come, in which every sort of merit will be so sure of being detected and extolled, in spite, and sometimes in consequence, of the incongruities and deformities with which it may be associated. Things are wonderfully changed in this respect, since a licentious and illiterate age withheld from Milton the fame which its successor was so proud to bestow. Poetry is read now, we suppose, by very nearly ten times as many persons; and fifty times as many think themselves judges of poetry; and are eager for an opportunity to glorify themselves as its patrons, by exaggerating the merit of some obscure or dubious writer, in whose reputation they may be entitled to share, by contributing to raise it. Thus, in our own time, we have had Mrs H. More patronizing Mrs Yearsley the milkwoman; and Mr Capel Loft bringing forward Mr Bloomfield the shoemaker; and Mr Raymond Grant challenging immortality for Mr Dermody the drunkard; and Sir James Bland Burgess and Sir Brooke Boothby, and Miss Ailkin and Miss Holford, and fifty others, patronizing themselves, and each other, with the most laudable zeal and exemplary activity. Now, whatever may be its other effects, it is certain that all this competition for patronage and discovery ensures notoriety, and a certain *viaticum* of praise, to almost every poetical adventurer; and takes away almost the possibility of that neglect which, in former times, stood so often in the way, not merely of reputation, but of fair trial. That a great deal of false reputation will be raised, under such circumstances, and various lots of undeserved and perishable praise be awarded, by vanity, partiality and caprice, cannot indeed be doubted; but it is not so easy to conceive, that any real merit should escape detection, or miss honour, in this sanguine search after excellence,—that the active manure which quickens so many colder seeds, should not stimulate the more sensitive

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fibres of genius,—or that the bright sun, which gilds, with a passing glory, the idle weeds of literature, should fail to kindle into beauty the splendid blossoms of poetry.

But, leaving Mr Southey the full benefit of his chance with Posterity, it is enough for us to observe, that his appeal to the present generation has now been made with sufficient fulness and deliberation; and that the decision, as we understand it, has not only confirmed, but outgone, all that we had predicted as to the fatal effects of his peculiarities. During the last fifteen years, he has put forth (besides the present work) three very long poems, —no one of which, we think, can be said to have succeeded. That they have all had some readers, and some admirers, we do not mean to dispute: nay, there are many who pass for tolerable judges in such matters, who think they have had a very strange and unaccountable success: But the author, and his admirers, and his booksellers, are not by any means of that opinion; and we, for our parts, have no hesitation in saying, that they have not had nearly so much success as it appears to us that they deserve. There have been three editions, we believe, of Joan of Arc—two of Thalaba—and one only of Madoc,—though the last has been six years in the hands of the public,—and of a public which has called, during the same interval, for more than ten editions of the Farmer's Boy, and five or six, if we do not mistake, of the Wanderer of Switzerland.

This, we think, is pretty strong testimony against the *taste* of a poet, whose *genius*, we believe, was never lowered, even among those who neglect him, to a comparison with that of Mr Bloomfield, or Mr Montgomery. But the inference is still stronger, when we consider the circumstances under which this testimony has been given. Mr Southey is no longer in his noviciate. Though still in the vigour of life, he has been a full-fledged and industrious author for nearly twenty years; and has not wanted, as we ourselves can testify, for advice and admonition, both laudatory and vituperative. With all these advantages, however, and means of improvement, we are afraid that he is rather less in favour with the public, than he was at the beginning of his career. His first poem was decidedly more successful than his second,—and his second than his third: Yet his genius certainly is in no degree impaired; and his judgment and powers of execution may be fairly presumed to have received some improvement. When we find him rather on the decline, therefore, in public estimation, and discover that his fame, instead of gathering brightness, as his course is prolonged, seems rather to waste away and wax dim, it is difficult to suppose that this proceeds from any thing but the misapplication of acknowledged powers, and the obstinacy with which he has persisted

in errors, of which he received very early warning. The public is naturally disposed to be very kind to the errors of youthful genius; and was entitled, in this case, to look for the speedy correction of faults, for which mere inexperience could scarcely at any time be received as an apology. If such faults, therefore, are long persisted in, their indulgence will be gradually exhausted. What was at first ascribed to inadvertence, will now be referred, with some appearance of justice, to bad taste and perversity; and the reader will turn away, disappointed and disgusted, from an ostentatious display of absurdities that are no longer original.

There is one other peculiarity in the state of Mr Southey's poetical reputation, from which, we think, that he should take warning, while it is yet time. His admirers, we fear, are not the very best sort of admirers. In so far as we have been able to gather, there are but few persons of cultivated taste and sober judgment in his train; and his glories are celebrated, we think, chiefly by the young, the enthusiastic, and the uninstructed—persons whose fancies are easily captivated with glitter, exaggeration, and novelty, and whose exuberant sensibility is apt to flame out at the approach even of the false fire of bombast and affectation. Not many of the admirers of the antient or the modern classics are admirers of Mr Southey; and many of those who applaud him the most warmly, can discover no merit in those celebrated performances. We do not propose by any means to deny that there are many dull and weak persons among the professed admirers of Homer and Virgil; and that there is much natural feeling in the description of readers whom we have supposed to take delight in Mr Southey. But it is not of good augury, we think, for his future fame, that his supporters should be all of this description; and that almost all those should be against him, who have any decided relish for what has hitherto been found enduring in poetry. So, however, we take the case very nearly to be. Almost all nice critics and fastidious judges, and the greater part indeed of men of improved and delicate taste, not only refuse to admire Mr Southey and his colleagues, but treat them with absolute contempt and derision—wonder at such of their friends as profess to think favourably of their genius—and look upon the circumstance of their having made a kind of party in the literary world, as one of the most humiliating events in the recent history of that great society. For our own part, we are a good deal less difficult; and shall continue to testify in favour of Mr Southey's talents and genius, as resolutely, as against his peculiarities and affectations;—considering it indeed as our chief duty, in this matter, to counteract the neglect into which he seems to be falling, both by endeavouring to correct the faults by which it

is provoked, and by pointing out the excellences by which those faults are at once enhanced and redeemed.

But, though we cannot sympathize with the undiscriminating scorn and sweeping reprobation which Mr Southey meets with in very respectable quarters, we think we can see very clearly how such feelings should have been excited; and are very ready to enter into sentiments, which we think, at the same time, have in this instance been carried greatly too far. Mr Southey's faults are peculiarly glaring; and to all improved understandings, we admit, peculiarly offensive:—but they are combined, in him, with great gifts and great acquirements; and ought not to be alone remembered in his final accounting with the public. We have said enough of these faults on former occasions; and shall not enter again at large upon the invidious task of classing or illustrating them. If we were to express them all in one word—that word should be *Childishness*;—and indeed it is very curious to trace the effects of this quality in all the departments of his poetry.

His taste in description is as remarkably childish, as his powers of execution, in this branch of his art, are rare and admirable. Every thing, in his pictures, is gaudy and glittering, and fantastically exaggerated and contrasted. His landscapes are full of coloured light, and gems, and metallic splendour: and sparkle with such portentous finery, as to remind us of the old-fashioned grottos and shell-work of the last generation, or the gilded caverns and full-lighted transparencies of the opera-house. His excessive love of the marvellous and gigantic, is a symptom not less decisive; and his delineations of persons and of affection, are still more strongly marked with the same infantine character. He seems to think grown men and women too corrupt and hardened for poetical purposes;—and therefore, all his interesting personages lisp like sucklings; and his unamiable ones are, as nearly as possible, such sort of monsters as nurses imagine to frighten naughty boys into obedience. There is little other passion in his poetry, than what arises from the natural affection of fathers and daughters, or brothers and sisters; and from that calm, pure, subdued sort of love which may be indulged by dutiful children under the immediate inspection of their parents. All their pleasures, and pastimes, and occupations, too, are evidently borrowed from the same age of innocence;—and the picture of society that is offered to us, rarely extends beyond the domestic privacy of a small secluded family.

We do not say, that all this may not be very sweet and interesting,—or even that Mr Southey does not often make us feel how very beautifully it may be represented;—but the tone is too weak, to strike with sufficient force on the ear of an ordinary reader;—and is by far too uniform, not to

pall upon any one who is doomed to pursue it through a series of long poems. There is no variety of human character in all Mr Southey's productions. Men are never brought forward to contend with men, in the management of great affairs; or to display those social or lofty qualities by which they are enabled, in real life, to attach or to command their fellows. If Mr Southey wants a living instance of the value of such elements, we would remind him of the signal success with which Mr Scott has given the strong interest of reality to his most fanciful delineations, by this perpetual interposition of intelligible motives and familiar principles;—and has, at the same time, imparted a spirit, and force, and variety to his pictures, by keeping his readers perpetually engaged with events and persons that bear a character of historical importance; instead of soothing them, like the author before us, with the virtues and affections, as well as the marvels and legends of the nursery.

All this, however, would have been greatly more tolerable, if the poet had condescended to assume the lowly tone that is suitable to such subjects and feelings. If he had been contented to leave the loftier regions of the Epic to more potent and daring spirits, and addressed himself to youths and virgins in soft and unambitious strains, we have no doubt that he would soon have found a fit and willing audience, and been left, by those who were careless of such themes, to pursue them in his own circle, without let or molestation. But he has imprudently challenged the attention of a far wider and less tractable auditory;—he has come with his whistle, and his gilded book of fairy tales, into the assemblies of bearded men, and audibly undervalued all other instruments and studies. The kind of conceit, indeed, and arrogance, that is visible in this author and his associates, is still more provoking than their childishness,—or rather, is that which makes their childishness so offensive. While gravely preferring the tame vulgarity of our old ballads, to the nervous and refined verses of Pope or Johnson, they lay claim, not to indulgence, but to admiration; and treat almost the whole of our classical poets with the most supercilious neglect; while they speak in an authoritative tone of the beauties of George Wither and Henry More. With such ludicrous auxiliaries, they wage a desperate war on the established system of public taste and judgment,—and waste their great talents in an attempt, the success of which is as hopeless as it would be lamentable, and which all their genius cannot save from being ridiculous.

The last unfortunate accompaniment of Mr Southey's childishness, is the perpetual artifice and effort that is visible in every part of his performances. We do not mean to say, that he has not great facility of diction, and copiousness of imagery; but, there

there is always too apparent a resolution to make the most of every thing—a kind of rhetorical exaggeration (according to his own notions of rhetoric)—a determination to miss no opportunity of being fine and striking—and an anxiety to present every thing, great or small, under the most imposing and advantageous aspect. The general principle, no doubt, is highly laudable, and, we suppose, is common to all who write for glory: But what we complain of is, that it is by far too visible, and too indiscriminately indulged, in the works of this author. If there be any room or apology whatever for a description, it is sure to be thrust in—elaborately finished—and extended to a vast length; and if any striking sentiment or event is about to be brought forward, such a note of preparation is sounded, and so much care taken to ensure it a favourable and conspicuous introduction, as to give the reader rather a distressing impression of the labour the author has bestowed on his composition, and of the great value he attaches, even to the meanest of his ingredients.

It is difficult for us to believe, that Mr Southey has ever rejected or suppressed any idea that he thought might be introduced with the smallest prospect of success; or has ever regarded any of so little importance, as to deserve only a slight and incidental notice. In his poetry, therefore, we have not a selection of the thoughts and images that have occurred to him; but we seem to have them *all*—and to have them all dilated and worked up, with nearly the same fond and indiscriminate anxiety. He seems, in short, to have as excessive a love for his own genius as Ovid, or the long-winded Spaniards and Italians of the sixteenth century; and to think as little of sparing his readers any thing which his own reading or reflection had once suggested to his imagination. The effect of all this is, not only to make his poetry very diffuse, and to give it a general air of heaviness and labour,—but to deprive his felicities of their greatest grace, and to render his failures inexpiable.

There is nothing so charming in poetry, as that appearance of perfect ease and carelessness which makes the result, perhaps of long study, appear like the spontaneous effusion of a superior or inspired mind; and at once raises the reader, as it were, into the society of a higher order of beings, whose common language and habits of thought bear a stamp of vigour and sublimity far above the reach of ordinary mortals. This charm, however, is destroyed, the moment that we are permitted to look behind the scenes, and to catch a peep of the laborious and toilsome machinery by which the effect is produced. Nor can any secret be of more importance for a poet to keep from his readers, than that of the time he has spent, and the difficulties he has encountered, in the course of his composition. This

maxim, we think, was well understood by the older writers; among whom it is rare to find any marks of extraordinary pains, either to introduce or to bring out their favourite images or conceptions. We do not speak of the labour occasionally bestowed, and visibly enough, on their diction or versification: but, with reference to the more substantial qualities of thought and fancy, we think there are few poets of established character who can be reproached, in any considerable degree, with the fault we impute to Mr Southey. On the contrary, it will be found, that almost all their beauties appear to have been produced by accident; and that their fine passages are both brought in and concluded, with an apparent unconsciousness of their superior merit. They are neither introduced with any sort of parade, nor dwelt upon with any protracted complacency. They open quietly upon the eye of the reader as he advances; and disappear again long before he is satiated with beholding them. He is never diverted from his path to catch a striking view of them; nor made to linger in its windings till all their sweetness is exhausted.

The practice of Mr Southey, and of many other modern writers of inferior note, is directly the reverse of this; nor indeed is there any fault more characteristic of our modern poetry, and perhaps of our literature in general, than the offensive anxiety that our authors are continually showing to make the most of their talents and their materials—to miss no occasion to astonish and transport the reader, —and to take special care that nothing which they think beautiful or important shall pass unobserved, or be dismissed till its merits have been fully pointed out, and made apparent to the most negligent and inattentive. It is this miserable trick of overrating the importance of all our conceptions, that has made our recent literature so intolerably diffuse and voluminous. No man, for example, has now the forbearance to write essays as short as Hume's, even if he had talents to make them as good; nor will any one be contented with stating his views and arguments in a popular and concise manner, and leaving them to their fate; but we must have long speculative introductions—illustrations and digressions—objections anticipated and answered—verbose apologies, at once fulsome and modest—practical inferences—historical deductions—and predictions as to the effect of our doctrines, or the neglect of them, on the fate of men, and of the universe, in all time coming. In poetry, again, a great part of our modern authors seem equally averse to throw away the rubbish of their imaginations; and when they do hit upon any thing which seems to them of more than ordinary value, never fail to exert themselves notably to ensure the reader's attention to it. It is introduced either with startling abruptness, or slow and pompous preparation; and is turned into all possible lights, and repeated

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in all possible forms, and with every possible encouragement and suasory to admiration. The consequence of all which is, that the whole spirit, lightness and nature of the thought is extinguished; and the reader left oppressed with a sense of fatigue, heaviness and confusion.

But if this tone of perpetual effort and ambition, prove so injurious to the effect of the very passages in which a poet is most successful, it is a thousand times worse where he experiences any failure or miscarriage. If a man says a dull thing in a low tone and quiet manner, it is very likely to escape notice,—and is almost sure to escape derision; but if he utter an inconceivable stupidity in an emphatic and arrogant accent, and, after taking great pains to prepare his hearers for something very impressive,—the ridicule is irresistible, and its effect scarcely ever to be got over. Now, the poets who are at so much trouble to force all their bright thoughts on the notice of their readers, *sometimes* mistake for a bright thought, what appears to others purely nonsensical or affected; and thus give rise to associations that are neither very favourable to their reputation, nor very easily dissolved. Where there is no visible effort, though there may be dulness, there can scarcely be failure; and the reader who is not gratified, may still retain his faith in the taste and judgment of the author,—and impute his want of brilliancy to an intractable subject, or a moment of negligence or inattention: But, the instant that he fails in a strenuous and open attempt on his admiration, there is an end to apology and toleration;—there is then evident proof of weakness, where a feat of strength was intended,—and of open and irreconcileable differences as to the fundamental articles of his mystery. In our classical poets, accordingly, though there is abundance of flat passages, we scarcely recollect any instance of egregious failure. In Mr Southey and Mr Wordsworth, and in the German dramatists whom they seem to copy, we meet with them perpetually: Nor is it possible, even for great genius and originality, to prevent the combination of childishness with an unremitting effort at force and sublimity, from producing passages which chill the unwary reader with a mixture of shame, provocation and compassion.

We have extended these general observations much farther than we intended,—and farther, certainly, than we should have permitted ourselves to do, had the work before us furnished any exception to the character of those former publications by the recollection of which they were suggested. But, alas, it is another and the same;—another pile of splendid images and amiable sentiments, doomed, by the perversity of the author, to meet the derision of the fastidious, and the neglect of the sober part of the public,—and destined, we fear, to speedy oblivion, by its bad taste

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and extravagance, in spite of greater beauties than are to be found in much of our remembered poetry.

The work may be shortly characterized, we think, as the most extravagant and most elaborate of all Mr Southey's performances,—and likely to succeed very nearly as Thalaba has succeeded. It bears, indeed, a very striking resemblance to that poem, both in the irregularity of its measures, the wildness of its fictions, the splendour of its Oriental scenery, its eternal enchantments, and the fewness of its human characters. The general outline of the story, too, and the kind of interest that it excites, is so precisely the same in the two works, that if this last had proceeded from another author, he must have incurred the charge of very poor and barefaced plagiarism from Mr Southey; and Mr Southey himself must submit to the imputation of some poorness of invention in the department of incident or fable.——The subject of both, is the adventures of an innocent girl, with her father and lover, persecuted by a host of witches and evil spirits; and finally triumphing over them, in a great measure by the help of the very enchantments that are resorted to for their destruction. The Curse of Kehama, in short, is another Thalaba—with the addition of rhyme, of more ostentatious and elaborate description, and of still greater extravagance of fiction. Those who were offended with the irregularity and extravagance of that poem, we think, will have still less toleration for this; and, even of those who admired formerly, there are many who will not admire now,—though there are some, no doubt, who will admire a great deal more than ever. This is a finished poem, in the same style, in which Thalaba was but a slight and hasty sketch; and there are many who were pleased with the lightness, the rapidity, and variety of the sketch, who will think the less of those qualities but ill compensated by the splendid colouring and minute details of the finishing. To such persons the present piece will appear loaded and tedious and glaring, in comparison with that less elaborate production; but those who have a full and decided relish for the peculiar style by which both are characterized, will certainly find more to admire in the work now before us—much greater fulness of detail, brilliancy of tint, and richness of construction—more boldness of imagination, and deeper complication of incident.——For our own part, we incline to the severer judgment. The marvels of Thalaba are more thin, airy and fleeting; and, while they appear to us to be on the whole more elegant, they do not wait for that deliberate investigation which is challenged by the elaborate groupes of the present performance. We are more uniformly interested, perhaps, by the poem before us, and more deeply impressed with a sense of the author's genius,—but we are also more fatigued, and more provoked;

voked; and feel that the pains and deliberation that have evidently been employed upon *this* exhibition of his extravagances, deprive him of an excuse of which he still seems to stand in need. ——It is quite time, however, that we should endeavour to make our readers more particularly acquainted with this extraordinary production.

In the Hindu religion there is this singularity, that prayers, penances and sacrifices, if regularly and exactly performed, are supposed infallibly to procure certain powers and advantages to the worshipper, altogether independent of the motives or dispositions by which he was influenced. The powers which may be thus acquired, are such as not only to subject all the elements to the will of the devotee, but to endanger the dominion of the Deities themselves, and to expose the sovereignty of the universe to the enterprises of human ambition. Upon this revolting peculiarity of the Hindu faith, the poem before us is founded: and a single sentence of additional explanation will enable the reader to understand perfectly the short abstract which we are about to give of the story.—Kehama, a king somewhere in India, was one of those wicked worshippers, who, by penances and ritual observances, had acquired supreme power over all this lower world, and brought the gods themselves to tremble for their independence. His son, Arvalan, the heir-apparent to all his power and wickedness, had offered violence to Kailyal, the beautiful daughter of a peasant in the neighbourhood of his imperial palace; and had been felled to the earth, and slain, by the avenging arm of her father. The Poem opens with an account of the prince's interment.

It is divided into twenty-four books or sections. The first of which is entitled, 'The Funeral;' and contains a very complete and elaborate picture of the midnight procession, and the burning of the dead Arvalan and his living wives. This affords a very good specimen both of the author's powers of picturesque representation, and of the exhausting, and somewhat oppressive, fulness and minuteness of his details. The roofs and balconies crowded with spectators—the interminable line of smoking torches—the splendid palankins—the music—the shoutings—the baldheaded priests—the soldiers—the mourning sovereign—the funeral pile—the devoted widow—the dancing and the blaze, are all described at full length, and with careful and repeated touches. The effect is undoubtedly rich, to those who have patience to go through with it. But, to many readers, it will prove very fatiguing; and indeed it is rather too much, to fill a whole book of an Epic poem with the description of a burial,—without the relief of dialogue, character, or action of any sort.

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The Second section is entitled 'The Curse;' and begins, rather in a startling manner, with a colloquy at the side of the funeral pile, between the dead Arvalan and his father. The young gentleman complains grievously of the loss of his body, and of the piercing influences of the air on his naked spirit. The omnipotent monarch commands the elements to cease from troubling him, and promises him an ample revenge. For this purpose, he orders the peasant and his daughter to be brought forward. The former obeys, with calm resignation; but the girl clings with instinctive terror to a wooden image of her favourite goddess, that happened to be placed hard-by, on the bank of a river; and while the guards are struggling to tear her from it, a part of the bank gives way—and they and the goddess and her votary are all plunged into the water. Kehama then turns to the father; and, summoning up all his energies of power and of malice for one great effort, pronounces that portentous *Curse*, from which this wonderful work of Mr Southey takes its denomination. The greater part of this curse would appear to most people, we believe, as no inconsiderable blessing; since it charms its object from the effects of wounds and violence—and sickness, infirmity, and old age—and merely dooms him not to be wet with water, nor fanned with wind—and to pass his days without sleep, with a fire in his heart and in his brain. We did not intend to give any extract, in this short view of the story; but we must make one exception, we believe, for the sake of this Curse, which is so very cardinal a point in the whole machinery. We suspect our readers have seldom met with such miserable doggrel; nor indeed could we easily find a better specimen of those terrible failures to which Mr Southey is liable.

'I charm thy life
From the weapons of strife,
From *stone* and from *wood*,
From fire and from flood,
From the serpent's tooth,
And the beasts of blood:
From Sickness I charm thee,
And Time shall not harm thee;
But Earth, which is mine,
Its fruits shall deny thee;
And Water shall hear me,
And know thee and fly thee;
And the Winds shall not touch thee
When they pass by thee,
And the Dews shall not wet thee
When they fall nigh thee:
And thou shalt seek Death;

To

To release thee, in vain;
Thou shalt live in thy pain,
While Kehama shall reign,
With a fire in thy heart,
And a fire in thy brain;
And Sleep shall obey me,
And visit thee never,
And the Curse shall be on thee
For ever and ever.' p. 18, 19.

With this curse, however, such as it is, Ladurlad, (for that is his name) having only laid his account for death by torture, is quite horror-struck; and wanders away, in the beginning of the Third Section, entitled 'the Recovery,' along the banks of the river, in silent consternation. About sunrise, he sees something floating in the stream; and by and by recognizes a woman clinging to a wooden image,—suspects it may be his daughter,—rushes in,—and, by the powerful protection of the curse, walks dry through the roaring flood, and bears her to the shore. There is then a very pretty account of her restoration, though quite minute enough to do credit to the secretary of the Humane Society; and a communication of his strange destiny, to the full as outrageously bad as the sentence itself. We doubt greatly, whether any of our readers ever saw any thing so pitiful as the following attempt at terrible sublimity and novelty.

'The winds of Heaven must never breathe on me;
The rains and dews must never fall on me;
Water must mock my thirst and shrink from me;
The common Earth must yield no fruit to me;
Sleep, blessed Sleep! must never light on me;
And Death, who comes to all, must fly from me;
And never, never set Ladurlad free.' p. 27.

Kailyal, however, is so much shocked at this direful sentence, that she refuses to give credit to it; till, looking down at the skirts of his coat, she finds that the curse had had an operation even more powerful than we should have expected—having kept not only his person, but his garments, comfortably dry.

——'O misery! she cried,
He bore me from the river depth, and yet—
His garment is not wet!'

The Fourth Canto is called 'the Departure,' and helps the story but little forward. The father and daughter lye in listless and silent agony, almost all day. At last, the former, not satisfied with the experiment of the dry coat, steps down to the river to ascertain whether the water really would not touch him; and is again thunderstruck to find, that it recedes round his dry hand. Kailyal then bethinks her of the services of the wooden goddess; and, after

after expressing her gratitude in some very sweet and innocent verses, erects the image on the bank, and leads her father further off from the residence of their omnipotent oppressor.

The Fifth Section, entitled 'the Separation,' is a little more progressive. The wretched pair lye down under a tree for the night. Ladurlad, breathing regularly in silent agony, appears to his daughter to sleep; and she, after a long contest with filial anxiety, very sweetly described, yields at last to the pressure of fatigue, and sinks into slumber herself. Her father, anxious to spare her the spectacle of his incurable misery, seizes this moment to escape from her vigilant love,—slips his head from her lap, and runs off. She awakes with the motion, and runs frantic after him through the dark wood. She is here met by the ghost, or rather by a new incarnation, of the detested Arvalan, who chases her to some distance, when she flies to the sanctuary of a good quiet god, called Pollear, whose statue, in the shape of an elephant, stood by the wayside. Arvalan, impiously following to seize the maid 'with fleshly arm,' as Mr Southey has it, at the altar, is seized by the indignant statue, and tossed into the heart of the wood. The maid, rushing on in agony of fear, stumbles against the root of a manchineal tree, and falls senseless under its deadly shade.

The Sixth Canto, called 'Casyapa,' is the first that introduces the superhuman agents, and must be admitted to present us with some new and very eloquent description. One of the pure spirits termed Glendoveers in the Hindu mythology, floating near the earth, in the sweet moonlight of that evening, discovers the prostrate maiden, and bears her in his arms up to Mount Himakoot, where old Casyapa, the sire of gods, dwells by the spring of the Ganges. The pitying spirit is here informed by the antient divinity, of the rage and the power of Kehama. A very beautiful description is given of Kailyal's revival by the side of the holy fountain, and of the heroic pity by which the Glendoveer is roused to defy the rage of the omnipotent Kehama in her behalf. He calls to him, therefore, a ship of heaven, and embarks in it with her for the Swerga, or lowest heaven of their mythology.

'The Swerga' gives its name to the Seventh section; which opens with an elegant and fanciful description of the ship of heaven, shaped like a shell, rigged with a rainbow bending in one fine sweep from end to end, coloured like the green light of evening, and holding its noiseless way through air and sunshine with inconceivable rapidity. This, which is long enough for most readers, is followed with another still longer, of the wings of the Glendoveer, which were leathery, it seems, like the bat's, without feathers, very transparent, coloured like good

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port wine, divided into compartments by fibres of pliant bone of a silver hue, and folding up, when his flying was over, into the form of a very becoming drapery. After sporting through five pages with these redundant descriptions, Mr Southey lands his voyagers at the Swerga, which is described with still more extravagant luxuriance, both of language and of fancy. A huge tree on the midland height, drops diamond water from every leaf, and feeds a thousand rills that collect into rivers, and spread into lakes among bowers of bliss. Upon these blue lakes, as a floor, the palace of Indra is reared—of clouds, and fire, and water, and pieces of rainbow;—pillars of cloud, with capitals of fire, being arched over with rainbow,—and spires and pinnacles of flame supporting cupolas of water. Indra, however, gives the Glendoveer as little comfort as old Casyapa. He, too, is unable to controul, and afraid to oppose the will of the terrible Kehama; and as no mortal being can inhabit the ethereal bowers of the Swerga, it is doomed that Kailyal must be conveyed back to earth, and placed again at the foot of mount Meru, beside the fountains of the Ganges. She prays, with sweet filial devotion, to be conducted again to her father.

In the Eighth canto, entitled, 'The Sacrifice,' we return to earth, and Kehama;—and meet again with new failures and fallings off on the part of Mr Southey. The sacrifice which is to give the impious sovereign the dominion of the Swerga, consists in the immolation of a wild horse, upon which no man has ever laid his hand;—and many thousand guards surround him, to keep off the profane touch. When the moment has arrived, Kehama rises to strike the fatal blow,—when a man rushes wildly forward, and, in spite of the arrows and javelins that fall like hail around him, lays his hand on the devoted steed, and destroys the whole virtue of the ceremony. Kehama recognizes the victim of his curse, in this bold and invulnerable delinquent;—and refusing him the death to which he eagerly offers himself, sends him back to his wanderings;—but at the same time orders the whole vast array of his guards to be slain on the spot, for not having done impossibilities, by stopping him in his approach;—so ten thousand horsemen gallop in, and quietly cut down ten thousand infantry! This tame-cold butchery, instead of being impressive or terrible, is absolutely ridiculous;—and the whole canto, indeed, though indicating very great talents, is heavy, tedious and preposterous.

The next, which is called 'The Home-scene,' is of a mixed character. Ladurlad wanders to his own happy home,—and surveys, in mute despair, the overblown flowers of his garden,—the garlands withered on the brows of his household gods,—the peacocks veering their glittering necks, in expectation of the

wonted meal from his hand,—and the wild-grown marriage bower, which his widowed hands had been used to deck with such mournful assiduity. All this is described beautifully,—as well as the listless tenderness of sorrow with which the deserted scene is contemplated, and the soothing feelings of devotion that arise from this softened form of affliction. But Mr Southey mars all again, by bringing in the disgusting form of Arvalan;—and then follows nothing but disgust and fustian, and cold and impotent extravagance. This amiable person, of whom it is very difficult to say whether he is dead or alive, material or spiritual, throughout the poem, shows his ugly face from the sky,—and grins so provokingly at Ladurlad, that, in spite of all he had already suffered, he takes up a stick to belabour him, when the dead ravisher gathers you a handful of sunbeams, and points them at his opponent. Kehama's curse, however, enables him to set fire at defiance;—but the stick in his hand is immediately reduced to white ashes! The mischievous spectre then blows up the hot sand upon his unhappy victim; and, as Mr Southey elegantly expresses it, fills and chokes up his mouth, nose, ears and eyes, with the drifting shower. While the poor man is reeling about in this sandy tornado, the Glendoveer whips down most opportunely from the sky, and hews the dead Arvalan to pieces with his sword;—and then turning the heavenly ship a little from its course, lays the entranced father beside his daughter, and sails away with them for Mount Meru.

The Tenth section begins with Sapphics addressed to this vessel, and a description of the blessed sanctuary to which it conveyed those high-fated mortals. The description is verbose, and not very intelligible;—but there are some tender and poetical lines, expressive of the calm and innocent delight that awaited them in this divine retreat,—where Kailyal meets the spirit of her dead mother, and the Glendoveer sports with his fair *protegée* in all the playfulness of ethereal infancy. It is quite plain to the reader, that the mortal and immortal have a decided *penchant* for each other, as the sequel of the poem, indeed, abundantly proves: however, the author thinks proper positively to deny all knowledge of it at this period,—and brings in the Indian Cupid riding on a lory, to shoot vainly at them with a bow of sugar-cane strung with a row of living bees. This section contains more childishness than any we have yet noticed;—and is full of namby-pamby and affectation, intermixed with a sort of amiable and pretty silliness.

The next is more entirely disagreeable. It is entitled 'The Enchantress,' and contains a long disgusting account of a witch, to whom Arvalan repaired for aid and counsel in his distresses;

and of her getting him a suit of armour, and sending him off in her chariot, to invade the blessed family on Mount Meru. The device which she employs to find out the place of their retreat, is perhaps the most revolting and contemptible extravagance in the whole poem. Her own eyes being bad, she calls her attendant spirits to bring in 'a globe of liquid chrystal, as black as jet;'—to make which, we are literally and distinctly told, that she had taken out *the sight* from a thousand eyes, and *kneaded it* into this magical organ!—by looking through which, she immediately discovers Kailyal's bower of bliss on Mount Meru. The catastrophe of the unhappy Arvalan is not very intelligibly narrated. He sets out gallantly in a car drawn by dragons, according to the universal practice of all champions equipped by enchanters,—and gets very near the habitation of his victims, when his chariot and steeds are very conveniently drawn aside by 'all-commanding Nature!' and dashed upon certain adamantine rocks, from which the wicked prince falls battered down into an ice-rift, ten thousand miles below, where he is jammed in, and left to howl, unpitied and unheard.

The succeeding section is not much better. It is called 'The Sacrifice completed,' and contains a dull and noisy account of the evacuation of the Swerga by Indra and his attendant spirits, in consequence of Kehama having got another wild and untouched horse within the reach of his axe. The affrighted gods take ship for a higher heaven; but call, on their voyage, to explain the melancholy cause of their emigration, to the party on Mount Meru, and to apprise the unhappy Ladurlad and his daughter (the former of whom, we think, might have baffled the sacrifice again) that they must return within the sphere of the tyrant's power.

The Thirteenth Canto, entitled 'the Retreat,' drops these devoted victims upon the lower earth; and contains an account of the sylvan abode in which they resolved to await the renewal of their trials. We are rather inclined to think it the most beautiful of the whole poem. There is a fine description of a Banian tree, and of the rich oriental scenery around it; and though the idea of the tyger and elephant losing their fierceness at sight of the beauty and innocence of Kailyal, be borrowed from the lowest commonplaces of poetry, yet the picture of their homage is finished with great elegance and beauty,—as well as that of the pious resignation and simple occupations of her who receives it. Having 'fed upon heavenly fare,' as Mr Southey elegantly expresses it, she had been converted, by a process somewhat analogous to that of making a queen-bee, into a creature of a much higher order than a mere peasant girl; and begins to be familiar with lofty thoughts and imaginings,—though she cannot repress

some womanish and loverlike fears as to her being forgotten by the Glendoveer, which are expressed with great delicacy and tenderness. The canto ends with affected and disagreeable abruptness, by suddenly telling us, in four lines, that she was carried off from this lonely retreat by a band of wandering priests, who were travelling to find a bride for Jaga Naut, the idol with seven heads.

The Fourteenth Section is named after this captivating deity; and is one of the most obstreperous, confusing, and disagreeable in the volume. There is a noisy and insupportably tedious description of the procession of the giant idol in his chariot, and of the shouting, dancing and singing, with which his nuptials with Kailyal are celebrated. Then the unhappy victim is shut up in the bridal-chamber, and sees approaching to her the accursed and incorrigible Arvalan, clothed, as usual, in the borrowed flesh of man. We doubt whether the pious virgin was more disgusted than most of Mr Southey's readers will be, at this unpardonable intrusion. However, she shrieks lustily, and down comes the faithful Glendoveer, who dashes her unworthy paramour to pieces on the floor. But, at this instant, his amiable friend and procuress, the witch, appears with a legion of fiends, who seize and pinion the Glendoveer, while she patches up the mangled body of her favourite, and encourages him to take his pleasure (such is Mr Southey's style) with the lady, while she secures his rival in the antient sepulchres under the ocean. Kailyal being thus left once more with the amorous defunct, takes a torch, and sets fire to the curtains; and, while her lover roars with the scorching pain, she herself is rescued by her father, who walks unhurt through the flames, under the protection of his Curse, and bears out his astonished daughter.

The next canto is called 'the city of Baly,' and abounds in splendid description, and the brighter fruits of a poetical imagination. Baly, we learn, was a mighty monarch of former days, who built a superb city by the sea-shore, and was afterwards appointed Judge of Hell; upon which the sea rose, and overflowed his earthly city, leaving only a few mouldering towers and spires peering above its lonely waters. Ladurlad conjectures, that it is in the royal sepulchres of this submarine capital that the witch has deposited the captive Glendoveer; and being gifted, by the Curse, with the power of walking under water, resolves to go and attempt his deliverance. The appearance of the city, from the sculptured and rocky shore, is very finely described; and the anxious hope with which his lovely daughter sees him descend into the abyss, and waits day after day, with growing terror, on the silent and solitary strand.

The following section is of the same general character. It is entitled

entitled 'the Antient Sepulchres,' and contains the account of Ladurlad's aquatic adventure. The appearance of the drowned city—its sculptured gateways, and palaces and temples, and lonely streets and gardens, all shining in the green light of the incumbent ocean—all silent, and entire, and desolate—is represented with great power of colouring. Ladurlad wanders long, in astonishment, through this portentous scene; but at last descends into the arched sepulchres of the kings, where, by the light of a huge carbuncle, he discovers their embalmed bodies, each placed in a nich on his chair of state; and, at one end, the unfortunate Glendoveer chained to a rock, and watched by a huge sea monster with 'a mouth from ear to ear,' triple rows of teeth, and two long sinuous tails. This formidable guardian immediately flies upon his unexpected visitor: but his life had been charmed from teeth as well as water; and he finds he can make no impression upon his impassive body. Being a fish of conscience, however, he will not permit him to rescue his prisoner, but holds him fast in his coils; while he, in return, attempts to throttle the monster, and extricate himself from his grasp. This preposterous struggle is continued for no less than seven entire days; at the end of which, the monster being overcome with want of sleep, (a necessity from which also the Curse has dispensed his antagonist), is at last obliged to give out, and fairly gives up the ghost, under the obstinate harassment of his enemy. Ladurlad then finds an old sword, with which he hacks a while at the Glendoveer's fetters, and at last sets him free; and they both make the best of their way back to the upper light of day.

The Eighteenth Canto is called 'Baly,' and describes the reunion of the happy family. The said Baly, it seems, had annually one night of vacation from his judicial function in hell, which he employed in taking a cool walk over India, and revisiting the precincts of his old flooded city. By great good luck, the night on which Ladurlad emerged with the Glendoveer to rejoin his daughter, was the night of this annual promenade; and the worthy Baly was consequently a witness of their encounter. His assistance, as it turns out, was highly opportune; for, while they are all embracing in speechless joy, the loathsome Arvalan appears 'in fleshly form,' with his patroness the witch; and is just about to remand the celestial rival to his bonds, when the good judge interposes,—collars the impious pair with irresistible strength,—stamps upon the earth, which opens beneath him, and bears down the guilty beings to his own realm of punishment.

The next canto is entitled 'Kehama's Descent;'—for this tender father, having heard his son's shrieks as he was arrested, rushes down to his relief, smoking, as Mr Southey assures us, with very rage and resentment. He roars to Baly to deliver up his victim;

but the old gentleman answers from the cellarage, that the Rajah has not yet won the dominion of Padalon, and that his *habeas corpus* cannot be allowed him. The almighty Rajah then turns, with softened looks, to Kailyal; and tells her that it is doomed by fate, that he and she alone, of all mortals, shall drink together the Amreeta cup of immortality, and that she must therefore consent to be his bride. She refuses, with expressions of disgust and horror; and he soars back to the Swerga, scattering curses on them as he rose.

The next canto, entitled 'Mount Calasay,' begins well; but soon wanders into bombast, extravagance, and mock sublimity. One effect of the Rajah's farewel curse had been, to crust over the pure beauty of Kailyal with leprosy; and nothing can be more beautiful than the representation of her womanly feelings of apprehension and pain at the thought of appearance she would make in the eyes of her Glendoveer, gradually giving way to a proud reliance on her inward merits and his unchangeable affection. The reader is then called to accompany the said Glendoveer in his bold attempt to reach the inaccessible throne of Seeva the Preserver, to whom he is resolved to carry the tale of Kehama's atrocities. This throne was enshrined, it seems, in such immeasurable distance, that Brama and Vishnu had formerly travelled a thousand years without being able to reach it: but the Glendoveer, borne up by Faith, arrives, in an incredibly short space of time, at the foot of Mount Calasay, which is a silver mountain set round with seven ladders; and, having reached the summit, he finds a broad table of gems,—a sacred triangle, and a rose,—and, over all, a silver bell self-suspended in the air,—but no life, nor sound, nor visible presence. Overawed and confounded by the holy solitude and silence, he prays aloud to the omnipresent deity, and ventures to strike the silver bell; upon which the table, and the mountain itself, and all the mystic scene, vanish away in a flood of intolerable light; and, while the dazzled angel falls headlong from the giddy height, he hears a solemn voice direct him to repair to the throne of Yamen, (the king of Padalon, or Hell), and there await the end.

The Twentieth canto is entitled 'The Embarkation;' and sets the whole pious party forward on this desperate voyage. There is a very pretty scene between Kailyal and the Glendoveer, when she first meets him with her altered form. They then journey together to the end of the world, where they find a crazy vessel riding in a stormy creek that opens out to a sea overhung with impenetrable darkness, step aboard, and push out into that gloomy ocean.

The next section, entitled 'The World's End,' terminates the voyage. They soon shoot across the zone of drakness that seemed to bar their way, and emerge into a softer and purer light; upon entering which, Ladurlad feels the burning curse departed from

from his heart and brain; and the leprous stain falls off from the bright and blooming beauties of Kailyal. They then reach a level belt of ice that bounds the tranquil ocean before them; and find it peopled with the souls of departed men, proceeding on their destined way to the throne of Yamen, and the judgment-seat of Baly. The plain of ice is bounded, on the farther side, by a broad and profound gulph, beyond which rise the rocky foundations of the second earth. From this gulph ascend, every now and then, the ministering spirits of Padalon, who seize some of the wandering souls, and plunge down with them to their final audit. Kailyal trembles with horror at the struggles and agonies of those whom conscious guilt forewarned of the doom that awaited them; but the Glendoveer bids her be of good comfort; and, raising her in his arms, shoots down with her to the bottom of the abyss. The fictions of this Canto are very much in the manner of Dante; though the diction is infinitely more ornate and verbose.

The Twenty-second section, entitled 'The Gate of Padalon,' is constructed in the same spirit. There is a description of the economy of Padalon, which seems borrowed somewhat too faithfully from the commonplace Tartarus of the classics;—souls purging off their guilt in fires—rebel spirits cursing, and calling on Kehama—and the stern police of the place growling, and sweating, and scourging them. The Glendoveer brings the maiden to the southern gate, and leaves her in charge of the keeper, till he goes back for her father. He then explains their embassy; and the guardian of the way orders out his own chariot, poised upon a single wheel like a wheelbarrow, wraps the whole party in magic fire-proof robes, and sets them on the way to the central city of Yamen.

The Twenty-third canto is entitled 'Padalon;' and is, upon the whole, laborious and turgid, though adorned with some strong painting. After passing through the adamantine portal, the travellers arrive on the edge of a vast sea of fire, over which there is no bridge but one narrow rib of steel, as sharp and fine as the edge of a scymitar. The one-wheeled car rises upon this ticklish bridge, and rolls steadily over the red-quivering and loud-tossing ocean beneath. Nothing can be more vulgar and undignified than the scenes they witness after gaining the farther shore. They proceed along a raised causeway; on each side of which are erected little vaults and dungeons, all tenanted by tormented souls, and each supplied with a sluice from the fiery sea, to keep their torments fresh and active. Nothing is heard on all hands but the old Tartarean noises, of chains, lashes, hammers, groans and execrations; and nothing seen but execution-

ers administering different forms of damnation. The city, however, is built entirely of diamonds, and shines with a light brighter than the midday sun. It is approached by eight brazen bridges crossing the fiery river by which it is surrounded; and in the centre is the Palace of Yamen, in the vestibule of which he sits along with Baly, and before them a vacant throne of gold, supported at three of its corners by three living, but red-hot human figures. The pious visitants do homage to the god, who accommodates them beside him; and bids them wait the approaching catastrophe in patience.

The last Canto is entitled 'The Amreeta;' and opens with the dreaded advent of Kehama to seize the throne of Padalon. The voice of command and of lamentation cease together at his approach; and a dread and awful silence keeps the whole region in suspense. In his plan for the assault of the Diamond city, Mr Southey certainly outdoes all his former outdoings; for he makes the Rajah divide, or rather multiply himself, into *eight several rajahs* of the same form and reality, and march up in this manner, at the same moment, to the eight gates of the place, advance through the streets, and meet at the palace in the centre. The battle between him and Yamen is prudently enveloped in darkness: but Kehama is victorious, and the rightful sovereign prostrated before him. The victor then questions the burning supporters of the throne, who acknowledge the justice of their doom, and say they wait for a fourth, of equal guilt, to complete their number. He then renews his proposals to Kailyal, which are again rejected with disdain. Upon which, he calls impatiently for the Amreeta cup of immortality; and, at his voice, a huge marble tomb opens, and discovers a giant-skeleton, reclining within, with the precious cup in his hand. The spectre rises slowly, and presents the cup to Kehama, saying it had been doomed from eternity for him only, and for Kailyal, of all the children of mankind. The impious monarch eagerly quaffs the potent liquor; but instantly feels inexpressible agony shoot through all his veins; and finds, too late, that he has doomed himself to an immortality of insupportable and incurable pain. His body immediately becomes red-hot; and, urged on by an irresistible force, he moves towards the golden throne, and takes post at the vacant corner. The skeleton then presents the cup to Kailyal, who drinks with pious awe and holy confidence. That instant, a steam of divine fragrance arises from all her frame; and, while she remains entranced in rapture, she feels all that was mortal in her melt softly away, and rises incorruptible, without having tasted the bitterness of death. She now rushes into the arms of her faithful Glendoveer—his fitting bride, his equal

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in purity and immortality. Yamen gives them his benediction, and directs them to repair to their bower of bliss in the Swerga; and, when he sees Kailyal look with reluctant tenderness and anxiety on her father, assures her that she shall meet with him also in her mother's bower. The car then bears off the blessed pair; and the Lord of Death, smiling gently on Ladurlad from his golden throne, he sinks, like a child overwearied with play, into a soft slumber; on awaking from which, he finds himself a disembodied spirit, with his wife and daughter, in the blessed groves of the Swerga.

Such is the faithful outline, and such the principal details of this singular poem; of the fable and incidents of which, our readers therefore are now qualified to judge for themselves. Our fault to it is, that it possesses the interest of a fairy tale for children, and not of an Epic poem for men; and that the fictions of which it consists, are so utterly extravagant as to lose the power even of producing astonishment. We do not mean to deny, that it does credit to Mr Southey's powers of invention; but if we are once dispensed from the laws of probability, the task of invention is not very difficult. The great problem is, to devise incidents that shall be new and striking, and yet conformable, in their great outlines, to truth and to human experience. If the last condition be remitted, fiction is an art of very vulgar attainment. Who looks with envy upon the author of Baron Munchausen's adventures?

But, even where beautiful description and striking sentiments are interwoven with extravagant fiction, the effect of the latter ingredient is always debasing and unpleasant:—And there seem to be two reasons for this, independent of the painful and intense feeling of impossibility that stands constantly in the way even of the most momentary illusion. In the first place, we do not know how to sympathize with persons placed in situations of which we can have no experience; and, in the second place, when we are once familiarized with the violation of all truth and probability, we cannot easily admit that any thing the poet can tell us is sufficiently wonderful or surprising. If he gives us a giant a hundred feet high, we think we should have one of a thousand;—if his hero can walk in the water, we want him also to fly in the air. The familiar use of prodigies, in short, makes us impatient of any ordinary occurrences;—we will not submit to any difficulties or obstructions arising merely from the laws of nature, or the infirmity of human nature; and feel it as a sort of stinginess in the author, when he allows his favourites to be embarrassed for want of a miracle or an angel.——After the abstract we have made of the story, it may seem very unreasonable to complain of Mr Southey for not giving us enough of wonders;

especially when it is considered, that, in order to oblige us, he has made one individual run up eight streets at the same moment of time, and actually accomplished the annihilation of space and time (p. 207), for the sake of another of his heroes. Unreasonable, however, as it may seem, we do think that, having gone so far, he ought to have gone still farther; and that his poem, considered only as a series of marvels, is greatly inferior to many other works of much lower pretension. In variety and novelty of wonders, it is not to be compared with the Arabian Nights' Entertainments; and indicates much less facility of invention than the Fairy Tales of the facetious Count Hamilton.

Next to the fable, we should like to say a word or two of the diction and versification of this strange poem, before laying any specimens of it before our readers.—The diction is copious, and flowing and varied,—though always diffuse, often affected, and sometimes very provokingly debased by such babyisms as 'Dearest Dear,'—'Maiden mine,' and the other offensive blandishments of Mr Southey's school.——Of the versification, we can only say, that it is still more irregular than that of Thalaba; or, at least, that its irregularity is more conspicuous, by the capricious alternation of rhyme and blank verse, and the uncertain recurrence of the rhymes that are used. Regularity, we confess, appears to us to be of the very essence of versification; nor is it easy to give any other definition of a metrical work, than that it is divided into regular portions called verses; and though it be very true, that there are legitimate verses of various lengths and constructions, all of which are at the service of the poet, still it seems almost necessary that those of the same order should either be repeated in sequence, or interposed according to some regular system, in order to give us that perception of uniformity which seems to be the basis of the pleasure we receive from metrical harmony.

If absolute uniformity, however, be thought too cloying—though Homer and Milton do not seem to have found it so—there seems no good reason why a poet may not use one measure in one canto (or in one page, if he pleases) and another in another: But, to mix up all sorts of measures in every canto, and in every page, seems really to be defeating the very purpose of writing in verse at all; and cannot fail to perplex the reader with a perpetual feeling of uncertainty and disappointment.

The only apology that could be offered for great irregularity of measure, would be, exquisite propriety of diction. In order to keep all his lines up to one standard, a poet may sometimes be obliged to leave out an impressive word, or to insert a weak or redundant one; and if he had the power of shortening or varying his measure, so as to suit it exactly to the very best

best selection of expressions that the language could afford, it may be thought that we should have, on the whole, a more perfect composition, or at least a composition that more than compensated for the irregularity of its metre, by the beauty and force of its diction. Plausible, however, as such a notion may appear, we suspect that it would not be found to answer even in more scrupulous hands than those of Mr Southey. The license which was conceded as an encouragement to extraordinary diligence, would soon come to be employed as an instrument of mere indolence; and, instead of being used only to supply the unavoidable defects of the language, would be familiarly resorted to, when the only defect was in the author. But, however this may be in theory, we are pretty sure that even Mr Southey's greatest admirers will not pretend to say that, in point of fact, he is entitled to make use of *this* apology. Notwithstanding the unprecedented irregularity of his verse, his diction is the least compact, select, or elaborate, of any with which we are acquainted. It is, indeed, in a very remarkable degree, loose and verbose, and neglected; and the irregularities of his measure seem to be far more frequently adopted, because they enabled him to employ the first unweighed expression that occurred to him, than because they afforded the only perfect vehicle for phrases too precious to be altered.

We have another fault to Mr Southey's versification in this Poem, besides its irregularity. He has introduced a great number of very unharmonious metres; and combined them very unharmoniously. Instead of the firm march of the Iambic and Trochaic measures, for which alone our language seems to be adapted, we have (besides the poor pedantry of Sapphics and Dactylics) a great variety of tottering and slovenly measures, that were either never introduced into English poetry, or have been long discarded from it, from experience of their unfitness for the service.——In the very beginning of the Poem, for example, we have a series of such verses as these.

> 'He moves—he nods his head,
> But the motion comes from the bearers' tread,
> As the body borne aloft in state,
> Sways with the impulse of its own dead weight.'

And a little after—

> 'By this in the Orient sky appears the gleam
> Of day—Lo! what is yonder in the stream?'—

There is great choice, indeed, of such passages throughout the work.

> 'A fire is in his heart and brain
> And nature hath no healing for his pain.'

> 'As if from some *tort catapult* let loose,
> Over the forest hurl'd him all abroad.'

[g] Thereat

'Thereat the heart of the Universe stood still;
The Elements ceased their influences; the Hours
Stopt on the Eternal round: Motion and breath,
Time, change, and life and death.'

'It soweth here with toil and care,
But the harvest time of love is there.'

'And hated women because they were loved.'

'O silent Night! how have they startled thee
With the brazen trumpet's blare!'

'Never before
Had Kailyal watch'd it so impatiently,
Never so eagerly had hop'd before,
As now when she believ'd, and said, all hope was o'er.

'Beholding her, how beautiful she stood,
In that wild solitude,
Baly from his invisibility
Had issued then, to know her cause of woe;
But that, in the air beside her, he espied
Two Powers of Evil.' p. 189, 190.

'And blessed be the hour that gave thee birth,
Daughter of Earth.'

'*Where* in his antient and august abodes,
There dwelt old Casyapo, the sire of gods.'

We do not know whether its versification be the worst fault of the following very affected passage;—but it is extremely offensive to our ears.

'But rising over all in one acclaim
Is heard the echoed and reechoed name,
From all that countless rout:
Arvalan! Arvalan!
Arvalan! Arvalan!
Ten times ten thousand voices in one shout
Call Arvalan! The overpowering sound,
From house to house repeated rings about,
From tower to tower rolls round.'

'And now at once they shout
Arvalan! Arvalan!
With quick rebound of sound,
All in accordant cry,
Arvalan! Arvalan!' p. 3, 4.

The

The following, we think, is equally detestable, in rythm, style and conception.

' Dost thou tremble, O Indra, O God of the Sky,
Why slumber those thunders of thine?
Dost thou tremble on high, . .
Wilt thou tamely the Swerga resign, . .
Art thou smitten, O Indra, with dread?
Or seest thou not, seest thou not, Monarch divine,
How many a day to Seeva's shrine
Kehama his victim hath led?
Nine and ninety days are fled,' &c.

' O day of woe! above, below,
That blood confirms the Almighty Tyrant's reign!
Thou tremblest, O Indra, O God of the Sky,
Thy thunder is vain!
Thou tremblest on high for thy power!
But where is Veeshnoo at this hour,
But where is Seeva's eye?' p. 74, 75.

Neither have we more toleration for such harsh and noisy bombast as the following.

' And all around, behind, before,
The bridal Car, is the raging rout,
With frantic shout, and deafening roar,
Tossing the torches' flames about.
And the *double double* peals of the drum are there,
And the startling burst of the trumpet's blare;
And the gong, that seems, with its thunders dread,
To stun the living, and waken the dead.
The ear-strings throb as if they were broke,
And the eyelids drop at the weight of its stroke.
Fain would the Maid have kept them fast,
But open they start at the crack of the blast.' p. 148.

Nearly one half of the poem is written in verses as loose and unsteady as this;—though there is great variety in their kinds of badness. The passage which follows is pure childishness and sing-song.

' O happy Sire, and yet more happy Daughter!
The etherial gales his agony aslake,
His daughter's tears are on his cheek,
His hand is in the water;
The innocent man, the man opprest,
Oh joy! . . hath found a place of rest
Beyond Kehama's sway.
His Curse extends not here; his pains have past away.

' O happy Sire, and happy Daughter!
Ye on the banks of that celestial water
Your resting place and sanctuary have found.

What!

What! hath not then their mortal taint defil'd
The sacred solitary ground?
Vain thought! the Holy Valley smil'd
Receiving such a sire and child;
Ganges, who seem'd asleep to ly,
Beheld them with benignant eye,
And rippled round melodiously,
And roll'd her little waves, to meet
And welcome their beloved feet.'

'Lovely wert thou, O Flower of Earth!
Above all flowers of mortal birth;
But fostered in this blissful bower
From day to day, and hour to hour,
Lovelier grew the lovely flower.
O blessed, blessed company!
When men and heavenly spirits greet,
And they whom Death had severed meet,
And hold again communion sweet;..
O blessed, blessed company!' p. 104.

It is not fair, however, either to our readers or to Mr Southey, to extract such passages. The following account of the burning of Arvalan's young widow, though defaced with a good deal of affectation, is powerfully executed, and makes full as striking a picture as the sacrifice of Iphigenia.

'Woe! woe! Nealliny,
The young Nealliny!
They strip her ornaments away,
Bracelet and anklet, ring, and chain, and zone;
Around her neck they leave
The marriage knot alone,...
That marriage band, which when
Yon waning moon was young,
Around her virgin neck
With bridal joy was hung.
Then with white flowers, the coronal of death,
Her jetty locks they crown.
O sight of misery!
You cannot hear her cries,... all other sound
In that wild dissonance is drown'd;...
But in her face you see
The supplication and the agony,...
See in her swelling throat the desperate strength
That with vain effort struggles yet for life;
Her arms contracted now in fruitless strife,
Now wildly at full length
Towards the crowd in vain for pity spread,... p. 8, 9.

The

The following picture of morning, is also sketched with bright and transparent colours. It relates to Kailyal and her father, after he had saved her from the flood.

'The boatman, sailing on his easy way,
With envious eye beheld them where they lay;
For every herb and flower
Was fresh and fragrant with the early dew,
Sweet sung the birds in that delicious hour,
And the cool gale of morning as it blew,
Not yet subdued by day's increasing power,
Ruffling the surface of the silvery stream,
Swept o'er the moisten'd sand, and rais'd no shower.
Telling their tale of love,
The boatman thought they lay
At that lone hour, and who so blest as they!' p. 28, 29.

The evening scene is also very sweetly drawn,—and with the same fidelity to Eastern costume.

'Evening comes on: arising from the stream,
Homeward the tall flamingo wings his flight;
And where he sails athwart the setting beam,
His scarlet plumage glows with deeper light.
The watchman, at the wish'd approach of night,
Gladly forsakes the field, where he all day,
To scare the winged plunderers from their prey,
With shout and sling, on yonder clay-built height,
Hath borne the sultry ray.
Hark! at the Golden Palaces,
The Bramin strikes the hour.
For leagues and leagues around, the brazen sound
Rolls through the stillness of departing day,
Like thunder far away.' p. 35, 36.

The awaking of Kailyal, too, when first borne, in her swoon, to the spring of the Ganges, is very beautifully represented. The last six lines appear to us peculiarly sweet and melodious.

'The waters of the holy Spring
About the hand of Kailyal play;
They rise, they sparkle, and they sing,
Leaping where languidly she lay,
As if with that rejoicing stir
The holy Spring would welcome her.
The Tree of Life which o'er her spread,
Benignant bow'd its sacred head,
And dropt its dews of healing;
And her heart-blood at every breath,
Recovering from the strife of death,
Drew in new strength and feeling.
Behold her beautiful in her repose,

A life

A life-bloom reddening now her dark-brown cheek;
And lo! her eyes unclose,
Dark as the depth of Ganges' spring profound,
When night hangs over it,
Bright as the moon's refulgent beam,
That quivers on its clear up-sparkling stream.' p. 54, 55.

Her first interview with the spirit of her mother, whom she had lost in infancy, is described with the same tenderness and truth of feeling. The language (and this is no light praise) is like the finest parts of Mr Wordsworth's.

'The Maid that lovely form survey'd;
Wistful she gaz'd, and knew her not;
But Nature to her heart convey'd
A sudden thrill, a startling thought,
A feeling many a year forgot,
Now like a dream anew recurring,
As if again in every vein
Her mother's milk was stirring.
With straining neck and earnest eye
She stretch'd her hands imploringly,
As if she fain would have her nigh,
Yet fear'd to meet the wish'd embrace,
At once with love and awe oppress.' p. 99.

The passage that follows is an imitation, almost equally successful, of the moralizing style of Walter Scott.

'They sin who tell us Love can die.
With life all other passions fly,
All others are but vanity.
In Heaven Ambition cannot dwell,
Nor Avarice in the vaults of Hell;
Earthly these passions of the Earth,
They perish where they have their birth;
But Love is indestructible.
Its holy flame for ever burneth,
From Heaven it came, to Heaven returneth;
Too oft on Earth a troubled guest,
At times deceiv'd, at times oppress,
It here is tried and purified,
Then hath in Heaven its perfect rest.
Oh! when a mother meets on high
The babe she lost in infancy,
Hath she not then, for pains and fears,
The day of woe, the watchful night,
For all her sorrow, all her tears,
An over-payment of delight?' p. 100, 101.

There is no finer description, perhaps, in the whole poem, than that of the antient city of Baly, showing its silent turrets above the surrounding sea.

'Their golden summits, in the noon-day light,
Shone o'er the dark green deep that roll'd between;
For domes, and pinnacles, and spires were seen
Peering above the sea, . . a mournful sight!
Well might the sad beholder ween from thence
What works of wonder the devouring wave
Had swallowed there, when monuments so brave
Bore record of their old magnificence.
And on the sandy shore, beside the verge
Of Ocean, here and there, a rock-hewn fane
Resisted in its strength the surf and surge
That on their deep foundations beat in vain.
In solitude the antient temples stood,
Once resonant with instrument and song,
And solemn dance of festive multitude;
Now as the weary ages pass along,
Hearing no voice save of the Ocean flood,
Which roars for ever on the restless shores;
Or, visiting their solitary caves,
The lonely sound of Winds, that moan around
Accordant to the melancholy waves.' p. 162.

The picture is still finer, when Ladurlad descends to the buried city;—and evinces great power, both of fancy and of expression, though infected with many faults of taste and of manner.

'Those streets which never, since the days of yore,
By human footstep had been visited;
Those streets which never more
A human foot shall tread,
Ladurlad trod. In sun-light, and sea-green,
The thousand palaces were seen
Of that proud city, whose superb abodes
Seem'd rear'd by Giants for the immortal Gods.
How silent and how beautiful they stand,
Like things of Nature! the eternal rocks
Themselves not firmer. Neither hath the sand
Drifted within their gates, and choak'd their doors,
Nor slime defil'd their pavements and their floors.'—

'And now his feet attain that royal fane
Where Baly held of old his awful reign.
What once had been the garden spread around,
Fair garden, once which wore perpetual green,
Where all sweet flowers through all the year were found,
And all fair fruits were through all seasons seen.'—

'It was a garden still beyond all price,
Even yet it was a place of Paradise;
For where the mighty Ocean could not spare,
There had he, with his own creation,

Sought

Sought to repair his work of devastation.
And here were coral bowers,
And grots of madrepores,
And banks of spunge, as soft and fair to eye
As e'er was mossy bed
Whereon the Wood-Nymphs lie
Their languid limbs in summer's sultry hours.'—

'And arborets of jointed stone were there,
And plants of fibres fine, as silkworm's thread;
Yea, beautiful as Mermaid's golden hair
Upon the waves dispread:
Others that, like the broad banana growing,
Rais'd their long wrinkled leaves of purple hue,
Like streamers wide out-flowing.'—

'The golden fountains had not ceas'd to flow,
And, where they mingled with the briny Sea,
There was a sight of wonder and delight,
To see the fish, like birds in air,
Above Ladurlad flying.
Round those strange waters they repair,
Their scarlet fins outspread and plying,
They float with gentle hovering there;
And now upon those little wings,
As if to dare forbidden things,
With wilful purpose bent.
Swift as an arrow from a bow
They dash across, and to and fro,
In rapid glance like lightning go
Through that unwonted element.' p. 170—174.

The following description is in a very different style, though not less perfect in its kind.

'Twas a fair scene wherein they stood,
A green and sunny glade amid the wood,
And in the midst an aged Banian grew.
It was a goodly sight to see
That venerable tree;
Far o'er the lawn, irregularly spread,
Fifty straight columns propt its lofty head;
And many a long depending shoot,
Seeking to strike its root,
Straight like a plummet, grew towards the ground.
Some on the lower boughs, which crost their way,
Fixing their bearded fibres, round and round,
With many a ring and wild contortion wound;
Some to the passing wind at times, with sway
Of gentle motion swung;
Others of younger growth, unmov'd, were hung

Like stone-drops from the cavern's fretted height.
Beneath was smooth and fair to sight.
Nor weeds nor briars deform'd the natural floor;
And through the leafy cope which bower'd it o'er
Came gleams of chequered light.
So like a temple did it seem, that there
A pious heart's first impulse would be prayer.—
Fed by perpetual springs, a small lagoon,
Pellucid, deep, and still, in silence join'd,
And swell'd the passing stream. Like burnish'd steel
Glowing, it lay beneath the eye of noon;
And when the breezes, in their play,
Ruffled the darkening surface, then, with gleam
Of sudden light, around the lotus stem
It rippled; and the sacred flowers that crown
The lakelet with their roseate beauty, ride,
In gentlest waving rock'd, from side to side;
And as the wind upheaves
Their broad and buoyant weight, the glossy leaves
Flap on the twinkling waters, up and down.' p. 133—5.

The reader, perhaps, may now wish to see some of Mr Southey's living characters; and we give them the picture of Kailyal's retreat in the forest, after her sojourn by the holy fount of the Ganges.

'And duly here, to Marriataly's praise,
The Maid, as with an Angel's voice of song,
Pour'd her melodious lays
Upon the gales of even,
And gliding in religious dance along,
Mov'd, graceful as the dark-eyed Nymphs of Heaven,
Such harmony to all her steps was given.

Thus ever, in her father's doting eye,
Kailyal perform'd the customary rite;
He, patient of his burning pain the while,
Beheld her, and approv'd her pious toil.'—

'He, too, by day and night, and every hour,
Paid to a higher Power his sacrifice;
An offering, not of ghee, or fruit, or rice,
Flower-crown, or blood; but of a heart subdued,
A resolute, unconquer'd fortitude,
An agony repress, a will resign'd.'—

'Yea all around was hallowed! Danger, Fear,
Nor thought of evil ever entered here.
A charm was on the Leopard when he came
Within the circle of that mystic glade;
Submiss he crouch'd before the heavenly Maid,
And offered to her touch his speckled side;

Or with arch'd back erect, and bending head,
And eyes half-clos'd for pleasure, would he stand,
Courting the pressure of her gentle hand.

Trampling his path through wood and brake,
And canes which crackling fall before his way,
And tassel-grass, whose silvery feathers play
O'ertopping the young trees,
On comes the Elephant, to slake
His thirst at noon in yon pellucid springs.
Lo! from his trunk upturn'd, aloft he flings
The grateful shower; and now
Plucking the broad-leav'd bough
Of yonder plane, with waving motion slow,
Fanning the languid air,
He moves it to and fro.
But when that form of beauty meets his sight,
The trunk its undulating motion stops,
From his forgetful hold the plane-branch drops,
Reverent he kneels, and lifts his rational eyes
To her as if in prayer;
And when she pours her angel voice in song,
Entranced he listens to the thrilling notes,
Till his strong temples, bath'd with sudden dews,
Their fragrance of delight and love diffuse.' p. 136—9.

Redundant and overminute as these descriptions undoubtedly are, it is impossible not to feel, that they are conceived in the true spirit, and expressed in the genuine language, of poetry. We must add a few specimens of Mr Southey's delineations of character and affection.

'Hope we have none, said Kailyal to her Sire.
Said she aright? and had the Mortal Maid
No thoughts of heavenly aid, . .
No secret hopes her inmost heart to move
With longings of such deep and pure desire,
As vestal Maids, whose piety is love,
Feel in their ecstasies, when rapt above,
Their souls unto their heavenly Spouse aspire?
Why else so often doth that searching eye
Roam through the scope of sky?
Why, if she sees a distant speck on high,
Starts there that quick suffusion to her cheek?
'Tis but the Eagle, in his heavenly height;
Reluctant to believe, she hears his cry,
And marks his wheeling flight,
Then languidly averts her mournful sight.
Why ever else, at morn, that waking sigh,
Because the lovely form no more is nigh

Which

Which hath been present to her soul all night
And that injurious fear
Which ever, as it riseth, is represt,
Yet riseth still within her troubled breast,
That she no more shall see the Glendoveer!' p. 141, 142.

Her emotions, when defaced with leprosy by the wrath of Kehama, have a character of equal tenderness, and greater dignity.

'This is a loathsome sight to human eye,
Half-shrinking at herself, the Maiden thought,
Will it be so to him? Oh surely not!
The immortal Powers, who see
Through the poor wrappings of mortality,
Behold the soul, the beautiful soul, within,
Exempt from age and wasting malady,
And undeform'd, while pure and free from sin.
This is a loathsome sight to human eye,
But not to eyes divine,
Ereenia, Son of Heaven, oh not to thine!' p. 204, 205.

There is something very sweet and touching in their meeting after this disaster.

'Thou seest his poor revenge! So having said,
One look she glanced upon her leprous stain
Indignantly, and shook
Her head in calm disdain.

O Maid of soul divine!
And more than ever dear,
And more than ever mine,
Replied the Glendoveer:
He hath not read, be sure, the mystic ways
Of Fate.'—— p. 214, 215.

We add but one other picture of her piety and filial devotion.

'O Thou whom we adore,
O Marriataly, thee do I implore,
The virgin cried; my Goddess, pardon thou
The unwilling wrong, that I no more,
With dance and song,
Can do thy daily service, as of yore!
The flowers which last I wreath'd around thy brow,
Are withering there; and never now
Shall I at eve adore thee,
And swimming round with arms outspread,
Poise the full pitcher on my head,
In dext'rous dance before thee;
While underneath the reedy shed, at rest
My father sate the evening rites to view,'
And blest thy name,—and blest
His daughter too.' p. 33, 34.

'And turning to the Image, threw
Her grateful arms around it, . . . It was thou
Who saved'st me from the stream!
My Marriataly, it was thou!
I had not else been here
To share my Father's Curse,
To suffer now, . . . and yet to thank thee thus!' p. 32.

And, again, when they are sent back from Mount Meru to wander on the earth—

'Thus to her father spake the imploring Maid.
Oh! by the love which we so long have borne
Each other, and shall never cease to bear, . .
Oh! by the sufferings we have shar'd,
And must not cease to share, . .
One boon I supplicate in this dread hour,
One consolation in this hour of woe!
Thou hast it in thy power, refuse not thou
The only comfort now
That my poor heart can know.

O dearest, dearest Kailyal! with a smile
Of tenderness and sorrow, he replied,
O best belov'd, and to be loved the best
Most worthy, . . set thy duteous heart at rest.
I know thy wish; and let what will betide,
N[illegible] will I leave thee wilfully again.
My soul is strengthen'd to endure its pain;
Be thou, in all my wanderings, still my guide;
Be thou, in all my sufferings, at my side.

The Maiden, at those welcome words, impress
A passionate kiss upon her father's cheek.' p. 132, 133.

We fear we have already extended those quotations to a length which our unpoetical readers will not easily forgive; but we must add the following passage, in which Mr Southey throws all the brightness of original poetry upon the old classical fiction of the souls of infants being stationed in the outskirts of the Elysian world.

'Innocent Souls! thus set so early free
From sin and sorrow and mortality,
Their spotless spirits all creating Love
Receiv'd into its universal breast.
Yon blue serene above
Was their domain; clouds pillowed them to rest;
The Elements on them like nurses tended,
And with their growth etherial substance blended.
Less pure than these is that strange Indian bird,
Who never dips in earthly streams her bill,
But, when the sound of coming showers is heard,
Looks up, and from the clouds receives her fill.

Less

Less pure the footless fowl of Heaven, that never
Rest upon earth, but on the wing for ever
Hovering o'er flowers, their fragrant food inhale,
Drink the descending dew upon its way,
And sleep aloft while floating on the gale.' p. 222, 223.

We here close our extracts, and take our leave of Mr Southey. We wish we could entertain any tolerable hopes of converting him from the damnable heresies into which he has fallen, and to which, if he does not reform speedily, we fear his reputation will die a martyr. The great space we have allowed him to occupy, both now and on former occasions, proves sufficiently what importance we attach to his very errors, and what great things, we think, might be expected from him, if he could only be made to exert himself on the same side with those who have hitherto succeeded in commanding the admiration of the world To those who care little for our opinions, the copious extracts which we have given, will afford a safer ground of conclusion; and we conceive, that no reader of any taste or sensibility can peruse even those detached fragments, without feeling that Mr Southey is gifted with powers of fancy and of expression beyond almost any individual of his age: and that in the expression of all the tender, and amiable, and quiet affections, he has had but few rivals, either in past or in present time. These are rare and precious qualities; the intrinsic value of which cannot be destroyed by their combination with others of an opposite character, and to which we shall always be glad to do homage, in spite of any such combination. But a childish taste, and an affected manner, though they cannot destroy genius, will infallibly deprive it of its glory; and must be reprobated, therefore, with a severity proportioned to the mischief they occasion—a mischief that can only be measured by the greatness of the excellence they hide, and will always be stated the highest by those to whom that excellence is dearest.

ART. XII. *Sermons by Samuel Horsley, LL.D. F.R.S. F.A.S. late Lord Bishop of St Asaph.* 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 895. Hatchard; and Cadell & Davies, London. And Manners & Miller, Edinburgh. Dundee, 1810.

PRESBYTERIANS as we are, we have a certain pride in acknowledging, that the Church of England has been eminently distinguished, ever since the period of the Reformation, by the learning and the talents of her clergy; and especially of those

who have been raised to the Episcopal office. Among those who have been thus raised in our own times, we do not know that a greater could easily be named than the author of the volumes before us. In classical acquirements, and in the critical knowledge of the languages in which the sacred books were originally written, he stood in the very first rank of excellence. In the mathematical and physical sciences, if he stood not in the first rank, he held at least a very respectable station. In metaphysical acuteness and research, he had probably few superiors; while, in his proper science of theology, we will not venture to suppose that he had one. His character and manner were indeed somewhat harsh, arrogant, and dogmatical: and there was a time when we might have been inclined to enlarge, with some asperity, upon these objectionable features. But that time is now past. Death, which terminates all personal controversy, expiates, in all good minds, the errors which controversy engenders; and we are now willing to believe, that much of his apparent harshness arose from his zeal for the truth, and his high sense of its importance; and that, in fact, he possessed more genuine liberality than many of his most clamorous opponents. He was classed, indeed, and he classed himself, among Highchurchmen. But, though the term sounds rather alarming, we do not see why a zealous Highchurchman should be supposed either more illiberal or more intolerant than a zealot of any other persuasion. Bishop Horsley, we have no doubt, was sincere in his profession of conscientious attachment to the constitution and doctrines of the Church of England; and supported them, not because he found them established, but because he thought them just and salutary. Highchurchman at least as he was, it is certain that, on more than one occasion, he gave proof that he understood the great principles of practical toleration better than some that lay a much louder claim to liberality.

We happen to know with certainty,—and we think it right, therefore, and creditable to the Bishop to mention, that he was not only willing, but anxious to enter into a Parliamentary inquiry into the claims of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and to grant them whatever that inquiry might show could be granted with security to the Protestant establishment and the Protestant succession. That he would have voted for going into a committee on the Catholic petition, and exerted his great powers and influence, if he had lived, in this important discussion, we are now enabled to state from the highest authority. His death, therefore, is, even in this respect, a matter of the deepest regret; for, though the subject has been largely discussed on political grounds, something, perhaps, is still due to the principles,

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and even to the prejudices and fears of those who view the question more in a religious than a political light; and no man was better qualified to pay that debt than Bishop Horsley. His well-known attachment to the interests of his own church, together with his perfect knowledge of the subject, both as a churchman and a statesman, would have conciliated, to any system of concession that had obtained his sanction, many who are now hostile to concession in any form, not from animosity to the Catholics, but from a conscientious and undefined apprehension as to consequences.

In his controversy with Dr Priestley, Bishop Horsley had a manifest advantage (as is now pretty generally acknowledged), both in learning and in argument: and when we reflect that his opponent aimed at nothing less than the overthrow of the English Establishment, and avowed his purpose in language not remarkable either for modesty or delicacy, we cannot justly wonder that our author used strong language in return. Yet it is dignified language; and will not now appear to any candid reader to be much stronger than the case required. At the period of this controversy, Dr Horsley was Archdeacon of St Alban's; and we quote with pleasure the concluding paragraph of his *Remarks upon Dr Priestley's Second Letters*, as affording a striking specimen, as well of his manner as of his temper;—of a manner no doubt sufficiently decided, but of a temper which appears to us entitled to the name of Christian. 'For eighteen months or 'more it hath been the boast of the Unitarian party, that the 'Archdeacon of St Alban's hath been challenged to establish 'facts which he had averred; that he hath been insulted in his 'character, as a scholar and a man; charged with ignorance, 'misrepresentation, defamation and calumny; * and that, under 'all this he hath continued speechless. † He hath at last spoken, in a tone which, perhaps, will little endear him to the 'Unitarian zealots. It matters not. The time seems yet so distant when the train which they are laying may be expected to 'explode, that the danger is exceedingly small, that he will ever 'be reduced to the alternative of renouncing his faith, or relinquishing his preferments; or to the harder alternative which Dr 'Priestley seems to threaten, ‡ "of a prison, with a good conscience, or his present emoluments without one." If those 'happy times of which Dr Priestley prophecies, should overtake 'him ere his course is finished; when an Arian or Socinian Parliament

* Second Letters, &c. Preface, p. xviii. pp. 1, 39, 47, 160, 161, 163, 208, *et alibi passim.*

† See Animadversion on Mr White, p. 84.

‡ See Second Letters, &c. p. 88.

'liament shall undertake the blessed business of a second re-
'formation, and depose archbishops from their thrones, and arch-
'deacons from *their couches of preferment;* he humbly hopes,
'that he may be supplied with fortitude to act the part which
'may not disgrace his present professions. The probability,
'however, seems to be, that ere those times arrive (if they ar-
'rive at all, which we trust they will not), my antagonist and I
'shall both be gone to those unseen abodes, where the din of
'controversy and the din of war are equally unheard. There
'we shall rest together, till the last trumpet summon us to stand
'before our God and King. That whatever of intemperate
'wrath, and carnal anger, hath mixed itself, on either side, with
'the zeal with which we have pursued our fierce contention,
'may then be forgiven to us both, is a prayer which I breathe
'from the bottom of my soul, and to which my antagonist, if
'he hath any part in the spirit of a Christian, upon his bended
'knees will say AMEN.' *Tracts in Controversy with Dr Priestley,* p. 410.

It would be easy to multiply instances of the same tone of candour and magnanimity, even from those controversial tracts, in which the severeness of his manner is supposed to have irritated his opponents, and scandalized the meeker among his associates. But it is quite time that we should turn to the volumes before us.

In no species of composition is there such variety as in Sermons. We have mere moral essays under that name; and evangelical discourses of the highest pretensions to orthodoxy, each set in direct opposition to the other; with a vast series of varieties between these extremes. The evangelical, or enthusiastic system (for the words have of late become really synonimous), having by its fatal predominance contributed essentially to the overthrow both of Church and State in the time of King Charles, led to a very opposite style of preaching after the Restoration; at which period the higher clergy (notwithstanding the vices and the levity of the monarch) were equally remarkable for their learning and their virtue. Deeply impressed with the evils which they had just suffered, and which they imagined arose in a great measure from a false theology, the *moral* style of preaching gradually rose into high estimation and general use. Accordingly, from that period down to the middle of the last century, many volumes of admirable discourses were given to the public, in which we find more frequent appeals to the natural principles of morality,—to the eternal fitnesses of things,—and to the various criterions of virtue suggested by natural science, than to the sanctions of the Gospel, and the authoritative obligations of revealed religion. We should be sorry not to possess these

these most valuable and ingenious performances. But as the senseless jargon of enthusiasm, by a kind of reaction, led to this style, which to ordinary minds is generally uninteresting, and often unintelligible, this latter naturally led to the revival of the former. It was easy to persuade the multitude, (because it is strictly true), that a mere moral essay, however elegant or elaborate, was by no means equivalent to preaching the Gospel. It is of the utmost importance certainly to inquire, and it may be often equally important to show, how admirably the constitution of nature and the condition of man agree with the word of God, and with the system of Christian redemption. But if that system be taken for granted, as it must be in a Christian community, the authority which it displays, and the morality which it enforces, will receive no very important aid from our narrow views of nature or of science. These views, indeed, both physical and moral, are, after all, exceedingly imperfect; and the arguments that can be raised upon them for the regulation of our conduct and our feelings, will always, we fear, appear to the great mass of mankind both unsatisfactory and unimpressive.

However the case may be, therefore, with the few who are gifted with powerful and sensitive minds,—with habits of moral sensibility and reflection, it will be found, we believe, that men, in general, require a principle of easier and of stronger obligation, than any which mere natural science can possibly furnish. The Gospel has supplied this principle; and the mighty effect which it is calculated to produce on the human heart, may be clearly distinguished even in the grossest delusions of enthusiasm. The effect is evidently powerful; though unfortunately it is not always moral. So far as it is not moral, it is evil. But the evils of enthusiasm are not to be obviated by neglecting the peculiarities of the Gospel system. On the contrary, they may all be corrected by placing these peculiarities in a true and strong light, and by connecting them, as they are naturally connected, with a pure and progressive virtue. The sublimest truths, and the profoundest mysteries of religion, are as level, perhaps, to the capacities of the meanest, as of the highest human intellect. By neither are they to be fully fathomed. By both they may be easily believed, on the sure testimony of divine revelation. As simple and important facts, then, which connect time with eternity, and heaven with earth, they belong equally to men of every order; and are directly calculated to produce those emotions of awe and reverence, of faith and hope, and reliance on the Divine presence, providence, justice and benevolence, of which the consequences must be in the highest degree moral.

To cursory readers, whose object is amusement,—to half-formed divines,—and to men but partially acquainted with human

human nature, we are persuaded that a moral essay will be more agreeable than a gospel sermon; yet in the true, and perhaps effective sense of the word, it can never be considered as more *practical;* unless we are disposed to believe, that the deep and lofty feelings to which we have just alluded, are less likely to produce a permanent effect on our practice, than the slight and sometimes arbitrary associations of mere natural fitness and social propriety. The preacher, therefore, who neglects the peculiarities of the Gospel, neglects the most profound and the most copious—the most important and the most interesting—the most impressive and the most moral part of his profession; and, above all, he affords an advantage to the delusions of enthusiasts, of which an opposite system would effectually deprive them. Enthusiasm, as the word is used, is not a natural product of the Gospel but an accidental perversion of its tendencies; the origin of which is to be traced, in every age, to the neglect of the Gospel as a peculiar system, and to the confounding of its authoritative sanctions with the more indefinite obligations of natural morality. Look at the early ages of Christianity, when its peculiarities were first communicated, and largely insisted on as the essential part of the system, in every sermon. The effect was powerful, and it was moral beyond all example,—producing the utmost efforts of heroic and disinterested virtue,—with very few, and comparatively feeble, examples of that wretched enthusiasm, or interested hypocrisy, which combines the profession of the most important truths with the practice of the most contemptible and sordid vices.

In the sense in which we have now explained that term, every discourse in the volumes before us may justly be denominated a gospel sermon. They almost all contain a critical disquisition on some text of Scripture, which is either difficult in itself, or which has been misunderstood,—the elucidation and assertion of some important doctrine,—and a plain, and sometimes an animated detail, of practical consequences. No reader, however ignorant and unprepared, will confound these discourses with the jargon of Methodism, or the slang of the Tabernacle; though we can easily imagine that they will not be popular with many who read sermons, on the pretext that they are too profound, and not sufficiently practical.

There are twenty-nine sermons in these two volumes; of which six were published at the time they were preached, or at least in the Bishop's lifetime. The three first, though on two different texts (St James, v. 8., and St Matth. xxiv. 3.) are on the same subject, the coming of our Lord. Many of our ablest divines and commentators have concluded, that by the coming

ing of our Lord, so often mentioned in the New Testament, was meant the destruction of Jerusalem. The Bishop contends, and we think with complete success, that it means his final coming to judgment, of which the destruction of Jerusalem was one of the signs. We shall make two extracts from these sermons, and wish we could afford room for many more. The one contains an apology for the Bishop's manner of preaching, and is marked with all the vigour and intrepidity of his character. The other affords a good example of his manner of drawing practical inferences.

'It is the glory of our Church, that the most illiterate of her sons are in possession of the Scriptures in their mother tongue. It is their duty to make the most of so great a blessing, by employing as much time as they can spare from the necessary business of their several callings, in the diligent study of the written word. It is the duty of their teachers to give them all possible assistance and encouragement in this necessary work. I apprehend that we mistake our proper duty, when we avoid the public discussion of difficult or ambiguous texts, and either keep them entirely out of sight, or, when that cannot easily be done, obtrude *our* interpretations upon the laity, as magisterial or oracular, without proof or argument; a plan that may serve the purposes of indolence, and may be made to serve worse purposes, but is not well adapted to answer the true ends of the institution of our holy order. The will of God is, that all men should be saved; and, to that end, it is his will that all men, that is, all descriptions of men, great and small, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, should come to the knowledge of the truth. *Of the truth*—that is, of the truths brought to light by the Gospel: not only of the fundamental truths of faith towards God, of repentance from dead works, and of a future judgment,—but of all the sublimer truths concerning the scheme of man's redemption. It is God's will that all men should be brought to a just understanding of the deliverance Christ hath wrought for us,—to a just apprehension of the magnitude of our hopes in him, and of the certainty of the evidence on which these hopes are founded. It is God's will that all men should come to a knowledge of the original dignity of our Saviour's person,—of the mystery of his incarnation,—of the nature of his eternal priesthood, the value of his atonement, the efficacy of his intercession. These things are never to be understood without much more than a superficial knowledge of the Scriptures, especially the Scriptures of the New Testament;—and yet that knowledge of the Scriptures which is necessary to the understanding of these things, is what few, I would hope, in this country, are too illiterate to attain. It is our duty to facilitate the attainment, by clearing difficulties. It may be proper to state those we cannot clear;—to present our hearers with the interpretations that have been attempted, and to show where they fail;—in a word, to make them masters of the,

the question, though neither they nor we may be competent to the resolution of it. This instruction would more effectually secure them against the poison of modern corruptions, than the practice, dictated by a false discretion, of avoiding the mention of every doctrine that may be combated, and of burying every text of doubtful meaning. The corrupters of the Christian doctrine have no such reserve. The doctrines of the Divinity of the Son—the incarnation—the satisfaction of the cross as a sacrifice, in the literal meaning of the word—the Mediatorial intercession—the influences of the Spirit—the eternity of future punishment—are topics of popular discussion with those who would deny or pervert these doctrines: and we may judge by *their* success what *our own* might be, if we would but meet our antagonists on their own ground. The common people, we find, enter into the force, though they do not perceive the sophistry of *their* arguments. The same people would much more enter into the internal evidence of the genuine doctrine of the Gospel, if holden out to them, not in parts, studiously divested of whatever may seem mysterious,—not with accommodations to the prevailing fashion of opinions, but entire and undisguised. Nor are the laity to shut their ears against these disputations, as niceties in which they are not concerned, or difficulties above the reach of their abilities; and least of all are they to neglect those disquisitions which immediately respect the interpretation of texts. Every sentence of the Bible is from God, and every man is interested in the meaning of it. The teacher, therefore, is to expound, and the disciple to hear and read with diligence; and much might be the fruit of the blessing of God on their united exertions. And this I infer, not only from a general consideration of the nature of the Gospel doctrine, and the cast of the Scripture language, which is admirably accommodated to vulgar apprehensions, but from a fact which has happened to fall much within my own observation,—the proficiency, I mean, that we often find, *in some single science*, of men who have never had a liberal education, and who, except in that particular subject on which they have bestowed pains and attention, remain ignorant and illiterate to the end of their lives. The sciences are said, and they are truly said, to have that mutual connexion, that any one of them may be the better understood for an insight into the rest. And there is, perhaps, no branch of knowledge which receives more illustration from all the rest, than the science of religion: yet it hath, like every other, its *own internal* principles on which it rests, with the knowledge of which, without any other, a great progress may be made. And these lye much more open to the apprehension of an uncultivated understanding than the principles of certain abstruse sciences, such as geometry, for instance, or astronomy, in which I have known plain men, who could set up no pretensions to general learning, make distinguished attainments.' *Serm.* I. p. 4–9.

'I shall now proceed to conclude, notwithstanding the great authorities which incline the other way, that the phrase of "our Lord's coming,"

coming," wherever it occurs in his prediction of the Jewish war, as well as in most other passages of the New Testament, is to be taken in its literal meaning, as denoting his coming in person, in visible pomp and glory, to the general judgment.

'Nor is the belief of that coming, so explicitly foretold, an article of little moment in the Christian's creed, however some who call themselves Christians may affect to slight it. It is true, that the expectation of a future retribution is what ought, in the nature of the thing, to be a sufficient restraint upon a wise man's conduct, though we were uninformed of the manner in which the thing will be brought about, and were at liberty to suppose that every individual's lot would be silently determined, without any public entry of the Almighty Judge, and without the formality of a public trial. But our merciful God, who knows how feebly the allurements of the present world are resisted by our reason, unless imagination can be engaged on reason's side, to paint the prospect of future good, and display the terror of future suffering, hath been pleased to ordain that the business shall be so conducted, and the method of the business so clearly foretold, as to strike the profane with awe, and animate the humble and the timid. He hath warned us,—and let them, who dare to extenuate the warning, ponder the dreadful curse with which the Book of Prophecy is sealed—"If any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy; God shall take away his part out of the book of life;"—God hath warned us, that the inquiry into every man's conduct will be public;—Christ himself the Judge,—the whole race of man, and the whole angelic host, spectators of the awful scene. Before that assembly, every man's good deeds will be declared, and his most secret sins disclosed. As no elevation of rank will then give a title to respect, no obscurity of condition shall exclude the just from public honour, or screen the guilty from public shame. Opulence will find itself no longer powerful,—poverty will be no longer weak; birth will no longer be distinguished,—meanness will no longer pass unnoticed. The rich and poor will indeed strangely meet together; when all the inequalities of the present life shall disappear, and the conqueror and his captive—the monarch and his subject—the lord and his vassal—the statesman and the peasant—the philosopher and the unlettered hind—shall find their distinctions to have been mere illusions. The characters and actions of the greatest and the meanest have in truth been equally important, and equally public; while the eye of the omniscient God hath been equally upon them all,—while all are at last equally brought to answer to their common Judge, and the angels stand around spectators, equally interested in the dooms of all. The sentence of every man will be pronounced by him who cannot be merciful to those who shall have willingly sold themselves to that abject bondage from which he died to purchase their redemption,—who, nevertheless, having felt the power of temptation, knows to pity them that have been tempted; by him

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on whose mercy contrite frailty may rely—whose anger hardened impenitence must dread. To heighten the solemnity and terror of the business, the Judge will visibly descend from heaven,—the shout of the archangels and the trumpet of the Lord will thunder through the deep,—the dead will awake,—the glorified saints will be caught up to meet the Lord in the air; while the wicked will in vain call upon the mountains and the rocks to cover them. Of the day and hour when these things shall be, knoweth no man; but the day and hour for these things are fixed in the eternal Father's counsels. Our Lord will come,—he will come unlooked for, and may come sooner than we think.' *Serm.* 3. p. 56—60.

The four following sermons are on the 45th Psalm, which forms a stated part of the public service of the Church on Christmas day. Calvin supposed it to apply to Solomon and his Egyptian bride. The Bishop contends, in a very powerful strain of argument, that it has no reference to any temporal monarch, but that it contains a direct prophecy of the reign of Messiah. 'It celebrates,' he says, 'no common marriage, but the great mystical wedding, 'that Christ is the bridegroom and the spouse of his church. 'And this was the unanimous opinion of all antiquity, without 'exception even of the Jewish expositors.' (Serm. 4th, p. 64.) The eighth sermon is very remarkable; but it is not easy to find room for such an account of its contents as its importance would require. The following extract we think singularly impressive; and the latter part furnishes another striking example of the powerful morality which the preacher inculcates in his inferences.

'This pure water and the blood coming forth together, are two of the three terrestrial witnesses, whose testimony is so efficacious, in St John's judgment, for the confirmation of our faith.

'But how do this water and this blood bear witness that the crucified Jesus was the Christ? Water and blood were the indispensable instruments of cleansing and expiation in all the cleansings and expiations of the law. "Almost all things," saith St Paul, "are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood there is no remission" But the purgation was not by blood only, but by blood and water; for the same apostle says, "When Moses had spoken every precept to all the people, according to the law, he took the blood of calves and of goats, with water, and sprinkled both the book and all the people." All the cleansings and expiations of the law, by water and animal blood, were typical of the real cleansing of the conscience by the water of baptism, and of the expiation of real guilt by the blood of Christ shed upon the cross, and virtually taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper. The flowing, therefore, of this water and this blood, immediately upon our Lord's death, from the wound opened in his side, was a notification to the surrounding multitudes, though at the time understood by few, that the real expiation was now complete, and the cleansing

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fount set open. O wonderful exhibition of the goodness and severity of God! It is the ninth hour; and Jesus, strong to the last in suffering, commending his spirit to the Father, exclaims with a loud voice, that "it is finished;" bows his anointed head, and renders up the ghost. Nature is convulsed! Earth trembles! The sanctuary, that type of the heaven of heavens, is suddenly and forcibly thrown open! The tombs are burst! Jesus hangs upon the cross a corpse! And lo, the fountain, which, according to the prophet, was this day to be set open for sin and for pollution, is seen suddenly springing from his wound!—Who, contemplating only in imagination the mysterious, awful scene, exclaims not with the centurion, "Truly this was the Son of God!"—truly he *was* the Christ.

'Thus I have endeavoured to explain how the water and the blood, together with the Spirit, are witnesses upon earth, to establish the faith which overcometh the world. Much remains untouched; but the time forbids me to proceed. One thing only I must add,—that the faith which overcometh the world consists not in the involuntary assent of the mind to historical evidence, nor in its assent, perhaps still more involuntary, to the conclusions of argument from facts proved and admitted. All this knowledge and all this understanding the devils possess, yet have not faith; and, believing without faith, they tremble. Faith is not merely a speculative, but a practical acknowledgment of Jesus as the Christ,—an effort and motion of the mind toward God, when the sinner, convinced of sin, accepts with thankfulness the proffered terms of pardon; and, in humble confidence, applying individually to self the benefit of the general atonement, in the elevated language of a venerable father of the church, drinks of the stream which flows from the Redeemer's wounded side. The effect is, that, in a little, he is filled with that perfect love of God which casteth out fear,—he cleaves to God with the entire affection of the soul. And from this active, lively faith, overcoming the world, subduing carnal self, all these good works do necessarily spring, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.' *Serm.* 8. p. 189—192.

The ninth sermon, from St Luke, iv. 18, 19, was preached in 1793 before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,—was published at that time,—and is every way worthy of the author, and of the occasion. The tenth sermon, from St Mark, v. 17, was preached for the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in 1796; and contains a very admirable discussion on miracles in general, and on those of our Saviour in particular; and is worthy of the utmost attention, as well of the serious philosopher as of the divine. The eleventh sermon, from St John, xii. 32, is in a high strain of practical morality. The twelfth sermon, from St Matthew, xvi. 18, will probably not command the assent of every reader, as to the special reference to Judas, for which the author contends: But the subsequent discussion on the eternity of future punish-

ment, is marked with all the characters of a sound and powerful understanding. The thirteenth sermon, from St Matthew, xvi. 18, 19, was preached in 1795, before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and was then published. It is on the famous text on which the Pope's claim to supremacy is chiefly founded,—which foundation our author effectually demolishes, by a strain of argument, which to us is in a great measure new, and appears incontrovertible. The fourteenth sermon was preached in the cathedral church of Gloucester at a public ordination, and was published at the time. We earnestly recommend this admirable discourse to the serious attention of enthusiasts in general, and especially of those ignorant and deluded men who assume the clerical office without any previous study, either of science or divinity, and without any other qualification than a vain conceit of their own inspiration. The object is to prove the absolute and indispensable necessity of learning and science to the due exercise of the ministry of the Gospel. It concludes thus.

'Inferences naturally flow from the doctrine which hath been asserted, of high concern to every one in this assembly. We who, with however weak ability, fill the high station of the prophets in the primitive church,—you, who are this day to be admitted to a share in that sacred office,—are admonished of the diligence with which we must devote ourselves to study, and of the assiduity which we must use in prayer, to acquit ourselves of the duties of our calling. The laity are admonished of the folly and the danger of deserting the ministry of those who have been rightly separated to that holy service, in the vain hope of edifying under their instruction, who cannot be absolved of the crime of schism upon any better plea than that of ignorance. To allege the apostles as instances of illiterate preachers, is of all fallacies the grossest. Originally, perhaps, they were men of little learning—fishermen—tentmakers—excisemen; but when they began to preach, they no longer were illiterate; they were rendered learned in an instant, without previous study of their own, by miracle. The gifts, which we find placed by an apostle himself at the head of their qualifications, were evidently analogous to the advantages of education. Whatever their previous character had been, the apostles, when they became preachers, became learned. They were of all preachers the most learned. It is, therefore, by proficiency in learning, accompanied with an unreserved submission of the understanding to the revealed word,—but it is by learning, not by the want or the neglect of it, that any modern teacher may attain to some distant resemblance of those inspired messengers of God.' *Serm.* 14. p. 353, 354.

The four first sermons in the second volume (from 2d St Peter, i. 20, 21.) are on prophecy, characterized by the author's usual vigour

vigour and originality of understanding,—but embracing far too wide a field of argument for us to enter on the present occasion.

The nineteenth sermon is one of the ablest in the two volumes, or perhaps in the English language. It was preached in St Paul's Cathedral, on Good Friday 1778, and published in the same year. The subject (from St Matthew, xvi. 21.) is the providence of God and the free agency of man. The philosophical discussions on the subject of liberty and necessity, of course are not adapted to the capacity of every reader; but we would earnestly recommend them to the serious consideration of all young divines,—together with an excellent discourse on the same subject, preached by Archbishop King at Christ Church, Dublin, May 15, 1709, entitled, '*Divine predestination and foreknowledge consistent with the freedom of man's will.*'

The twentieth sermon (from the famous text, 1st St Peter, iii. 18, 19, 20.) is on the descent into hell; in his interpretation of which, our author differs from Bishop Pearson, and several other great divines. But he supports his own opinion with his usual ability; and whether the reader agree with him in his conclusion or not, we are persuaded that he will think with us, that there is not, in the two volumes, a more striking, nor a more impressive sermon. It was first published along with the work on Hosea, and was attacked, at least in one pamphlet, as countenancing the absurd and groundless belief in purgatory, which has really no connexion with the doctrine of this sermon;—a doctrine (of the middle state between death and the resurrection, however explained) undoubtedly scriptural, well understood, and generally acknowledged, in the primitive church, long before Popish purgatory (the dream of folly, or the game of avarice and the lust of power) was ever heard of. The three following sermons (from St Mark, ii. 27.) are on the Sabbath; in which the learned author discusses, with his usual force and acuteness, the nature and comparative importance of moral duties and of positive institutions. The former are essential to the nature of man; he was made for them; and they are never to be dispensed with. The latter are not essential; they are accidental and arbitrary; they were made for man. 'The practice of 'the first (says the Bishop, serm. 21. p. 213.) is the very end 'for which man was originally created, and, after the ruin of 'his fall, redeemed: the other are means appointed to facilitate 'and secure the attainment of that end. In themselves, they are 'of no value; insomuch, that a scrupulous attention to these secondary duties, when the great end of them is wilfully neglect-

'ed, will but aggravate the guilt of an immoral life. Man was 'not made for these.' The three next sermons (from St John, iv. 23.) are by no means easily characterized in the short space which we can now afford. They contain the elucidation of an important and singular fact in the scripture history; they trace the causes of it; and, in the course of the discussion, they elucidate several difficult or obscure texts of the Pentateuch in a manner which, we are persuaded, will appear new and striking to every reader. The Bishop clearly deduces, from his text, the important facts,—'that the Samaritans of our Saviour's day, no 'less than the more enlightened Jews, expected a Messiah,—that 'they knew, no less than the Jews, that the time was come for 'his appearance,—that, in the Messiah, they expected not, like 'the mistaking Jews, a Saviour of the Jewish nation only, or of 'Abraham's descendants, but of the world—a Saviour of the 'world from moral, rather than from physical, evil.' (Serm. 24. p. 285.) After fully ascertaining the facts, he investigates the causes of this singular phenomenon, that men, under numerous disadvantages, (who worshipped in effect they knew not what), should have so much better discerned the signs of the times, and the important reality to which those signs pointed, than their more favoured brethren of Judea.

The twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth sermons (from Phil. iii. 15.) are on Christian perfection; in which, after expounding his text, and giving it a new translation, consists, the Right Reverend Preacher goes on to state and to obviate the 'objection made 'to the morality of the Christian system—that, as it teaches men 'to shun vice on account of impending punishments, and to cultivate virtuous habits in the hope of annexed rewards, that 'therefore the virtue which it affects to teach it teaches not, 'teaching it upon mean and selfish motives.'

The last of these discourses was preached in the cathedral church of St Asaph, on Thursday, Dec. 5. 1805, being the day of public thanksgiving for the victory obtained by Lord Nelson at Trafalgar. It was published at that time; and the editor of these volumes (the Bishop's son) 'was induced to reprint it, by 'the circumstance of its being the last ever composed by his re-'vered father.' The Watchers and the Holy Ones mentioned in the text (Dan. iv. 17.) the author contends, by arguments of great ingenuity and force, to be the three persons of the ever-blessed Trinity; and he labours strenuously to confute the notion (supported though it be, from considerable antiquity, by some eminent names, as well in the Romish church, and among foreign Protestants, as in the Church of England) of tutelar or guardian

guardian angels. 'Confidently I deny (he says), that a single 'text is to be found in holy writ, which, rightly understood, 'gives the least countenance to the abominable doctrine of such 'a participation of the holy angels in God's government of the 'world.' (p. 416.)—'The most that can be made of angels,' he adds, 'is, that they are servants, occasionally employed by 'the Most High God to do his errands for the elect.' Having settled these points, the application is admirable, by which he elucidates the superintending Providence of God,—*to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.* This part of the text he particularly, and very strikingly, applies to the circumstances of the times, and yet in a manner which will interest readers in all future times as much as those for whom the discourse was specially written.

Difficult as many of the subjects are, which are discussed in the Discourses of which we have given this hasty sketch, if we are not greatly deceived, even ordinary readers (moderately conversant with the Bible, and with the theory and practice of their religion) may derive more advantage from them, than from any volumes of sermons which have issued from the press for the last fifty years. Even difficulties, and very serious difficulties, Bishop Horsley frequently renders plain and practical, by clear, patient, and ingenious criticism; and, having fixed his principle on a scripture ground, and made that ground comparatively clear and easy, he enforces the practical consequences on that direct authority of God, which, within the walls of a Christian church at least, ought certainly to supersede every other. The great Dr Clarke, in his sermons, (which every reader knows to stand in the very first rank of excellence), often treats, and largely discusses, Christian subjects, the mysteries of redemption, and the various positive ordinances of the Gospel. But he does so with this remarkable difference from Bishop Horsley, that he is never satisfied with any scripture principle or precept, till he has laboured to render it conformable to what he calls *eternal reason*, and *the fitness of things*. Thus, even on subjects of which we should never have known any thing but from Scripture, and which derive all their importance and authority from revelation, we are frequently perplexed with thorny and uninteresting discussions, to accommodate them to this eternal reason and immutable relation of things. The evil of such discussions is, that they are apt to leave an impression on the mind, that the obligations of duty rest on something different from, and independent of, the

will of God: whereas, to a Christian, the source of the obligation, both of moral and positive duties, is, beyond all controversy, the will of the Supreme Being alone. And therefore, Bishop Horsley, when he has distinctly traced a principle, doctrine or precept, to Scripture, justly thinks that he has done all that a Christian can require to enforce obedience. It may be interesting, and it may even be important, to trace the admirable conformity (which we can frequently trace but a very little way, however, and very inaccurately) which subsists between the revealed will of God, and the same will as it may be deduced from the nature of things and the condition of man; but it can never be absolutely necessary: for whether we trace, or can trace it or not, the Christian obligation is the same.

These sermons, valuable as they are, are not the only works, we are happy to learn, which the public may expect from the same learned pen. Mr Horsley informs us, that, among his father's theological manuscripts, 'is a translation of the Book of 'Psalms, accompanied with notes critical and explanatory,—a 'treatise, accompanied with notes, on the Pentateuch, and on 'the historical books of the Old Testament,—a treatise on the 'Prophets, containing notes on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, (Ho-'sea, already published), Joel, Amos, Obadiah. These are left 'in a state perfectly ready for publication; and it is the edi-'tor's wish to print the work on the Psalms immediately.' We hope the success of the volumes before us will be such, as to enable him speedily to fulfil this wish; on which, he modestly states, that he cannot venture to act without public encouragement.

ART. XIII. *On the Attractions of Homogeneous Ellipsoids.* By JAMES IVORY A. M. (From the Transactions of the Royal Society, London, 1809, p. 345.)

THE method of treating the more complex questions of the mixed mathematics, has undergone a considerable change in the course of the last fifty years. Before that period, when very difficult problems occurred, the usual way was to attempt a simplification of the physical *data* on which the solution was to be founded; till, by omitting some conditions, and changing others, they were reduced to such a state, that geometrical or algebraical reasoning could more easily be applied to them. The conditions of a problem were thus brought down to suit the powers

powers of calculation, instead of the latter being raised up to suit the extent or complication of the former. This might be called a physical rather than a mathematical approximation; and had this great fault, that the amount of its deviation from truth could hardly ever be ascertained with accuracy. It continued however to be used, long after some of the most successful applications of the mathematics had been made to the problems of Mechanics and Astronomy.

Thus, for example, TAYLOR, the first who resolved the problem concerning the vibrations of a musical string, laid it down as a principle, that the figure assumed by the string during its vibration, is the same, whatever be its initial figure, or that which it has when its vibration begins; and it was chiefly by help of this *postulatum* that he brought the problem within the compass of the geometry then known. Many years afterwards, when D'ALEMBERT refused to admit this hypothesis as contrary to fact, and rejected the simplification arising from it, he found that a new branch of the calculus must be invented before he was in a condition to resolve the problem in the form which it then assumed. The improvement made by the introduction of this new calculus was not only of essential service in the question immediately in view, but in a vast number of others, where it removed the necessity of having recourse to physical approximations.

Thus also, in the question concerning the figure of the earth, suppositions were introduced, not because they were founded in nature, but because they had a tendency to render the problem more simple. HUYGENS and HERMAN supposed the force of gravity to tend to the centre of the mass, and not to be the result of the mutual gravitation of all the particles toward one another; and they gave, on this hypothesis, a determination of the figure of the earth, simple indeed, but inaccurate, and not agreeing with observation. When NEWTON himself came to resolve the same problem, and admitted the force of gravity to arise from the attraction of all the particles of the earth, though he was prepared with that powerful instrument of investigation which his own discoveries had put him in possession of, he found it necessary to simplify the conditions of the problem by a supposition that was not shown to be essentially involved in it, viz. that the figure of the meridian must be an ellipsis.

Such however was the good fortune or the sagacity of NEWTON, that his conjectures seldom failed to be verified by more accurate discussion: and the ellipticity of the meridian was afterwards demonstrated to be a necessary consequence of the laws of hydro-

statics. In the question concerning the precession of the equinoxes and the motion of projectiles in a resisting medium, we may, in like manner, observe some simplifications not perfectly legitimate, which the man of the greatest originality and invention of that, or perhaps of any age, was forced to employ in order to adapt the physical or mechanical conditions of these problems to the state of mathematical science as it then existed. D'ALEMBERT, CLAIRAUT, and EULER, by advancing in the steps of NEWTON and LEIBNITZ, have so improved the analytical art, that the undue simplification of the conditions of physical problems has become much less necessary. The paper just announced is directed toward the same object; and proceeds to determine the attraction of solids of the second order, without supposing that they are solids of revolution, that their eccentricity is small, or that either the distance or position of the attracted particle is subject to any particular condition. A memoir which has for its object a speculation of so great extent, evidently deserves the attention of mathematicians. That we may judge of it more fairly, we will take a view of what has already been done in the solution of the different problems connected with the figure of the earth.

NEWTON was the first who determined that figure, on principles truly philosophical. Considering the earth as a body fluid and homogeneous, of which the parts attract one another with forces inversely as the squares of the distances; and as having also a rotation on its axis, which produces a centrifugal force at the equator equal to one 289th part of gravity; he found the ratio of the axis to the diameter of the equator to be that of 230 to 231. The method which he employed, however, was indirect, and liable to some objections. The person who first endeavoured to remove these was STIRLING, who, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1735, demonstrated this very curious and simple theorem, that gravity under the equator is to five times the centrifugal force at the same place, as the semidiameter of the equator to four times the difference between it and the semiaxis; which brought out very nearly the same ratio with that which has just been mentioned. There remained, however, many things that required more accurate discussion. It was observed by BOUGUER, that the direction of gravity might be perpendicular to the exterior surface of the fluid; and that yet the canals going from the centre to the superficies, might not be in equilibrio with one another; and conversely, that these canals might be in equilibrio, and yet the direction of gravity might not be perpendicular to the surface. These conditions, therefore, are not necessarily connected; and yet both of them must take place, in order that a fluid mass may

remain

remain at reſt, its parts completely balancing one another. MACLAURIN ſubſtituted one condition, which comprehended both theſe, that the fluid muſt be ſo conſtituted, that two canals, reaching from any point within it to any two points in the ſuperficies, ſhould be in equilibrium with one another. The ſame excellent geometer has treated of the figure of the planets, and the variation of gravity towards them, with great elegance, in his Memoir on the Tides, which ſhared the prize of the Academy of Sciences; and alſo in his Fluxions, publiſhed in 1742. He has demonſtrated, that a fluid and homogeneous body, revolving on its axis, ſo that the centrifugal force at the equator is the 289th part of gravity, will be in equilibrio, if it have the form of an oblate elliptic ſpheroid, in which the polar axis is to the equatorial diameter as 229 to 230. He has in the ſame diſſertation determined both the direction and the intenſity of the attraction of the whole ſpheroid, for a point any where in its interior, or on its ſuperficies. The mathematical part of this inveſtigation is performed by the quadrature of curves; and there was no work of that period, which was ſuppoſed to indicate more profound knowledge of the pure and the mixed mathematics, or greater invention in both, than that which is now referred to. A work of CLAIRAUT, on the ſame ſubject, appeared in 1743, equally profound with MACLAURIN's, but more analytical; and therefore having the advantage not only of proving, that a certain figure was a figure of equilibrium, but that a figure of equilibrium muſt neceſſarily be the ſame with that aforeſaid, or with certain others which it afforded the means of determining. Clairaut took this principle for the foundation of his ſolution, that in order for a fluid maſs to be in a ſtate of permanent equilibrium, it is neceſſary that any canal within the maſs, returning into itſelf, or terminated both ways by the ſurface, ſhould have the ſum of the efforts on one ſide of any point, equal to the ſum of all thoſe on the other. It required one of the very refined artifices of the new geometry, to diſcover in what manner a hydroſtatical principle ſo general could be reduced to calculation. This muſt be ſtudied in his own book, or in the notes on it contained in MADAME CHATELLET's Tranſlation and Commentary on NEWTON's Principia. By this criterion, of the poſſibility of an equilibrium, among the parts of a fluid maſs, revolving on an axis, CLAIRAUT finds, that many caſes of attraction are excluded; but that all caſes in which the attraction of the particles is proportional to any power, or indeed to any function of their diſtance, admit of an equilibrium taking place.

Theſe geometers have alſo conſidered a caſe, which comes nearer to nature than that of the homogeneous ſpheroid. It is that a

ſolid nucleus covered with water, in which the circumſtances eſſential to the equilibrium of the fluid are to be determined. MACLAURIN, in this inveſtigation, has not been ſo ſucceſsful as CLAIRAUT. The latter conſiders the earth as having the ſolid nucleus above-mentioned of [illegible] ſpherical or elliptic, and of a denſity either uniform, or varying from the centre to the circumference; the whole being covered with a fluid, like the ocean. His analyſis leads him to a concluſion different from that of NEWTON. The latter, ſuppoſing that experiments on the length of the pendulum, vibrating ſeconds in different latitudes, gave a greater exceſs of the diameter of the equator above the polar axis than ought to take place if the earth were homogeneous, thought, that this could be explained on the hypotheſis, that the parts of the earth increase in denſity as they are nearer to the centre. CLAIRAUT found, on the contrary, that if the denſity increaſes from the ſurface to the centre, the inequality of the pendulum will be greater; but that the compreſſion at the poles will be leſs than if the earth were homogeneous.

He accordingly demonſtrates, ſuppoſing the depth of the fluid which covers the nucleus to be but ſmall in compariſon of its radius, that the fraction which expreſſes the compreſſion, in the caſe of a homogeneous ſpheroid, is an arithmetical mean between the two fractions which expreſs, one of them, the ſhortening of the pendulum from the poles to the equator, and the other the actual compreſſion at the poles. Thus the compreſſion will be found, by taking the fraction which expreſſes the ſhortening of the pendulum from $\frac{2}{289}$, or $\frac{1}{144}$. Hence it follows, ſince experiments give the ſhortening of the pendulum more than a 230th of its total length, that the compreſſion of the earth at the poles muſt be leſs than $\frac{2}{289}$; which agrees alſo with the concluſions drawn from the meaſurement of degrees. This theorem of CLAIRAUT is therefore of great value, as it reconciles two claſſes of experiments which ſeemed to point to very different concluſions, while they were in reality pointing to the ſame.

Notwithſtanding the ſatisfactory concluſions which the analyſis of CLAIRAUT had brought out, ſome other geometers, of great name, have ſince treated the problem of the figure of the earth. Among theſe are, EULER, DANIEL BERNOUILLI and D'ALEMBERT.—D'ALEMBERT, in particular, gives a method of determining the attraction of a ſpheroid upon a particle ſituated at its ſurface, or at any diſtance within or without that ſurface; which, therefore, in reality, comprehends under it the problem treated in the paper that is now before us. The formulas of D'ALEMBERT, however, are ſo complicated, that it ſeems not probable that any

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useful conclusions can ever be derived from them; they serve rather to point out how the problem may be resolved, than actually to resolve it; and, even as to the former of these objects, have not been found of much utility.

In another work on this subject, D'Alembert has remarked, and we believe he was the first who remarked it, that when a fluid and homogeneous mass is put in motion round an axis with a given velocity, there are more spheroids than one, which answer to the conditions of equilibrium. Thus, on the supposition that the earth is a homogeneous fluid, revolving on its axis in 23 h. 56′. 4″, one of the spheroids would have its axes in the proportion of 230 to 231; but another would have them in the proportion of 1 to 680. This conclusion of D'Alembert, we must observe, is deducible from the theorems of Maclaurin, who, by pursuing his own track a few steps farther, would have anticipated the discovery of the French philosopher.

The flat spheroids of the kind just mentioned seem to be excluded from the planetary system; unless we may suppose the ring of Saturn to be a body of that sort.

After all these learned researches, the field of investigation was not exhausted; and the skill of the celebrated La Grange could still find whereon to exercise itself. In the Berlin Memoirs for 1773, he undertook to consider the attraction of bodies in a manner more general than had yet been attempted; supposing the body to be an ellipsoid, of which the surface was expressed, by a quadratic equation, to three variable quantities. It may be proper to observe, that the ellipsoid differs from the spheroid; the latter being a solid of revolution, and consequently, having all the sections perpendicular to the axes of revolution, circles. The ellipsoid has all its sections, ellipses; it therefore comprehends the spheroid, but extends also to an infinity of other solids. La Grange accordingly gave expressions for the force; according to which a particle is attracted in the direction of each of the three axes of the ellipsoid, the particle being placed either on the surface, or any where within it.

The most difficult case, however, of the problem is that in which the particle is without the ellipsoid, and in the prolongation of any radius whatsoever. La Grange gives the differential expressions for the attractions parallel to the three axes; but, they are such as cannot be integrated in all their generality; so that he is obliged to rest satisfied with reducing them to a series, which converges rapidly when the ellipsoid differs little from a spheroid of revolution; this last, also, being supposed to differ little from a sphere. The integration of the expressions of the forces of attraction, when taken generally, and without

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any such simplifications as those just mentioned, he considered to be beyond the power of any of the analytical methods then known.

We have already remarked, that more spheroids than one had been found to answer the conditions of equilibrium; the mass of the fluid, and the time of revolution, being both given. In the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences for 1784, LEGENDRE, who was then a very young mathematician, demonstrated that the ellipsoid is the only solid which, in one or other of the forms just mentioned, can answer the conditions of equilibrium. LA PLACE afterwards demonstrated the same proposition in a manner still more general.

La Place proceeded also to consider the attraction of a spheroid on a point at any distance beyond its surface; and he applied the method of partial differences to this problem with singular skill and success. The result of his investigation is, that if two elliptic spheroids have the same centre, the same position of their axes, and the same eccentricities, their attractions on the same point (without them) are to one another, as the masses of these spheroids. For he shows, that the function which expresses the attraction of a spheroid on a point, without it is the product of two factors, the one of which is the quantity of matter in the spheroid, and the other is a function of the eccentricities, and of the co-ordinates from the point attracted. It follows from this property, that, in order to have the attraction of the proposed spheroid on a point without it, it is sufficient to know the attraction which a spheroid of the same eccentricity and the same position of the axes, would exert on that point, supposing its surface to pass through it. This investigation is contained in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences for 1783; and is also treated by the same author in his *Mechanique Celeste*.

The paper, of which we are now giving an account, is directed to the same object, that of determining the attraction of an ellipsoid on a point without it. The author professes to have availed himself of the investigation just mentioned. 'It was,' says he, 'in the study of La Place's work that the method I am about 'to deliver was suggested; and it will not be altogether unworthy 'of the notice of the Royal Society, if it contribute to simplify 'a branch of Physical Astronomy of great difficulty, and which 'has so much engaged the attention of the most eminent mathe-'maticians.' We shall endeavour to give some account of the process which Mr Ivory has pursued, and which seems to lead to the solution of this difficult problem, with more ease and conciseness than any other with which we are acquainted. It is not,

not, however, always easy to convey by words the idea of an algebraic investigation; and we are not sure that in what follows we will be thought to have accomplished this object.

1. The attraction of any particle of the ellipsoid, on a given particle without it, is first resolved into three, parallel to three axes of the solid; and each of these expressions is under a triple sign of integration, three integrations being necessary to give the sum of the forces for all the particles of the solid. Each of the expressions, however, admits of one integration being performed exactly; so that they are at last brought to stand each under a double sign of integration only.

2. The expressions of the forces in this state are next transformed into others, involving the distance of the particle, and the angles which that distance makes with two of the principal sections of the solid. The sums, or integrals of the forces, appear then to consist of a variable part, involving the angles just mentioned, and also of a constant multiplier placed without the signs of integration. This multiplier is the product of the axes of the principal section, to which the force is perpendicular.

3. The same is done for an ellipsoid having the same eccentricity with the given one, and the same position of its axis, but differing in this, that its surface passes through the particle to which the attraction of the other solid was supposed to be directed. The attractions of this ellipsoid on a particle situated on the surface of the first, are then expressed in the same manner as above, and are found to consist each of two parts; viz. a constant multiplier, consisting of the product of the axes, and a variable part, under the double sign of integration, consisting of the same variable quantities as in the former solid.

4. The attractions of the two solids admit, therefore, of being compared, without the integrations being actually performed, which are indicated by the double signs already mentioned. The quantities under these signs being the same in both cases, the forces are as the constant quantities into which they are multiplied; that is, as the product of the axes, or as the areas of the sections to which the forces are perpendicular. Hence this theorem: If two ellipsoids of the same homogeneous matter have the same eccentricities, and their principal sections in the same planes; the attractions which one of the ellipsoids exerts upon a point in the surface of the other, perpendicularly to the planes of the principal sections, will be to the attractions which the second ellipsoid exerts upon the corresponding point in the surface of the first, perpendicularly to the same planes, in the direct proportion of the surfaces, or areas, of the principal

pal ſections to which the attractions are perpendicular. (Phil. Tranſ. 1809, p. 355.)

By correſponding points, we are here to underſtand, points in the ſurfaces of the two ellipſoids ſituated on the ſame ſides of the planes of the principal ſections, and having their co-ordinates reſpectively proportional to the axis to which they are parallel. By the preceding propoſition, the caſe, when the attracted point is without an ellipſoid, is made to depend on the caſe, when the attracted point is within the ſurface.

Another theorem deduced in the courſe of this inveſtigation, extends to all ellipſoids, the property which Sir Isaac Newton long ago demonſtrated, of a ſpherical matter bounded by two ſpherical ſurfaces. If a point be ſituated within a ſhell of homogeneous matter, bounded by two ſimilar ſurfaces of the ſecond order, ſimilar and ſimilarly placed; then the attraction of the matter of the ſhell upon that point will be equal to, and deſtroy the attraction of, the ſame matter in the oppoſite direction. (Ibid. p. 364.) La Place has alſo demonſtrated this propoſition in the *Méchanique Celeſte*. (Tom. II. p. 9. No. 3.)

In the preceding inveſtigation, the proportion of the force of attraction is thus determined without the full integration of the fluctionary expreſſions; and the great, and indeed inſurmountable, difficulty of performing theſe integrations, is very happily avoided. The credit of this ingenious contrivance is no doubt, in the firſt inſtance, due to La Place, who has employed it in the work above referred to, as well as in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences. Mr Ivory has the merit of applying the ſame method with ſingular dexterity, and of having introduced a degree of ſimplicity into the inveſtigation, the greateſt, we believe, that it admits of in the preſent condition of analytical ſcience. The author appears to be profoundly verſed in the moſt difficult parts of that ſcience, and in thoſe recent improvements which do ſo much honour to the mathematicians of the Continent. He has made a material addition to thoſe improvements; and is entitled to the praiſe of having given new ſimplicity to an inveſtigation which had paſſed through the hands of D'Alembert, La Grange and La Place.

The only thing in this paper, to which we think that any thing like cenſure can attach, is a matter purely typographical. We obſerve, through the whole of it, that where a quantity conſiſting of ſeveral terms has a fractional exponent, that exponent is placed after the quantity, a parentheſis coming between, and the exponent being printed in the ſame line with the algebraic expreſſion, as if it were a multiplier. Thus, the ſquare root of $x^2 + y^2 + z^2$, is written $(x^2 + y^2 + z^2)\frac{1}{2}$, not $(x^2 + y^2 + z^2)^{\frac{1}{2}}$,

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as is usually done. Now, we are very doubtful if this deviation from the received notation will be attended with advantage to the reader. It is a departure from that analogy which it is so important to preserve, in written as well as in spoken language, and particularly in the language of science. It gives, no doubt, additional facility to the printer, and is therefore an additional security for his work being done with accuracy. The reader, however, may not derive from it the same advantage.

We cannot conclude our remarks on a problem so intimately connected with the figure of the Earth, without observing, that in collecting the conditions, or the *data*, which nature affords for the solution of that problem, philosophers have not hitherto been sufficiently attentive to the information that may be derived from the science of Geology. To obtain such conclusions as may correspond with the phenomena, mathematicians should take the Earth as it really is, a terraqueous globe, consisting of a solid mass of firm and coherent matter, surrounded with a quantity of fluid comparatively small.

If the measurement of degrees, the experiments of the pendulum, and even the simple fact of the globe being surrounded by the sea, prove this compound and heterogeneous mass to be compressed at the poles, and to have, at least nearly, such a spheroidal figure as the laws of hydrostatics would require, the main question that occurs is, In what manner was this figure acquired? How comes it, that the principles of hydrostatics apply so well to a mass of hard and rocky substances, washed by a fluid, which, in magnitude or weight, bears no sensible proportion to them? Was the whole mass, which is now so firm and refractory, once a fluid body, governed by the laws of hydrostatics, and pressing equally in all directions? Geological observation, whatever geological theory may do, will not authorise an answer in the affirmative to this question. BUFFON may tell us, that the Earth consists of matter which was once forcibly separated from the Sun, and that it was, of consequence, originally in a fluid state from igneous fusion. WERNER, as hypothetical as Buffon, with greater pretensions to accuracy, and much less enlargement of view, will assure us, that the mass which we see so solid and compact, was, in all its parts, dissolved in the waters of an unfathomable ocean; and, of course, governed by the laws of hydrostatics. But the geologist, who trusts nothing to authority, and resolves on interrogating Nature herself, will not be much disposed to respect either of these suppositions; and though he recognizes, in mineral substances, abundant indications of the action both of fire and of water, he will find nothing that can be interpreted into more than a partial and successive action of those elements, without any ap-

pearance of the simultaneous solution of the whole mass by any of them.

The inquiry which then remains is, Whether there be any means by which a terraqueous body could acquire the form of an oblate spheroid? If no such means appear, the suppositions of BUFFON or WERNER must still be resorted to; but if there is one consistent with geological appearances, it must, of course, be entitled to the preference. Now, if that system of alternate decay and renovation be admitted, which seems to be established on the basis of a very philosophical induction, it will appear, that there is a plain mechanical principle, on which the hard and solid parts of the earth must gradually approximate to the figure required in a fluid by the laws of hydrostatics. Were the mass ever so irregular in its original form, the operations of wearing and reconsolidating, by lessening the asperities and declivities of the solid parts, would gradually bring about a figure, round which the ocean could diffuse itself, with a uniform depth. In this view of the matter, there are no theorems more valuable than those of CLAIRAUT, in which he determines the relation between the figure, magnitude, and density of the nucleus, surrounded by the ocean. The problem, therefore, for the mathematician to resolve is, to find out what figure must be given to a mass, whether solid or fluid, so that its surface shall be every where perpendicular to the direction of gravity, supposing, too, that direction to be influenced by the revolution of the body on its axis.

Another problem, which would require solution, is, having given a solid, an ellipsoid, for example, in position and magnitude, to find the figure which a fluid, circumfused round it, would assume. This might be resolved, on the supposition, first, of the rest, and then of the rotation of the ellipsoid. The investigation might be extended to solids, bounded by other superficies than those of the second order. There needed not, in resolving the problem, with a view to its application to natural appearances, be any account made of the equilibrium of the columns of the fluid; it would be sufficient, if the surface were every where at right angles to the force of the attraction, combined with the centrifugal force that arose from the rotation.

The investigation which we have been considering here, and, still more, the method according to which it is conducted, would materially assist in the solution of these problems; which we, therefore, take the liberty of recommending to the ingenious author of this Memoir.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

We are authorized to inform our classical readers, that after the completion of Dr Butler's improved edition of Stanley's Æschylus, which is printed at the expense of the University of Cambridge, Dr Butler intends to print, at his own expence, a supplementary volume, containing a corrected text, and such *curæ secundæ* as may occur to him in the course of his labours. The sale of this supplementary volume, which will be published both in quarto and in octavo, will be confined to the purchasers of the former volumes.

In answer to the remarks of R. T. upon p. 226 of the preceding volume, we must observe, that the testimony of Scioppius is in this instance confirmed by that of Muretus, in the first chapter of the fifteenth book of his *Variæ Lectiones*. After mentioning a visit which he had received at Rome, from certain German travellers, he describes the astonishment which the fluency and intrepidity of their Latinity excited in the mind of an Italian youth, who happened to be present. 'Verum omnino est quod dicitur,' says the young Ciceronian, 'in nullis hominibus hoc tempore, præterquam in transalpinis, promptam atque expeditam reperiri Latine loquendi facultatem. Vel ii, qui modo abierunt, ut nusquam in loquendo hærent, nusquam titubant, nusquam offendunt, ut omnia in numerato habent, ut tota eorum sine ullo impedimento ac salebris decurrit oratio. At nostri homines, etiam ii qui sibi e studiorum laboribus pallorem et maciem et senium contraxerunt, si quando Latine loquendum est, ut luctantur, ut sudant, ut anhelant! Credas eos magna vi ex imis pulmonibus verba eruere: cum istis contra sine ulla cura ac cogitatione jugis quædam ac beata Latinarum vocum copia ultro ex ore manare ac decurrere videatur.' From the censure of his young friend, Muretus excepts Paulus Manutius and Sigonius, together with two eminent Jesuits, Maffei and Perpiniano, the latter of whom was by birth a Spaniard. It is remarkable, however, that two of these four persons are mentioned by Scioppius, not as exceptions from his general rule but as examples of it. p. 69. 'Sic recte Paulo Manutio usu venit, ut quoniam vix tria verba Latina in familiari sermone proferri poterat, cum Germani complures, qui loquentem auditurі, ad eum venerant, vehementer præ se contemnerent.' p. 70. 'Mihi quoque Petrus Maffeius Jesuita nomini atque famæ parum respondere visus est cum ad eum Romæ undeviginti abhinc annis salutatum venissem. Neque enim inducere animum poterat, ut Latine mihi responsionem ullam subirer.'

We take this opportunity of making a few additions to our observations on the Prometheus of Aeschylus, as edited by Mr Blomfield; and of correcting part of the errors which we have detected in our article on that subject. *

Ver. 52. Οὔκουν ἐπείξει δεσμὰ τῷδε περιβαλεῖν. Tribrachyn in quinta sede praetermisit Hermannus Praefat. ad Hec. p. 38. Praetermisit etiam Pers. 492. Μαγνησικήν τε γαῖαν, εἴς τε Μακεδόνων. Eum. 40. ὁρῶ δ' ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ μὲν ἄνδρα θεομυσῆ. Nolim enim θεομυσῆ pro voce trisyllaba accipere.

Ver. 348. ὃς πρὸς ἑσπέρους τόπους Ἕστηκε. Sunt qui legendum suspicentur, πρὸς ἑσπέροις τόποις. Que structura certe magis usitata est. Sed cum Robortellus et liber Mediceus ἐς pro πρὸς habeant, potius crediderim utramque praepositionem e glossemate natam esse. Vide igitur an scribendum subaudito κατά: ὅστις ἑσπέρους τόπους Ἕστηκε. Ita Eurip. Or. 1251. Στῆθ' αἱ μὲν ὑμῶν τήνδ' ἁμαξήρη τρίβον, Αἱ δ' ἐνθαδ' ἄλλον οἶμον, εἰς φρουρὰν δόμων. Suppl. 987. Τί ποτ' αἰθερίαν ἕστηκε πέτραν. Ὅστις pro ὃς reposuit Gaisfordius infra v. 354.

Ver. 384. Ἔα με † τήνδε τὴν νόσον νοσεῖν. Hodie malim cum plerisque libris et B. τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ. Ita Soph. Trach. 544. Νοσοῦντι κείνῳ πολλὰ τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ.

Ver. 435. Μήτοι χλιδῇ δοκεῖτε, μήτ' αὐθαδίᾳ Σιγᾶν με. Recte Brunckius et pars codicum, μηδ' αὐθαδίᾳ. Brunckius tamen vulgatam scripturam non mutavit apud Soph. Aj. 423. Οὔτοι σ' ἀπειργεῖν, οὔθ' ὅπως ἐὼ λέγειν Ἔχω. Recte Noster Eum. 299. Οὔτοι σ' Ἀπόλλων, οὐδ' Ἀθηναίας σθένος Ἐύσαιτ' ἄν. Eurip. Med. 469. Οὔτοι θράσος τόδ' ἐστὶν, οὐδ' εὐτολμία. Herc. 316. Οὔτοι τὸ δεῖλον, οὐδὲ τοῦ βιοῦ πόθος Θανεῖν ἐρύκει σ'. Ita ubique scribendum.

Ver. 478. Οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξημ' οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ βρώσιμον, Οὐ χριστὸν, οὐδὲ πιστόν. Cum βρώσιμον et χριστὸν omnium consensu ἀλεξημάτων genera sint, οὐδὲ ante βρώσιμον non aliam significationem habere potest quam *nequidem*. Quae cum sententiae minime conveniat, legendum οὔτε, ut supra monui. Locum igitur ita constituo: Οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξημ' οὐδὲν (οὔτε βρώσιμον, Οὐ χριστὸν) οὐδὲ πιστόν. Verba parentheseos notis inclusa paullo aliter exhibet Eurip. Hippol. 516. Πότερα δὲ χριστὸν ἢ ποτὸν τὸ φάρμακον; Structura nostri loci talis esse videtur: οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξημα οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ πιστὸν οὐδέν. Ceterum praeter exempla supra allegata, οὐ post οὔτε habet Eurip. Iph. Taur. 355. Herc. 645.

Ver. 489. καὶ διαιταν ἥντινα Ἔχουσ' ἕκαστοι. Recte fortasse se habet ἕκαστοι, hac scilicet significatione, ἕκαστον γένος ὀρνίθων. Hom. Il. Γ. 1. Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἅμ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοι. Π. 99. Ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν πάντες

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* P. 214, l. 21, *read* ἐξερύσαμεν. P. 215, l. 45, *read* Askevio. P. 216, l. 44, *read* Askevio. P. 222, l. 40, *read* ἴσον δὲ τῷ προστένειν: l. 45, *read* We are dissatisfied. P. 228, l. 21, *read* Abresami. P. 232, l. 11, *read* πλησίοι. P. 234, l. 29, *read* fraudi fuit. P. 235, l. 2, *read* Articulum. P. 237, l. 48, *read* *fictis*. P. 238, l. 25, *read* Ius. l. 35, *read* vitiosa. P. 240, l. 45, *read* Γάμον. P. 242, l. 18, *read* Pauwius. The printer is perfectly innocent of several of these errors.

παντες ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε, Ἥμενοι αὖθι ἕκαστοι ἀκήριοι, ἀκλεὲς αὔτως. Utrobique intelligitur ἕκαστη τάξις, ἕκαστον φῦλον. Adde Od. I. 168. Οὐ γάρ πω νηῶν ἐξέφθιτο οἶνος ἐρυθρὸς, Ἀλλ' ἐνέην· πολλὸν γὰρ ἐν ἀμφιφορεῦσιν ἕκαστοι Ἠφύσαμεν, Κικόνων ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἑλόντες Sensus est, οἱ ἐπὶ ἑκάστης νεὼς πλέοντες. Ceterum praeter tria loca modo memorata, et Od. N. 76. Ω. 416. ubi variant libri, ter tantum plurale ἕκαστοι Homero tribuit Seberus. Il. I. 66. Δόρπα τ' ἐφοπλισόμεσθα· φυλακτῆρες δὲ ἕκαστοι Λεξάσθων παρὰ τάφρον ἀρυκτὴν, τείχεος ἐκτός. Ubi cum vulgata lectio sensum minus commodum praebeat, vide an legendum ἑκάστῃ, ut sit adverbium ejusdem formae, cujus est πάντῃ. Il. Ψ. 55. Ἠσυχίοις δ' ἄρα δόρπον ἐφοπλισσαντες ἕκαστοι Δαινυντ'· οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἴσης. Manifesto vitiosum est ἐφοπλισσαντες ante ΓΕΚΑΣΤΟΙ. Malim, ἐφοπλίσαντο ἕκαστος, sequenti versu prorsus deleto. Il. Ω. 1. Λῦτο δ' ἀγών· λαοὶ δὲ θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας ἕκαστοι Ἐσκίδναντ' ἰέναι. Idem vitium quod in superiori. Ex Il. T. 277. Ψ. 3. θοὴν ἐπὶ νῆα ἕκαστος reponunt nonnulli. Quibus assentior. At vero altera structura, ἕκαστος scilicet cum verbo plurali, sexcenties apud Homerum repetitur. Nec desunt exempla in libris Novi Testamenti, monente Schleusnero v. Ἕκαστος. Similem locutionem, ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον λέγειν, habet D. Lucas Act. Apost. 2, 12. Ubi pars codicum πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες e glossemate. Noster Agam. 604. Ὁλολυγμὸν ἄλλος ἀλλοθεν κατὰ πτόλιν Ἕλασκον εὐφημοῦντες.

Ver. 643. Πεύσεσθε· καιτοι καὶ λέγουσ' ὀδύρομαι. Πεύσοισθε, quod habet Robortellus, ad πευσεῖσθε alludit, quam formam exhibent omnes fere libri infra 967. Deinde fluctuant libri inter ὀδύρομαι et αἰσχύνομαι. Hanc scripturam jure praeferunt Butlerus et B. Objici quidem potest quod αἰσχύνομαι rectius cum infinitivo conjungitur quam cum participio. Sed praeter alios participium adhibet Noster Theb. 1037. οὐδ' αἰσχύνεμαι Ἔχουσ' ἄπιστον τήνδ' ἀναρχίαν πόλει.

Ver. 646. Ἀεί γὰρ ὄψεις ἐννυχοι πολεύουσαι. Archilochi senarium, quem servavit Eustathius p. 1889, 2. fortasse respexit Poëta: Φιλῆτα νύκτωρ περὶ πόλιν πολεύουσι. Male Grammaticus: Παρ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ ἐν τῷ, Φιλήτα—πολευμένα. Idem p. 1701, 22. Ἄλκμαν ἐν τῷ, ὀρέων μὲν οὐδέν, δοκέοντι δέ. Ipsa Alcmanis verba, ὀρέων μὲν οὐδέν, δοκίων δὲ, citat Pindari Schol. a Porsono ad Or. 5. allegatus. Ceterum in Archilocheo versu notandus dactylus in tertia sede. Vide Gaisfordium ad Hephaest. p. 243.

Ver. 712. χρίμπτουσα ῥαχιαισιν ἐκπερᾶν χθόνα. Optime se habet vulgatum ἐκπερᾶν. Soph. Oed. Col. 483. Τρις ἐννέ' αὐτῇ κλῶνας ἐξ ἀμφοῖν χεροῖν Τιθεις ἐλαίας, τάσδ' ἐπεύχεσθαι λιτάς. Et paullo post 490. Ἔπειτ' ἀφέρπειν ἄστροφος. Hinc in eadem fabula 197. legendum puto: Πάτερ, ἐμὸν τόδ'. ἐν ἡσύχῳ, Ἰὼ μοι, βόσιν ἀρμόσαι, Γεραὸν εἰς χέρα σῶμα σὸν Προκλίναις φιλίαν ἐμάν. Nisi mediam formam ἄρμοσαι adhibere mavis. Afferre possem etiam Hom. Il. A. 20. si certum esset eum locum ita scribendum esse: Παίδα δ' ἐμοὶ λῦσαί τε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἀποινα δέχεσθε, Ἁζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν, ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα. Sed vereor ut admitti possit λῦσαί τε, nisi contra omnes libros legatur τά τ' ἄποινα. Praestare igitur videtur λύσαιτε, quod et melius τῷ δεῖεν respondet: Ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν,

ἐμοὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς λύσαιτε. Διὰ μέσου autem sunt verba τά δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθε (vel δεχέσθαι). Ita in Il. Γ. 410. Κείσε δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ εἶμι (νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη) Κείνῳ πορσυνέουσα λέχος.

Ver. 770. Τις οὖν ὁ λύσων σ' ἐστὶν, ἄκοντος Διός; Recte σ' omittunt omnes fere codd. Ita mox 783. Καὶ τῇδε μὲν γέγωνε τὴν λοιπὴν πλάνην, Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸν λύσοντα· τοῦτο γὰρ ποθῶ. Ubi λύσοντά σε edidit Aldus.

Ver. 847. Ἐνταῦθα δή σε Ζεὺς τιθησιν ἔμφρονα, Ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θιγὼν μόνον. Optime sententiae conveniret τίθησ' ἐγκύμονα. Sed ejusmodi elisiones apud Nostrum rarissimae sunt. Infra tamen 1015. ἔπεισ' ἄφυκτος habent omnes libri. Εισι sine elisione legitur Theb. 706. 1073. φησὶ Theb. 24. 434. 652. ἵησι Prom. 811. Theb. 315. τιθησι Pers. 192. Agam. 1184. Choeph. 664. Eum. 294. 325. 654. ξυντίθησι Suppl. 67. διδωσι Eum. 7. ἐνδείκνυσι Prom. 405. ζεύγνυσι Pers. 191. ὄμνυσι Theb. 535. πήγνυσι Pers. 469. ῥήγνυσι Pers. 199. Προστίθησι cum elisione adhibet Soph. Ant. 243. Τὰ δεινὰ γάρ τοι προστιθησ' ὄκνον πολύν. Similia apud Euripidem leguntur ἵησ' οὐρίας Hec. 900. ἐνδιδωσ' ἀεὶ 1239. ὄλλυσ' ἀεὶ Or. 524. ἀπόλλυσ' οὐχ ἑκοῦσαν Hippol. 319. ἀπόλλυσ', οἱ καλοὶ 487. διδωσ' ὁ κύριος Iph. Aul. 703. et alia nonnulla. In Iph. Aul. 68. legendum: Διδοὺς ἑλέσθαι θυγατρὶ μνηστήρων ἕνα. Ceterum verbum ἐπαφάν usurpat tragicus, ut videtur, incertus in satyrica fabula apud Schol. ad Soph. Oed. Col. 1375. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν χερὶ, Ἔγνω ἐπαφήσας, εἰπέ τ' ἐκ θυμοῦ τάδε.

Ver. 900. Ἐμοὶ δ' ὅτι μὲν ὁμαλὸς ὁ γάμος, ἄφοβος. Διότι, *propterea quod*, a Tragicorum sermone alienum esse videtur. Malim igitur, ἐμοὶ γὰρ, ὅτι μὲν κ. τ. ἑ. Ἐμοὶ γάρ, *mihi quidem*, habent Noster Pers. 605. Soph. Ant. 178. El. 361. aliique.

Ver. 1070. Ἀλλ' οὖν μέμνησθ' ἄγω προλέγω. Ἀλλ' οὖν omisso γε habet Noster Theb. 223. ἀλλ' οὖν θεοὺς Τοὺς τῆς ἁλούσης πόλεος ἐκλείπειν λόγος. Eurip. Med. 619. Ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν δαίμονας μαρτύρομαι. Iph. Aul. 983. Ἀλλ' οὖν ἔχει τι σχῆμα, κἂν ἄπωθεν ᾖ. Ion. 1235. Ἀλλ' οὖν λέγωμεθ'· ἡ φάτις δ' οὔ μοι πικρά. Ita edd. recentiores. In Aldina est λέγωμεσθ', unde repono, ἀλλ' οὖν λεγόμεθα γ'.

Postremo loco moneo, in fragmento Promethei Λυομένου apud Strabonem p. 183. quatuor ultimos versus ita fere restituendos esse: Ἰδὼν δ' ἀμηχανοῦντά σ' ὁ Ζεὺς οἰκτερεῖ, Νεφέλην δ' ὑπερσχὼν, νιφάδι γογγύλων πέτρων Ὑπόσκιον θήσει χθόν', οἷς ἔπειτα σὺ Βάλλων δῃώσεις ῥᾳδίως Λιγὺν στρατόν. Ὑπερσχὼν pro ὑποσχὼν Casaubono debetur. Fuisse qui γογγύλων legerent pro στρογγύλων, in Censura ed. Butlerianae jam monuimus, neque ulla causa est quare γογγύλος in familiari tantum sermone usurpatum esse putemus. ΓΟΓΓΥΛΟΣ ΛΙΘΟΣ ΑΘΕΤΟΣ legitur in vetustissima inscriptione apud Chandlerum p. 57. Σὺ βαλὼν pro συμβαλὼν reposuit Salmasius, monente Stanleio. Pro δῃώσεις alii διώξεις, alii διώσεις conjiciunt. Saltem διώξει et διώσει, scribere debent. Nam futurum verbi διώκω est διώξομαι, et διωθοῦμαί σε, non διωθῶ σε, dicunt Attici. Δῃώσας retinendum censet Butlerus, cujus sententiae favet Eurip. Heracl. 995. Ὅπως δῃώσας καὶ κατακτείνας ἐμοὺς Ἐχθροὺς, τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ ξύνοικοιην φόβῳ.

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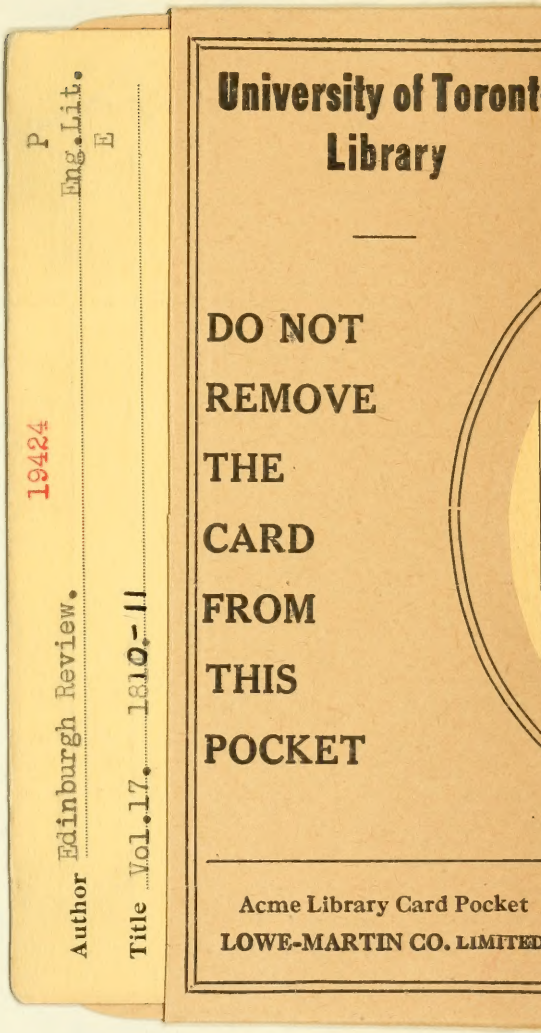
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